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THE

# PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND

DURING THE

## REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD:

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE,

AS WELL AS A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM.

ILLUSTRATED WITH

**SEVERAL HUNDRED WOODCUTS.**

BY

GEORGE L. CRAIK AND CHARLES MAC FARLANE,

ASSISTED BY OTHER CONTRIBUTORS.

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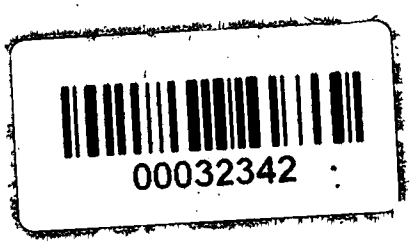

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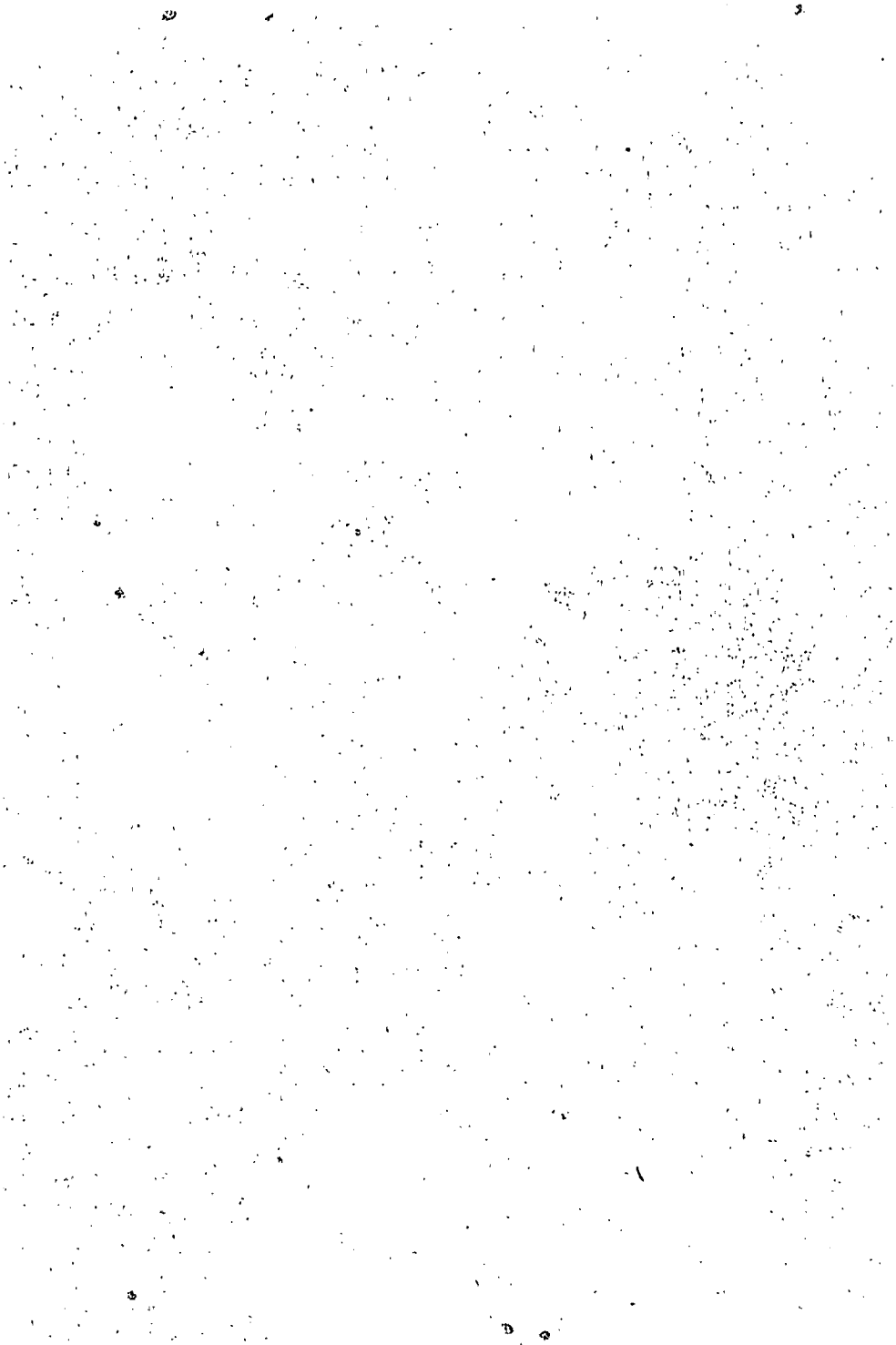

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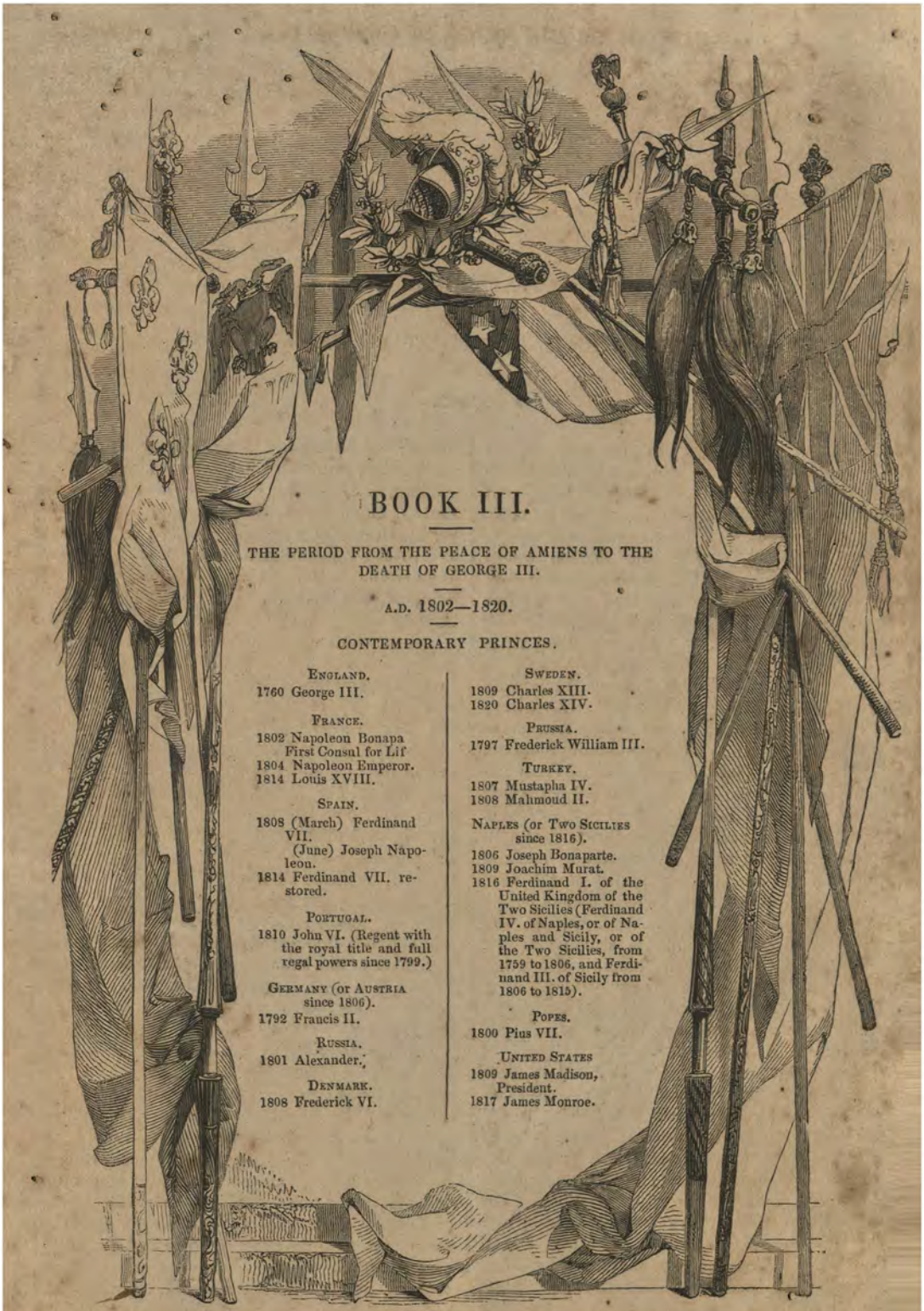


# BOOK III.

THE PERIOD FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE III.

A.D. 1802—1820.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

ENGLAND.
1760 George III.

FRANCE.
1802 Napoleon Bonapa First Consul for Lif
1804 Napoleon Emperor.
1814 Louis XVIII.

SPAIN.
1808 (March) Ferdinand VII.
(June) Joseph Napoleon.
1814 Ferdinand VII. restored.

PORTUGAL.
1810 John VI. (Regent with the royal title and full regal powers since 1799.)

GERMANY (or AUSTRIA since 1806).
1792 Francis II.

RUSSIA.
1801 Alexander.

DENMARK.
1808 Frederick VI.

SWEDEN.
1809 Charles XIII.
1820 Charles XIV.

PRUSSIA.
1797 Frederick William III.

TURKEY.
1807 Mustapha IV.
1808 Mahmoud II.

NAPLES (or TWO SICILIES since 1816).
1806 Joseph Bonaparte.
1809 Joachim Murat.
1816 Ferdinand I. of the United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Ferdinand IV. of Naples, or of Naples and Sicily, or of the Two Sicilies, from 1759 to 1806, and Ferdinand III. of Sicily from 1806 to 1815).

POPES.
1800 Pius VII.

UNITED STATES
1809 James Madison, President.
1817 James Monroe.

# CHAPTER I.

## NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

A.D. 1802.

AT the time of the peace of Amiens the two great belligerent powers had scarcely the means of carrying on an active warfare against each other: without allies and auxiliaries on the continent, England could not hope to touch France by land; with fleets ruined or blockaded, with a navy completely disheartened, France could not expect to touch England by sea. The brilliant and romantic campaign in Egypt, which reminded the French of the old prowess of the British infantry, and which told the nations of Europe that these new Gallic armies were not invincible, allowed us to treat with a better grace and with less sacrifice of national pride than at any previous period of the war. We could also treat without any sacrifice of public faith, for the coalized powers on the Continent, who were engaged in their arduous struggle at the times when the Foxites had recommended negotiation with Bonaparte, had now yielded, for a season, to the terrible First Consul, and had sought terms for themselves without heeding us. There could indeed be little doubt but that the elements of a new coalition would soon be found, or soon be created by the ambition and oppressions of France; but for the present these elements did not exist: Austria and the other powers stood in need of repose, and to rouse them prematurely from their sleep would be to hurry them into the arena in a weak and dispirited condition. The land armies of Great Britain were scattered over the globe, to defend our vastly augmented Indian territories and colonial possessions. We had increased these forces to 168,000 men and 80,000 militia, exclusive of 130,000 sepoys in the East India Company's service, and we had besides above 120,000 volunteers in the British Islands. From the nature of our empire it was impossible ever to collect within the limits of Europe these abundant forces; yet, perhaps, a better war-ministry, and a government more disposed than that of Pitt or of Addington to rely upon "native steel and native ranks," might out of these forces, and by the proper application of wise and energetic, yet moderate and strictly constitutional, means of recruiting and augmenting them from the populations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, have given to us that distinction and preponderance as a military nation which we had enjoyed in the days of Marlborough, and which we were to possess again under Wellington before this Theban warfare could have any real end. Since the month of February, 1793, the British navy had been raised by the building of new and the capture of enemies' ships from 135 sail of the line and 133 frigates to 202 sail of the line and 277 frigates.* In the same time the navy of France had been reduced from 73 sail of the line and 67 frigates to 30 sail of the line and 35 frigates. At the time of the signing of the treaty of Amiens, counting sloops, brigs, cutters, &c., we had nearly 800 war-vessels to array against our foes. Counting armed vessels of all kinds, we had captured 298 and destroyed 55 French ships. The loss of the voluntary or forced allies of the French had been comparatively great: the Spaniards had lost, in captured and destroyed, 78 ships; the Dutch 86; and the affair of Copenhagen had inflicted a tremendous blow on the navy of the Danes. Our ships, like our land forces, were spread over the globe; but, after providing for the security of the continents and isles and archipelagoes of islands which owned our dominion, we might always confidently count on collecting in the European seas a force capable of contending with the united fleets of all the maritime powers of Europe. And what was better than numerical superiority, than the build of ships and the weight of their metal, was the conviction which Howe, Duncan, Jervis, Nelson, and old traditions had put into the head and heart of every true British sailor, that the meteor flag of England must ever

* The two years of greatest increase were 1796 and 1798: in the first of these years 82 ships, measuring 64,847 tons, were added to the navy; and in the second of these years 63 ships, measuring 30,910 tons, were added.—*Tables in James's Naval Hist.*

be victorious on its own proper element; that Britannia, in fact as well as in song, ruled the waves. They may have expressed the idea less rhetorically and far less frequently, but the notion was certainly as prevalent among English sailors that under Nelson and his compeers and disciples battle was only another word for victory, as it could possibly have been in the minds of the French soldiery under Napoleon Bonaparte and the best of his lieutenants. Since the commencement of hostilities in 1793, our mercantile shipping had increased nearly one-third, while that of France had been almost annihilated. Notwithstanding her vast territorial acquisitions, the permanent revenue of France was considerably less now than it had been previous to the Revolution, while our permanent revenue was nearly doubled. All is not bad even in the worst of wars; and in most wars between great and well-matched nations there will be found something good and ennobling: the present contest had breathed new energy and life into the national character, which had been left considerably depressed and degraded by the result of the American war. This improved spirit was seen in manufactures, in trade, in our distant colonies, in our home government, and perhaps, most of all, and most importantly of all, in our native literature, which, as a whole, had been so long languid or inane. On the dark side of the account was to be placed the enormous increase of our national debt, which in the course of nine years had swelled from above 244,000,000*l.* to above 520,000,000*l.* funded and unfunded.* A great deal of this money had been spent abroad for coalitions and subsidies, a great deal had been wasted in crude and petty expeditions, and a still vaster amount had indisputably been allowed to be robbed by loan-jobbers, government contractors, commissioners, commissaries, and other rapacious functionaries: our army had cost us 103,212,000*l.*, our ordnance 15,605,700*l.*, our navy 98,729,000*l.*

One great desire of the French was gratified by England recognising their so-called Republic; and to obtain this recognition had certainly been one of the various motives which induced the First Consul to treat.† All the absolute monarchies of the Continent had given this recognition long before, having been reduced to negotiate on a footing of equality with the Convention, the Directory, or the Consul. The contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens were, the king of Great Britain and Ireland on the one part; and the French Republic, his majesty of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian Republic, on the other. The leading articles of the treaty were:—Art. III. His Britannic majesty restored to France, Spain, and Batavia all the possessions and colonies which he had occupied or conquered during the war, with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon, which Spain and Batavia severally ceded and guaranteed to his Britannic majesty.—Art. VI. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty, in the same manner as previous to the war; and the ships of every kind belonging to the other contracting parties were to be allowed to enter the port, and there purchase provisions as heretofore, without being liable to pay other imposts than such as the Batavian Republic subjected its own ships to.—Art. VII. The territories and possessions of our ally Portugal were to be maintained in their integrity, such as they were antecedent to the war; but that portion of Portuguese Guiana which had been ceded was to remain to the French Republic, and Spain was to keep the territory on the frontiers of Portugal which had been yielded to her by the treaty of Olivenza.—Art. VIII. The territories, possessions, &c. of the Sublime Porte were to be maintained in their integrity as they were before the war or the invasion of Egypt.—Art. IX. A Veneto-Greek Republic, which had started up, under French care, in the Seven or Ionian Islands, on the destruction of the ancient republic of Venice, which had possessed these islands for many ages, was recognised by the contracting parties.—Art. X. Malta, with its dependent isles, Gozo and Comino, was to be restored to its old masters, the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; the knights of the order were invited to return to La Valette, and there elect a new grand-master; any election made previous to the signing of the preliminaries of this peace was declared to be null and void. In order to the greater independence of the chapter, no individual belonging either to England or France was henceforward to be admitted into the order. A Maltese Language* was to be established, into which natives of the islands should be admitted without being bound to prove their nobility; these Maltese knights were to enjoy all the privileges, distinctions, &c. of the other knights, however noble; and, at the least, one-half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments were to be filled by the natives of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino. The British troops were to evacuate Malta and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible, when all was to be given up to the order, provided the new grand-master, or commissioners duly authorized, were there to receive the surrender, and that the Neapolitan troops were arrived. The King of Naples was to be invited to send two thousand of his native troops to serve in garrison for one year after the restoration of the knights, or longer, if the Maltese force should not be at that period deemed competent by the guaranteeing powers to garrison the island. The independence and neutrality of Malta and its dependencies were proclaimed, and

* See ante, vol. ii. p. 626.

† "The clauses of this treaty were not calculated to inspire the hope of a very long peace. . . . . But England, heretofore so haughty in her bearing to the First Consul, had, at length, treated with him as the head of the French government. This, as Bonaparte was aware, boded well for the consolidation of his power."—*Bourrienne (private secretary to Bonaparte), Memoirs.*

* The Knights of Malta were divided into seven nations, which were called 'Langues,' or Languages,—namely, those of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, Germany, and England.

the independence was to be guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia. The ports were to be open to the vessels of all nations, except those belonging to the Barbary powers.—Art. XI. The French troops were to evacuate every part of the kingdom of Naples and of the Roman States, except such portions of the latter as had been annexed to the Cisalpine Republic; and the British were to evacuate all the ports and islands they had occupied in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic.—Art. XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions named in the treaty were to be made, in Europe, within one month; on the continents and seas of America and Africa, within three months; and on the continent and seas of Asia, within six months, after the exchange of the ratifications.—Art. XV. The Newfoundland fisheries were to be placed on the same footing as previously to the war.—Art. XVIII. The Prince of Orange, late Stadtholder, or the branches of the House of Nassau, were to receive equivalent compensations for the losses they could prove they had sustained, as well with respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in the Batavian Republic. But by a secret article appended to this XVIII.th article the Batavian Republic was exempted from finding any part of this compensation, and, as no other state or territory was pledged for it, it was pretty evident that no compensation to the House of Nassau Orange was intended.*—Art. XXII. The present treaty, done at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802, was to be ratified within *thirty* days, or sooner if possible; and the ratifications were to be exchanged in due form at Paris.†

The very first use which Bonaparte made of the benefit of the suspension of hostilities at sea was to send out a formidable armament to recover, in the first place, the whole of San Domingo from the revolted or the free and independent negroes. On the 14th of December, 1801, only ten weeks and four days after the signing of the preliminaries, a great fleet and a strong land army set sail from Brest for the West Indies. The English ministry, on the solemn assurance that it had no other object in view than that which was publicly stated, agreed not to molest this armament on its passage; but, as the force was so great, and as the treaty itself was not yet signed, it was deemed advisable to watch proceedings and to reinforce our own fleet on the West Indian station; and to these ends Admiral Mitchell was dispatched with seven sail of the line. That French expedition, of which further details will be given, did not, because it could not, depart from the object laid down; and it terminated, not in any re-occupation, or aggrandizement, or seizure, but in the almost total destruction of the forces engaged in it. But a few days after its first departure from Brest, Bonaparte realized another great project, which gave him in name—what he already had in fact—the presidency and actual command of all Lombardy and those other rich portions of Italy which by his last treaty with the Emperor of Germany (the treaty of Lunéville) were to constitute the independent Cisalpine Republic, to be freed alike from French and from Austrian dominion and interference. On the 11th of January, 1802, the First Consul entered Lyons in triumph, and met there a grand *consulta* from the Cisalpine Republic.* This swarm of Italian republicans, 450 in all, this sublime deputation of nobles of ancient and historical names, of bishops and archbishops, of parish priests and other ministers, of judges and jurisconsults, of well-paid professors and pensioned literati, of national-guard officers, of officers of the Cisalpine troops of the line, of the notables of departments, and of merchants and members of the chamber of commerce, had all been drilled and instructed beforehand by M. Petiet, the minister Bonaparte had left at Milan, and for several days preceding the First Consul's arrival at Lyons they had been indoctrinated by Talleyrand.† Before crossing the Alps some of these *illustrissimi* were informed that Bonaparte wished to convert his temporary elective authority into a permanent and hereditary one; that, as regarded the French, some

* During the negotiations there had been a talk of giving the family of the ex-stadtholder equivalents or compensations in some part of Germany.

† Between the 1st of October, 1801, when England agreed to the preliminaries, and the 27th of March following, when the *definitive* treaty was signed, Bonaparte concluded a separate treaty of peace with the young Emperor Alexander of Russia. This treaty was little more than a series of secret articles, nearly every one of which betrayed the arrogance or the ambition of the two contracting parties, and their determination of setting themselves up as arbiters or dictators in all the affairs of Europe, and to every independent sovereign. In one of these secret articles the young Czar and the First Consul undertook "to preserve a just equilibrium between the Houses of Austria and Prussia." In another they agreed to come to a proper understanding "how to terminate upon amicable terms the affairs of Italy and of the Holy See." In another they agreed "to act in concert respecting the King of Sardinia." In another article they provided for the revival of the Armed Neutrality, or for the creation of a still more formidable system to deprive England of the maritime rights she claimed: the czar and the consul, in order "*to restore a just equilibrium in the different parts of the world, and to ensure the liberty of the seas, binding themselves to act in concert for the attainment of those objects by all measures, whether of conciliation or vigour, mutually agreed on between them, for the good of humanity, the general repose, and the independence of governments.*"

* * His private secretary, Bourrienne, asked Bonaparte why, instead of calling the Italian deputies to Lyons, he did not go to Milan and meet them there?—Whether it was possible that he did not wish to revisit Italy, the first scene of his glory, and the beautiful capital of Lombardy, where he had met with so much homage?—"I certainly should like that," replied the First Consul; "but the journey to Milan would occupy too much precious time. I prefer that the meeting should take place in France. *My influence over the deputies will be more prompt and certain at Lyons than at Milan.*"

† "Some went to Lyons through affection, some through force, some through ambition. High were the expectations of men in the Cisalpine Republic: in France men watched most attentively all that was doing. And yet it seemed strange that an Italian nation should go into France to settle its government and fate."—*Carlo Botta, Storia d'Italia.*

When nations take such journeys, they are only fit for, and ought only to expect, abasement and slavery. The noble, the reverend, the learned, the poetical mandatories were indeed requested by the Milanese and the rest of the Lombards, who were becoming miserably poor under the blessed rule of the Cisalpine Republic and M. Petiet, to complain of the licence and licentiousness of the French soldiery, of the inexorable tyranny of the new government, of the crushing weight of the new taxes, which, at the least, doubled in amount those which had been paid to the House of Austria, of the progressive dilapidation of property, and of countless acts of violence and oppression; but these complaints of the suffering Lombards were drowned in the applauses and rejoicings at Lyons, and the mandatories did nothing but deliver academical orations, listen to the voice of command, and obey. "It was a fine spectacle," adds Botta, "for those who merely looked at the outside of things; but it was a sad sight for those who looked within, because it was arranged at Lyons how to extinguish by forms of law that Italian liberty which had already almost perished through abuse."

caution and precaution were necessary; and that, as an excellent means of preparing the public mind in France, they must offer him a presidency or a consulship for life in Italy. The 450 deputies named a commission of thirty members, who speedily drew up a report to the First Consul of France on the state and prospects of the Cisalpine Republic, stating that, owing to the heterogeneous parts of which that new republic had been composed, there was a want of adhesion and of confidence among them; that the Cisalpina, being still only in her infancy, must require the tutelage and support of France; that there was no native Italian fit to be placed at the head of the government, and that therefore they must implore the First Consul of France, the real father and creator of the infant Italian republic, to take upon himself the chief direction of its affairs. Without attempting to play the farce of modesty, Buonaparte repaired to the hall where the Italian deputies were assembled, and delivered a speech which was little more than an echo of their own report, the said report having been but an echo of his own sentiments and wishes as made known to the Italians through Petiet, Talleyrand, and numerous other voices and agencies. He gave emphasis to the doctrine that Upper Italy could not yet be evacuated by the French armies which had *liberated* it: he told them that "they should still be protected by the strong arm of the first nation of Europe, and that, as he found no one among them who had sufficient claims to the chief magistracy, he was willing to assume the direction of their affairs, with the title of President, and to retain that office as long as circumstances should require." Through calculation the words "for life" were dropped; and he was only appointed president for ten years, especial care being, however, taken to enact and declare that at the end of that period he should be re-eligible. He was to appoint to all offices, civil or military; to have the power of peace and war; to transact all diplomatic business, &c. &c. He appointed Melzi d'Eril his vice-president, and gave his assent to a new constitution, which varied only in a few particulars from the last mockery of a constitution set up in France. The whole business was finished by the 26th of January, 1802.* It rendered the *independent* Cisalpine Republic a mere appendage of France; it was an infraction of the treaty of Lunéville; and, if the Emperor of Germany had been in a condition to renew hostilities, the British cabinet would scarcely have carried the preliminaries of peace to a definitive treaty. The young Emperor of Russia, who had stipulated for a share in the settlement of Italy, was highly incensed; but he shrunk from the extreme measure of a rupture with Bonaparte, and was not in a state to do or attempt much except as a member of a new European coalition. Before the signatures were set to the treaty at Amiens other usurpations on the part of the First Consul, and other provocations most difficult to be endured by a proud nation, took place; but it was evident that the continental powers who had been our allies stood in need of repose, and it was determined at all hazards that England should try the not very honourable and not very safe experiment of a short peace.

When the preliminaries were first announced to the imperial parliament which met in the autumn of 1801, the ex-minister Pitt assisted the Addington administration in defending what they had done and were doing. He said that, after the great coalitions had all been dissolved, nothing remained for us but to procure just and honourable conditions of peace for ourselves and the few allies who had not deserted us; that, as long as the peace was honourable, he should prefer accepting terms even short of what he thought the country entitled to, to risking the result of the negotiation by too obstinate an adherence to any particular point. On the contrary, his late colleagues Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham censured the conduct of the Addington administration as mean and pusillanimous, declared the preliminaries to be disgraceful, and a prolongation of the war, though single-handed, and to any indefinite period, to be preferable to this insidious and insecure peace. Fox, with his party, now voted with Pitt and the Addingtons in approbation of the preliminaries; and, for some months, it was found that the minority which followed Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham in condemning the peace was even smaller than that which had sided for so many years with Mr. Fox in reprobating the war. In these first debates Lord Castlereagh expressed the decided sentiment of the majority in both Houses of parliament and in the country, when he said that this peace would at least try France, and that it was but fair to give her a trial. Some simple men and some enthusiasts there were, who fondly believed that the peace would be lasting, and that the First Consul, intent only on re-organizing France, and on seating himself on an hereditary but *constitutional* throne, would soon prove himself the best and surest ally of George III., the conservator of the tranquillity of the world and the promoter of all that most tended to civilize it. The number of these speculators was small; but their obstinacy or fatuity was excessively great, and not to be cured by experience or by anything which time and mortal fate could bring to bear upon the question. An opinion much more generally entertained was that, now that the Corsican consul had completely put down the French Jacobins—had scourged them like hounds at fault—there was nothing to

* Bourrienne, who attended the First Consul to Lyons, says, "Bonaparte, who was now ready to ascend the throne of France, wished to prepare the Italians for one day crowning him King of Italy, in imitation of Charlemagne, of whom, in anticipation, he considered himself the successor. He saw that the title of President of the Cisalpine Republic was a great advance towards the sovereignty of Lombardy, as he afterwards found that the consulate for life was a decisive step towards the throne of France. He obtained the title of President, without much difficulty, on the 26th of January. The journey to Lyons, and the conferences, were only matters of form; but high-sounding words and solemn proceedings had their effect on the public mind."

fear from Jacobinism and propagandism.* But, in reality, Bonaparte's system was but a new Jacobinism, or a Jacobinism modified; it had its propagandists and its secret emissaries everywhere, and, though it did not bait its hooks with the entire liberty and equality of Robespierre and Marat, it presented attractive bait to certain minds—the profits and honours derivable from successful revolution, the road to military distinction thrown open to all classes, the gratification to envy in the overthrow of aristocracies and established orders, and the excitement and inviting chances which always attend the subversion of old governments and the setting up of new ones. Moreover, the First Consul knew how to recommend abroad opinions and principles which he discountenanced and kept in check at home; and, while inculcating submission and organization in France, he promulgated insurrection and disorganization in those other European countries which were not yet subjected to his dominion. According to his theory, France, whose revolutions had all ended in his supremacy, had had enough of change; but other kingdoms must be revolutionized until they were brought to the actual condition of France. By a strange fatality, the clubbists of England and of the rest of Europe, who had most admired the National Convention with its Declaration of the Rights of Man, transferred their ardent admiration and their hearts' allegiance to Napoleon Bonaparte and his war bulletins. In their eyes he was a child of the Revolution, and the mortal enemy of legitimate kings: he prevented the restoration of the Bourbons, governed in the name, at least, of the people, and still talked of liberty and philosophy. Even when he made philosophy give way to religion and re-established Catholicism in France, they excused his backsliding, the very fanatics of unbelief still clinging to him, as they fancied that he was only making a temporary sacrifice to the prejudice and ignorance of the popular masses (whom, but a few years before these philosophists had held up to the admiration of the universe), that he had incalculably less religion than any of the kings of the old dynasties, and that in his heart he despised Catholicism as much as Voltaire himself had done. It must, however, always remain matter of surprise that the fanatics of a democratic republicanism and of a wild liberty should fall on their knees before the adventurous soldier who was erecting a tyrannical throne over the ruins of French liberty and the fallacies they had so recently worshipped; and that the fanatics of irreligion should excuse in him the efforts made to re-establish the ancient faith. In condemning the preliminaries of peace, and every part of them, Windham, in a debate in the Commons, on the 4th of November, said that France had uniformly aspired to universal empire? in the beginning of the Revolution she had an empire of opinion, but now she had an empire of power. French principles had first paved the way for this military power; and now this military power was used to disseminate principles—not such principles, indeed, as were now tolerated in France, but principles which would not serve for home consumption, and which, therefore, they were sending abroad for the use of other countries. Bonaparte knew well how to be at one and the same time the supporter of despotism in France, and of Jacobinism out of France! He pointed at the looseness and depravity of manners, which, he said, were greater now than in the days of the Conventionalists, or than in any previous period. Even supposing the Jacobin virus to have evaporated, there still remained an infection about the French to which we ought not to expose the English people. As to the supposed change of character in the French people and government, Windham said that the only difference was that in more Jacobinical times they trusted chiefly to their principles and their propagandism, while now they trusted chiefly to their arms and real power; and in all this change the French had preserved the same hostile, implacable spirit against England. This country was still marked out as *Carthage*, which must be destroyed, to make way for the universal empire of the new *Rome*. He reminded the House that the Romans had conquered Carthage point by point, always terminating a successful war by an advantageous peace, always renewing the war with some fresh advantages, until, at last, Carthage sunk beneath her powerful rival. If peace was supported on the ground of our inability to continue the war, was that inability likely to grow less during such a peace as the present? Let our economy be as great as it might, yet the expenses of such a peace, unless we resigned ourselves to some sudden conquest or invasion, must be very nearly equal to those of a full war establishment; and all we could hope to obtain at this immense outlay, was a mere armed truce. It was true our allies had for a time fallen from our side; but there was another party who had shown great attachment to the cause they had embraced, and who had bravely co-operated with the British forces; and he considered the entire desertion of the interests of the emigrants as deeply disgraceful to this country. There ought to have been stipulated for them, at least, a safe return to their country.*

The sailing of the immense armament from Brest for San Domingo, pending the negotiation of the definitive treaty, created great alarm, and

* Pitt himself said, in the course of the debates on the preliminaries, that we had survived the danger and the ravages of Jacobinism; that we had lived long enough to see it lose much of its virulence, and to be stripped of those delusive colours which once gave it its powers of destruction. He added, however, that his opinion of the past remained unaltered. This country was at first called upon to resist an attack against all established governments: our object in entering into the war had been Security. He must confess that his Majesty's ministers had once thought that the dissolution of the revolutionary government of France was the best means of obtaining this security, but he had never reckoned it a *sine qua non*

* Bonaparte did not forget such stipulations in favour of men who were emigrants or exiles on account of political opinions, and of words and deeds favourable to the French revolution. As we have seen, in his treaty with the King of Naples he stipulated not merely for the safe return of the Neapolitan revolutionists, but also for the restoration of their property.

occasioned some demands in the House of Commons for the recal of the Marquess Cornwallis from Amiens. It was determined that the naval and military establishments should be continued as they were, without any reduction, for three months longer. The transactions with the Cisalpine Consulta at Lyons were the cause of fresh excitement; and in the course of the month of January, 1802, it became known in England that Bonaparte had exacted from Spain her American colony of Louisiana, and had claimed in Italy Parma and the island of Elba, thus adding, in a time of peace or of truce, to the enormous acquisitions which he had made during the war. The delays in the negotiations obliged Mr. Addington, on the 3rd of March, to demand a supply on the war establishment for sixty-one days more; and in the debate Dr. French Lawrence, the able friend and disciple of Burke, Windham, and others, pressed on the House the consideration of the fraud and perfidy France had shown in every transaction since the signing of the preliminary articles. By the time the definitive treaty was concluded the English people were certainly much less enamoured of this experimental peace than they were at the arrival of the preliminaries. During the long season of delay and doubt recourse had been repeatedly had to adjournments. On the 10th of April, twelve days after the reception of the news of the definitive treaty having been signed, the Earl of Carlisle called the attention of the House of Lords to some points involved in the treaty; but ministers objected that these points were not regularly before the House, and declined, for the present, entering into any explanations; and, no motion having been made, the House passed to the order of the day. At the same time the House of Commons was occupied by a motion made by Sir Francis Burdett for a searching inquiry into the conduct of the late Pitt administration—conduct which the ardent young orator seemed to think would fully justify an impeachment. The motion upon a division was rejected by 246 against 39. As late as the 3rd of May we find Windham rising to request that a day might be appointed for taking into consideration the whole of the definitive treaty; and on the following day this request was repeated in the Upper House by Lord Grenville. During several successive days calls for papers were made; and it was not until the 13th of May that the important and long expected debate began in both Houses. In the Lords, after Lord Grenville had moved the order of the day for the House to take into consideration the definitive treaty of peace, the eccentric Stanhope desired that strangers might be excluded, having, he said, information of importance to lay before the House. Strangers were ordered to withdraw.* When they were re-admitted Lord Grenville was speaking with great force against the conditions and tendencies of the treaty. There was, however, he said, no wish to abrogate or overturn the unfortunate compact, which had been ratified by that power to whom the constitution had given the right of making treaties, which had had the great seal of the kingdom put to it, and which was therefore irrevocable. To its terms, however injurious, we were bound to accede. By evasion we should but add disgrace to disaster; and, with the loss of national honour, fill up the measure of national calamity. He wished not to impede the execution of the treaty, but to demonstrate its dangerous tendency; to ascertain the situation in which it left the country; to point out the perils which impended, and the degree of safety which yet remained to us. With these principles what reasonable objections could be raised to a free and full discussion? Why should he not be allowed to urge the House to set a mark on those impolitic and weak ministers who had negotiated such a treaty and concluded such a peace? In all negotiations for peace the basis was either the *status quo ante bellum*, or the actual state of the parties before the war; or the *uti possidetis*, or the condition of the parties after the war. One or the other of these bases, and not a mixture of the two, was the foundation of the treaty for both contracting parties; both either gave up everything they had conquered during the war, or both retained whatever they possessed at the conclusion of it. Instead of our negotiators proceeding distinctly on either of these bases, they had mixed them together, and had applied them both in a manner the most prejudicial to this country: they had applied the first, or the *status quo* principle, to England, who was to give up to France all she had taken during the war; and they had applied the second, or the *uti possidetis* principle, to France, by allowing her to remain in possession of all she had acquired. It would have been but just and reasonable for France to have purchased back her colonies, and the colonies of her allies or dependents, Spain and Holland, by continental sacrifices; but France gave up nothing, for Egypt at the time the treaty was concluded was not hers to give, while England gave up nearly every foot of territory she had obtained, surrendering islands and groups of islands, the acquisition of which had cost her immense sums of money and not a little blood. In fact, by the result of the treaty, France was left either in actual possession of, or with a most absolute control over, the greatest or richest part of the continent of Europe: she kept Savoy, she kept Belgium, she kept the Germanic states on the left bank of the Rhine, she kept, under a fiction of independence, the whole of Upper Italy and the whole of Holland; she kept whatever she had gained. And yet she was to be repossessed of all that she had lost, and moreover to be allowed to acquire immense territories from her submissive and helpless allies: in Asia she was to have Pondicherry, Cochin, Negapatam,

* "The subject of the noble earl's communication was, we understand, the improved construction of a diving-boat in France, which was described to be navigated under water with so much skill and certainty as to make it easy for them to blow up a first-rate man-of-war with only fifteen pounds of powder."—*Parl. Hist.*

and the Spice Islands; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Senegal (for it was idle to talk of the Batavian Republic having or holding anything); in the West Indies, Martinique, Ste. Lucie, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curaçoa, and a part, if not the whole, of San Domingo; in America she was to be repossessed of St. Pierre and Miguelon; and, as new possessions, whence she could press upon both the Anglo-American states and the Spanish-American and Portuguese-American possessions, Louisiana was to be hers by virtue of the secret treaty with Spain, and French Guiana was to be rounded and enlarged by territory torn from Portugal by the treaty of Madrid; and, in addition to this territory in Guiana, extending to the Amazon river, she was to have, in South America, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. In the Mediterranean too, where our naval superiority was most important, we had dispossessed ourselves of Malta, Minorca, and even the island of Elba, which France wanted, merely in order to exclude us from the neighbouring port of Leghorn. We were now, in fact, excluded from all the ports of Italy, and all that inland sea seemed on the point of being converted into a French lake. Lord Grenville then alluded to the great San Domingo armament which had been sent out in the interval between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, and which had obliged us to keep in the West Indies a much greater force than any we had employed there during the war. The first fruits of this peace, he said, were seen in the necessity of our keeping in the West Indies, at an enormous expense, thirty-five sail of the line. Ministers ought never to have permitted the French armament to sail until the preliminary articles had been converted into a definitive treaty; nor should it have been allowed to sail at all until the First Consul had renounced the presidency of the Cisalpine Republic, which gave him as much power in Italy as he had in France. His lordship could see nothing of the pacific, liberal disposition of the present French government; but what he could clearly see was, a fixed design to exclude the commerce of Great Britain from the continent of Europe. He complained of the situation in which we had left our old and faithful ally Portugal; and he showed that the indemnity mentioned in the treaty for the Prince of Orange was of such a nature that France might give it or withhold it, just as she pleased. He exposed the absurdity of placing Malta under the guarantee of powers who could never agree on any one point respecting the island, and of garrisoning it *pro tempore* with the least steady and least reliable troops in Europe. He called the pretended restoration of Malta to the Knights a still greater absurdity; for how could it be said that such an order was really in existence, when almost all the funds necessary for its support had been confiscated—confiscated in good part since the preliminaries of this treaty which was to restore them to their independent sovereign power? The expenses of the Order of Malta, principally in fortifications and garrisons, had been, on an average of the last ten years, about 130,000*l.* sterling per annum. The total revenue derivable from the island was only about 34,000*l.*, and of this not more than 8000*l.* came into the coffers of the Knights. Of those ample revenues which in former times had been enjoyed by the Order, the French had confiscated about 58,000*l.* per annum at the commencement of their revolution, when they suppressed the French *Langues*, and declared the whole Order to be a thing obsolete, useless, and detestable, like all other institutions that were built upon superstition and monachism. More recently Spain had been induced to confiscate 27,000*l.* per annum, and still more recently the estates and property of the Order had been seized and confiscated in Lombardy and in Piedmont, while it was evident that the rest of the Italian states, beggared by the war and by French exactions, were looking with an eager eye to such lands and houses as belonged to the Order, and were within their own territory and grasp. Though not nominally confiscated, the immense estates of the Knights in Sicily had not for two or three years rendered a single ducat to the Order; nor, in the present disorganized, degraded, broken, bankrupt, fugitive condition of that ancient body, was it very easy to discover where or to whom the money ought to be paid. In short, of all the former income of the Order there now remained a bare 20,000*l.* per annum—a sum evidently insufficient to keep up the extensive and magnificent fortifications, or prepare for the defence of the island. The Order of Malta was therefore extinct as a power, and must necessarily come under the influence and into the pay of the French, who had reduced it to this condition of helplessness and degradation. The Grand Master would be elected by their nomination, and the whole Order would be subordinate to the French. By the treaty we had given to France very important settlements in India, without stipulating, as we had done at the last peace, that they should not be fortified. It was true that we had obtained, through the overthrow of Tippoo, a great accession of territory in Mysore and on the Malabar coast, but our right of sovereignty in India was not recognised by the French in the treaty, and by ceding the Cape of Good Hope we gave them one of the keys to India. The Cape was every way an object of the first importance to our Indian empire: it afforded facilities for sending over troops, and as a station in the hands of our enemies it would always greatly annoy our Indian trade, and make it necessary for us to send strong convoys with our homeward and outward-bound fleets. Nothing but the plea of necessity could justify the sacrifices we had made; but ministers disclaimed this plea, talking highly of the spirit of the people, and representing the resources of the country as quite equal to a continuance of the contest. If the advantages of the peace were not greater than the disadvantages of war, the peace must be a bad one. And where

would be our advantages?—Not in commerce, for that would be diminished; not in economy, for we must keep up, for the mere sake of security, a large naval and military establishment. If any security had been obtained against the renewal of war, he would have rejoiced at it, for we must renew it at a great disadvantage. Lord Grenville concluded with proposing an address to the throne recommending every practicable economy, but such an economy as would still leave the country in a state of defence sufficient to repel any future danger; acknowledging that the national faith was pledged to the observance of the treaty, but pointing out the great danger this country was exposed to, in consequence of the sacrifices she had made, without any adequate compensation on the part of France; and finally, praying his Majesty to endeavour to arrange speedily, by amicable adjustment, those various points which were left unsettled by the definitive treaty of Amiens. His lordship was opposed not merely by the Foxite party, but also by the Pittites, and by several peers who had been but recently his colleagues in office, or his close personal friends and allies. Lord Pelham moved a counter-address approving of the treaty, and this was carried without a division, although the Duke of Richmond, Earl Camden, the Earl of Caernarvon, and one or two other peers expressed their entire or partial agreement in the view taken by Lord Grenville.*

After the division Lord Holland, the nephew and political pupil of Fox, moved "That the omission of various opportunities of negotiating a peace with advantage to this country, and more particularly the rejection of the overtures made by the chief consul in January, 1800, appears to this House to have led to a state of affairs which rendered peace so necessary to the preservation and safety of the empire as to justify the important and painful sacrifices which his Majesty has been advised to make for the attainment thereof." The Duke of Montrose urged in opposition to this motion, that the rejection of Bonaparte's overtures in January, 1800, should be judged by circumstances then existing, and not by subsequent events and circumstances. When the First Consul sent his letter to the King, it was to solicit the negotiation of a separate treaty with Great Britain, at the very time that he was soliciting our allies Austria and Russia to abandon us and make a separate treaty with the French republic: the whole design was obviously insidious. The question being then put, Lord Holland's motion was negatived, only Lords Grenville, Caernarvon, Spencer, Carlisle, the Duke of Richmond, and eleven other peers voting for it.

* The Duke of Richmond, however, pledged his good-will to the present Addington administration, and regretted that he could not on this occasion vote with them. Earl Camden said that, although he approved neither the preliminaries nor the definitive treaty, yet, as the country seemed to pant for peace, and as his Majesty was bound to fulfil his engagements, he should, though very unwillingly, vote against his noble friend (Grenville). The Earl of Caernarvon gave his vote to Grenville's motion, as the only possible corrective of the misconduct of those ministers who had pledged the country to a peace which provided neither for its honour nor for its safety.

In the House of Commons, on the same day, the 13th of May, the counterpart to Lord Grenville's motion was made by Windham, who, in

WINDHAM.

a speech of three hours, still more bitterly condemned the definitive treaty. The first point he dwelt upon was Malta. The pretended neutrality of that island would at any time allow the French and their allies to collect eighteen ships of the line in its ports, while we were restricted to six ships of the line. To talk of the Order and of the different Langues or nations composing it, was now idle; its power, its consideration, were gone for ever. The German Knights had already refused to serve in a body so changed and degraded; the Neapolitan soldiers could never be any security for the independence of the island; they would throw open the gates of La Valette and Vittoriosa to the first French force that appeared; the state of Malta was a virtual surrender, and our position in the Mediterranean would be made untenable, for, with the exception of Gibraltar, at the entrance of that sea, we should not have a single port or place of refuge for our ships. In dwelling upon the disadvantages and perils which must result from giving up the Cape of Good Hope, Windham insisted that our Indian empire was our sheet anchor, and that whatever was necessary to its preservation was of vital importance. In addition to the annoyances to be expected from the Cape, the enemy had acquired the means of annoying our possessions in the East by our restitution of Cochin, nominally to the Dutch. Lord Grenville had said that France, by being made mistress of Louisiana, became in reality mistress of Florida also, and that France would possess the key of Mexico, which she might enter whenever she chose. Windham dwelt at greater length on this new French empire on the American continent; and we now know, from a variety of sources which were not open to him and his contemporaries, that Windham took a very correct view of Bonaparte's vast schemes of colonial aggrandizement, and was

guilty of no exaggeration in his representation of the American projects of the First Consul. By the treaty, he said, France had attained her first great object—she had obtained the navigation of the great river the Amazon, the largest river on the globe, from the length of its course and its great and numerous tributaries; and the Portuguese settlements were left wholly exposed to this greedy and conquering power, which would soon, in fact, stretch forth her arms from Guiana over the whole of South America. And then in North America the cession of Louisiana would give the French the command of that other mighty river, the Mississippi, and of the Gulf of Mexico, which washes the southern shore of the country for about 400 miles. Rivers, said Windham, are the vital parts of countries; and, without hyperbole, we may be said to have given away a brace of continents. In aggravation of this thoughtless prodigality, ministers had abandoned the whole continent of Europe to France; they had let in a tide which would spread like a torrent in every direction, endangering our West Indian colonies, and threatening destruction to our empire in the East. It was obvious, he said, that France was aiming at a universal empire. He contended that this country was still capable of resisting this project, and that it had hitherto not put forth its strength, reposing supinely in a blind confidence that the torrent could not reach her shores. "At the commencement of the French Revolution, when other nations were melting away, it was pretended that we were inaccessible, and that the menstruum which dissolved the baser metals would pass innocuous over the pure gold of the British constitution. The year 1792 had demonstrated that this pure gold was as susceptible of the rage of Jacobinism as copper of the corrosion of aqua fortis. Still a strange indifference prevailed; snug was the word: we were for letting other nations shift as they could: the high spirit of our ancestors was extinct; their maxims were forgotten." He had been secretary-at-war, and he would enter on a retrospect of the manner in which the war had been conducted. He affirmed that, with the exception of the expedition to Toulon and the melancholy affair at Quiberon, little had been attempted upon what he conceived to be the peculiar and appropriate principle of the war. He was called to order by Pitt, who objected to some of his observations as improper in one who had formerly possessed his Majesty's confidence. Windham replied, that he was about to state that he considered the expedition to Quiberon as a measure of his own. Pitt still resisted the disclosure of any consultations or opinions which must have been expressed in official confidence. Windham, resuming, insisted that the country had never been properly made aware why it was at war:—it had been said by Mr. Pitt that we were at war because we could not be at peace; at sea because we could not be on shore; yet the question, why we were at war, perpetually recurred: people were not taught to see that we were at war because the French government was such as to preclude peace. The same error continued. No person who considered the original causes of the war could look without alarm at the terms of this peace: the country was not sufficiently impressed with the dangers of the peace, because it had never been sufficiently alive to the character of the war. There were men, there was a party, in England who had unceasingly condemned our entering into hostilities with the French. From its very commencement the war had been carried on with an incessant cry for peace; incessantly was the justice of our cause arraigned, and that of the enemy vindicated; our most splendid victories had been coldly received, our most brilliant successes had been depreciated. If the war was neither just nor necessary, every shilling spent on it was too much: if it was merely a war of experiment, it had cost us too many sacrifices; but, if it was a war for the very existence of the country, then our exertions had been too little for either our object or our means. He repeated emphatically, that it was apparent the strength of the country was unimpaired by the exertions it had made—that the country had not grown lean by them. Lord Folkstone, who seconded Windham's motion, said that the British flag was degraded and disgraced by this treaty, as far as any treaty could have that effect; that it was a treaty built on Jacobin principles and confirming Jacobin power; that we had abandoned Portugal to spoliation, and in our treatment of the Prince of Orange had added insult to injury; that he saw nothing left for old England but dishonour, degradation, and ruin. Lord Hawkesbury, secretary for foreign affairs (afterwards Earl of Liverpool), defended the treaty, not only as expedient, but as advantageous and honourable to the country; and concluded a very long speech by moving a counter-address similar to that which had been moved in the Upper House by Lord Pelham, the substance being to assure his Majesty that the House were fully sensible that he had wisely consulted the interests of his people in forming a definitive treaty; that they relied on his Majesty's known disposition to adhere with the most scrupulous fidelity to his engagements, but that they entertained a perfect confidence that he would be always prepared to defend, against every encroachment, the great sources of the wealth, commerce, and naval power of the empire; and that they were firmly persuaded his Majesty's faithful subjects would be always ready to support the honour of his crown, and the rights, laws, and liberties of their country, with the same spirit they had manifested during the war which was now happily brought to a conclusion. Pitt, who apparently continued to live in close friendship with Addington, his early friend and the son of his father's friend, hung back from the debate: except calling Windham to order, and holding some conversation with Grey and Sheridan merely on the propriety of adjourning, he did or said nothing. Dundas,

on the contrary, declared that he disapproved of a great deal of the treaty; that he had always considered the acquisition of the Cape of Good Hope of the utmost importance; that, in his judgment, the Cape and Ceylon formed the two great bulwarks of our Indian empire; and that he would have refused his assent to the relinquishment of either of those places if he had continued in administration. With regard to Malta too, he considered it, with its port, one of the finest in the world, an island of the greatest importance. It was not merely for commercial purposes that he should wish to see the British flag flying at Malta; he wished it to fly there in order to give assurance to all the surrounding nations of the protection of British arms in case they should be attacked. And, when to these considerations he added the earnest desire of the Maltese people to remain under the British government, he must confess that the surrender of the island gave him the deepest concern. Dundas, however, concluded with saying that he could by no means adopt Windham's address, which appeared to be pointed against the peace itself, and that he would vote for the amendment. At four o'clock in the morning, on the motion of General Gascoyne, the debate was adjourned.

On the 14th the House sat again till near four o'clock. Pitt was even more silent than on the preceding day, not, indeed, opening his lips during the whole discussion. Sheridan was "infinitely witty, having been drinking:"* he said it was natural for him to feel pleasure in voting in a majority, a pleasure to which he had long been a stranger; that the strangest of strange things was the present arrangement of parties all met to approve the peace; that he had expected to find as friends to peace only those who had constantly disapproved of the war, only the little constitutional circle who had for ten years been held up to public opprobrium, but whose predictions were fulfilled and whose fears had been realized. The discussion of this necessary though disgraceful treaty of peace furnished the best defence of the language and conduct of his friends during the whole course of the war. For his part he would support the peace because, he was convinced that the present ministers could obtain none better, their predecessors having left them to choose between an expensive, bloody, fruitless war, and a hollow, perilous peace. The best of his wit was let fly at Pitt's subordinates who remained in office when their chief resigned. Why had not the whole family moved together? Was there but one covered waggon to carry away friends and goods? There was a Greek fable of a man who sat so long on his seat (as long, perhaps, as the ex-minister had done on the treasury-bench), that he grew to it; and when Hercules pulled him off, the sitting part of the man was all left behind him! Of the ex-minister he said, none more admired his splendid talents than he did. If ever man was formed to give lustre to his country, he was that man. He had no low, little, mean, petty vices; he had too much good sense, taste, and talent to set his mind upon ribands, stars, and titles; he was not of a nature to be the tool or creature of any court (Pitt acknowledged these compliments by bowing repeatedly): but great as were his talents, he had misapplied them in the politics of the country; he had augmented our national debt, and diminished our population; he had done more to abridge our privileges, to strengthen the crown at the expense of the constitution, than any minister he could mention. In conclusion Sheridan moved an address which was the counter-part of that which Lord Holland had moved in the Upper House. Fox took no part either in this or in the preceding debate, but Grey, Whitbread, and others of his party gave an unqualified support to the treaty, coupled with a disapprobation of the whole war as unjust in its origin, disgraceful in its conduct, and calamitous in its termination. Upon a division Windham's proposed address was rejected by 276 against 20. Sheridan's amendment was negatived without a division, and Lord Hawkesbury's address was then put and carried. The long discussions had not tended to reconcile the country to the treaty, or to encourage the hope that the peace would be durable. It was, however, deemed both just and expedient to give the government of Bonaparte a trial; and with this conviction many members of both Houses had voted in favour of the treaty, and had deprecated all severe strictures on the character and intentions of the First Consul. But this system was only partially followed by the public press; in some of the newspapers, and in many pamphlets, criticisms and censures continued to appear very distasteful and irritating to Bonaparte, who was in the habit of having all these things regularly translated, and read to him in private.

The remaining business of the session need not detain us long. As early as the 10th of February there was a new election of a speaker, Sir John Mitford having accepted the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The choice fell upon the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, then chief secretary for Ireland. On the 17th of February Mr. Addington moved the appointment of a select committee to examine into the civil list, which had again fallen into arrears, and concerning which a message from his majesty had been presented to the House two days before. Mr. Manners Sutton, solicitor-general to the Prince of Wales, immediately rose, and called the attention of the House to that old vexed question—the arrears said to be due to his royal highness, which the king had received and appropriated during his minority, and which the honourable member maintained to be the undoubted and inalienable right of the prince. Mr. Manners Sutton said that he had been ordered by his royal highness to apply to the House; that it was pretty generally known that the duchy of

* Wilberforce, Diary.

Cornwall belonged to the crown only till the birth of the Prince of Wales, and that it was then separated from it and instantly vested in the heir apparent; that the infant prince was on his birth Duke of Cornwall, and entitled to the revenues of the duchy; that these revenues were generally allowed to accumulate during his minority, and afforded a fund from which his establishment might be formed upon his coming of age. But in the present instance these revenues had not been secured for the benefit of the prince, but had been applied by the king to the uses of the civil list, for which, had it not been for this appropriation, other resources must have been found by parliament. Some might imagine that this was a question between his majesty and the Prince of Wales; but on the contrary it was a question between the Prince of Wales and the people:—his royal highness's claim was upon the parliament and the public, and it was a claim of right, for the public had benefited by the revenues to which he was entitled. He quoted high legal authority, and particularly named Mr. Mansfield, late chief justice of the Common Pleas, who had declared himself to be most positively convinced that the revenues of the duchy were, from the day of his birth, the property of the Prince of Wales, and who had earnestly advised his royal highness to pursue the means of recovering them which the law put into his hands. [The prince, in fact, had made this attempt: a petition of right in his behalf had now been lying six years in the Court of Chancery without a hearing; and Lord Loughborough, the present chancellor, had repeatedly refused to allow the ordinary proceedings.] Mr. Manners Sutton declared, that, knowing, as he did, the genuine and unaffected sentiments of the prince, he could take upon him to say that, were the case otherwise, he would undergo any inconvenience and suffer any affliction rather than set up a claim against his royal father. The public had derived the benefit of the revenues during the minority of the prince; and therefore the account at present stood between the prince and the public, the former being, to a considerable amount, the creditor of the latter. He stated, that from 1762, the year of the prince's birth, to 1783, when he attained his majority, the arrears with interest amounted to 900,000*l.*, and that, 221,000*l.* having been voted by parliament at different times for the use of his royal highness, there remained due to him a clear balance of 679,000*l.* No attempt was made to conceal the fact, otherwise notorious, that the prince was again deeply in debt, and beset by impatient creditors, and that this embarrassment rendered him eager to make the public a debtor to this large amount. His friends in the House seem to have thought that this was a very eligible mode of relieving him; and Fox, though his influence with the prince was less than it had been, rose as soon as Mr. Manners Sutton had finished, and, agreeing with his learned friend in almost every word which had fallen from him, said he sincerely hoped that the House would immediately take up the business. It was readily agreed that a committee should be appointed to take the prince's claims into consideration. On the 29th of March, the subject of the debt on the civil list was brought before both Houses. Strong objections were taken to several items, and particularly to what were termed "occasional payments," and "secret-service money;" but, in the end an address was carried in each House, expressing to his Majesty their readiness to grant the desired relief for clearing off the debts on the civil list. On the following day the Commons voted for this object 990,052*l.* On the 31st, Mr. Manners Sutton moved for a select committee to inquire into the application of the revenues of Cornwall during the minority of the prince; as also respecting the several sums which had been voted by parliament for the discharge of his debts. Sir Ralph Milbank seconded the motion, and expressed the firmest conviction of the justice of the prince's claims. The chancellor of the exchequer argued that, even were the prince's right admitted in its fullest extent, it by no means followed that the expenses of his maintenance and education should not be defrayed out of that fund, instead of being thrown upon the civil list. He could by no means believe that it was the intention of Edward III., who first made this grant to his young son, the Black Prince, that the whole revenue of the duchy was to be left to accumulate for the prince, and yet that all the expense of his maintenance was to be defrayed by himself. He knew that some of the highest legal authorities had held opinions adverse to the claims of the prince. For himself, he did not mean to give any decided opinion upon the question. He thought it would be sufficient to state that it was a doubtful question of law, for that this would convince the House it was not their province to determine it. His great objection to the present motion was, that its object was, first to decide the legal right, which he thought the House could not do, and afterwards to order and examine an account and balance. As he could not approve of the motion, and yet did not wish absolutely to oppose it, he concluded by moving the order of the day. Fox again stood forward to support the prince's claim, and to insist that he had a right to be maintained and educated by his father out of the civil list, and that the same full account ought to be given of the revenues of Cornwall as had been given to the Duke of York, on his coming of age, of the revenues of the bishopric of Osnaburg, in his majesty's continental dominions. Erskine, speaking as a lawyer, said that there was no legal doubt in the matter; that it would be a very ungracious thing to have a litigation in chancery between the king and the prince; that he could not conceive that a committee of the House, with the proper documents laid before them, could possibly entertain a doubt upon the subject; that, however small the balance might turn out to be in favour of his royal highness, it would still afford him the pleasure of showing the

public that he had not been a burthen to the country. Tierney, after re-affirming that the question was between the prince and the public, that the king had nothing at all to do with it, and that his name ought not to have been mentioned in it, said that it would be a most ungracious thing for the public, by their representatives, to tell the prince—"We will not examine whether we owe you money or not; you may try it at law, and then see whether you can find any redress." Sheridan was equally warm. He said that, if his royal highness should even succeed at law and obtain a verdict against his majesty, it was to parliament he must afterwards come for the payment of the money; that the prince, conceiving himself in honour bound to satisfy his creditors in full, and also conceiving his claim upon the public to be a just one, eagerly wished to be enabled to discharge his debts completely. Other members of the same party supported the claim of right, which was further opposed by Lord Hawkesbury and the law officers of the crown. Upon a division Addington's motion for the order of the day was carried, but by an unusually small majority, the numbers being only 160 against 103. In the course of the debate the attorney-general, Spencer Perceval, said that, if the Prince of Wales was placed in circumstances in which he could not maintain the dignity of his rank, the House, no doubt, would willingly listen to an application for relief.

A few weeks after these debates and the granting of the 990,052*l.* the House was informed by a royal message that his majesty was anxious to make a provision for their royal highnesses the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge; and the House voted 12,000*l.* per annum for each of those princes. In order that we may not have to return to a not very palatable subject at a moment when other matters become both complicated and interesting, we may mention here that the Prince of Wales's embarrassments were taken into consideration by a new parliament soon after the Christmas recess of 1802. The subject being recommended to the attention of the Commons by a message from the king, Addington moved a proposition for granting to his royal highness, towards providing for his better support and dignity, the annual sum, out of the consolidated fund, of 60,000*l.*, for three years and a half, commencing from the 5th of January, 1803, and ending the 5th of July, 1806. Mr. Manners Sutton now stated that, "in order to preserve the harmony which should always subsist between him and his royal father," the Prince of Wales had abandoned his claim of right on the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. Colonel Stanley asked whether the king's message and the prince's abandonment of his claim were not the result of a compromise. Both the minister and the prince's solicitor denied that this was the case; but Sheridan broadly contradicted them, and little doubt was entertained of there having been a compromise, either tacit or express. The House unanimously voted the money which Addington asked for.* Those who conceived that this grant would make an end of the matter were soon awakened from their delusion. On the 28th of February, 1803, only a week before the king acquainted parliament that a renewal of war was inevitable, a message was delivered to the House by Mr. Tyrwhitt, his royal highness's keeper of the privy seal and private secretary, stating that the prince had felt the liveliest sense of affection and gratitude at the kind solicitude expressed by his majesty for the situation of his affairs, and at his majesty's liberal recommendation thereof to the consideration of parliament; that he felt it incumbent to express also the deep sense of gratitude which he entertained of the liberal and generous conduct of the House of Commons towards him, &c.; but that, notwithstanding this generosity, he felt himself bound to declare that he was still exposed to debts for which no provision had been made, but which he felt himself bound in honour to discharge; and that therefore, notwithstanding the recent grant and the kind solicitude expressed by the House for the speedy resumption of his state and dignity, yet he knew but too well from dear-bought experience that it would be impracticable to make such resumption without the risk of being involved in fresh embarrassments. The simple facts were that, though many of the old debts had been paid off, many new debts had been contracted, and that the 60,000*l.* per annum for three years would not free him from these new debts. Mr. Calcraft, who afterwards obtained very profitable places under government, immediately rose to give notice of his intention to bring forward at an early day a motion on the subject of the Prince of Wales's affairs; and on the 4th of March, prefacing his motion with the declaration that he had never had any communication on the subject with the illustrious personage, or with any other person, *save one*, and that he was acting without concert or authority and merely as an individual member of the House, Calcraft moved that a select committee should be appointed "to inquire into the embarrassments of the Prince of Wales, and into the most effectual means of relieving them as soon as possible, in order to enable his royal highness to resume the splendour and dignity attached to his exalted station." Fox, Sheridan, Tierney, and the rest of that party, supported the motion with much earnestness. Erskine said he was desirous of removing all idea that the prince himself had any concern or interest in the present motion; and he assured the House that he had no other anxiety on his own mind than an anxious desire that the public should not suppose

* Fox spoke with much warmth in favour of the grant. He said the wisdom and liberality of parliament ought to relieve the prince from his difficulties and prevent their recurrence. From what they had lately witnessed they should be induced to forget the past. It was evident that his royal highness had of late redeemed his character by the most prudential regard to pecuniary affairs, and by a system of economy which it was scarcely natural to expect in such a situation. The House should no longer hesitate in hastening the moment when his royal highness might be restored to a state of splendour and magnificence, &c.

that the prince had received the bounty of the House and not acted according to its intentions in granting it, by immediately resuming the dignity and splendour the restoration of which was the immediate intention of the grant. Ministers, with equal energy, opposed the motion, which was negatived on a division, but only by 184 against 139. After this the friends of the Prince of Wales let it be understood that, as the country was likely to be again involved in an expensive war, his royal highness would not seek to add to the public burthens by demanding more money to pay his debts.

The income-tax, which had not been borne without considerable murmuring, had all along been considered as a war-tax that was to cease on the return of peace. On the 18th of March there was a great meeting of the Livery of London to take into consideration the propriety of petitioning for the repeal of the tax. The proposition was carried unanimously and a series of resolutions was passed enumerating the serious evils attending the tax, its mischievous operation upon the trading part of the community, and its palpable injustice in making no distinction between fluctuating and uncertain incomes derivable from trade, professions, &c., and fixed and certain incomes derivable from estates and from funded property. The resolutions affirmed that the mode of collecting and returning the tax was hostile to the liberties and to the morals of the people—to their liberties because it established an inquisition into their private affairs, and to their morals because it tempted them to make false returns,—and that no modification could render it equitable, just, or efficient. A petition was drawn up and presented to parliament by one of the representatives for the city, who supported the prayer to get rid at once of a tax so oppressive and inquisitorial. On the 5th of April, when Addington brought forward his budget for the year, he announced the intention of government to abolish the income-tax and fund the 56,000,000*l.* with the payment of which it was charged. The principle seemed to be admitted that it was strictly a war-tax; and the reader will recollect that it was only on the 29th of March, or a week before this announcement of repeal by the chancellor of the exchequer, that news was received in London of the definitive treaty of peace having been signed. The resolutions upon the budget were agreed to without a division, and with many compliments and felicitations on the repeal of the income-tax. The total sum to be funded (including a new loan of 25,000,000*l.*) amounted nearly to 98,000,000*l.*, the interest upon which was to be provided for by new taxes of a less objectionable nature and by some increase in certain existing taxes.

A new militia-act, having for its object the consolidation of the various militia-laws already existing, and an augmentation of the force to be kept up during the peace, was introduced by ministers. They assured parliament that they sincerely hoped that the same spirit of conciliation which had induced France to conclude the peace would also incline her to preserve it; but that it was notorious, from the changes which the late war had made in the relative situation of the powers of the Continent, that more than our ancient peace establishment was now requisite. The immense increase of the power of France, and the extent of her present sea-coasts, including Belgium and virtually including Holland also, required much more extensive preparation for defence on our side than was formerly necessary. The constitution of this country did not warrant a large military force in time of peace: the people naturally looked to a great standing army with jealousy; and the militia had always been considered the most constitutional defence of the country. Therefore government proposed that the militia should permanently remain 60,000 strong. But of this number only 40,000 would be called out in the first instance, the king having the power of calling out the other 20,000 as he should judge necessary. No attempt was made to prove that our security did not demand a numerous force to be kept constantly on foot; but several objections were taken to the inequality of the burthen, which fell principally on the poor, many of the rich being entirely exempt from it, and all of them being able to exempt themselves at the expense of paying for a substitute. To the rich this expense was a mere trifle; but the poor man was obliged to serve, and was thus, but too often, under the necessity of leaving his family to be supported out of the poor-rates. The richest peer paid no more to raise the militia than the poorest farmer on his estate, the most wealthy merchant no more than the porter who carried out parcels from his door. The militia system acted as the heaviest annual tax on the poorer classes, who were obliged to forsake their callings and their families. These arguments were urged by Lords Fitzwilliam, Caernarvon, Romney, and others; but the bill was carried through both Houses with little difficulty and without any amendment.

On the 28th of June parliament was prorogued by the king in person, who congratulated the country on the peace and prosperity it was enjoying. On the next day the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for a new one.

English travellers, who had been so long excluded from the Continent, were now rushing in shoals to France and Italy. At the beginning of June there were said to be 6000 British subjects in Paris alone, and the number increased rapidly in the course of the summer and autumn. Among those who hastened to the French capital and to attend the levees of the First Consul after the rising of parliament, were Mr. Fox and his nephew Lord Holland, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, Lord St. John, General Fitzpatrick, and other members of both Houses, mostly of the opposition party. Apparently with but few exceptions these individuals, though they could not venture as English-

men openly to approve of the incarnate despotism which Bonaparte had established, complacently resigned themselves to wonder and admiration at all that the great man had done and was doing, and to a most delusive hope not merely of the durability of the peace, but of the possibility of a close union and alliance between Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now taking his place among the hereditary sovereigns of Europe, and George III. Fox, who had begun that historical work which he did not live to finish, and who wished to make researches in the archives of the office of foreign affairs and in other French repositories of state papers for the correspondence and intrigues of Louis XIV. and his ministers with our unhappy James II., was received by Bonaparte as a friend, was applauded for the efforts he had made to put an end to the war, and was promptly gratified in his wishes.* The First Consul had the indelicacy to converse with Fox about his great political rival, and to accuse Pitt of having originated or encouraged the plot of the infernal machine and other plans to assassinate him in Paris. He said, or the companions of his exile at St. Helena said for him, many years after this visit, that Fox warmly and generously combated this proposition, always finishing by saying, "First Consul, get that notion out of your head;" but that Fox was certainly not convinced of the goodness of his cause, leaving it to be believed that he fought rather to defend the honour of his country than to defend the honour of his country's ministers. The character of Fox would be everlastingly blighted if by his tone or manner he really left any such impression, or failed to treat the feigned suspicion of Bonaparte (for it never was a real suspicion) as a monstrous absurdity, or as the grossest injustice to the character and morality of his illustrious opponent, Pitt. But Bonaparte was distinguished by everything rather than by an adherence to truth; the reporters of his conversations and opinions not merely accepted his facts without examination, but over-coloured them and invented facts of their own; nor is there a single page in any of the 'St. Helena Memoirs' that is entitled to implicit credit. We believe that Fox was indignant at the imputation of the ministers of his country (if not his king) being murderers and assassins, or men capable of hiring assassins; yet this indignation did not, apparently, interfere either with his somewhat boyish admiration of the First Consul or with his friendly intercourse with those Frenchmen who publicly held, or pretended to hold, the damning lie as an indisputable truth.* During his stay at Paris he and his friends accepted an invitation to dinner from the Cabarus, or Madame Fontenay, or Madame Tallien, who had separated herself from the last of her two living husbands and was leading the life of a Thais or an Aspasia—so free a life that she was rather in disgrace at the consul's court, where morality, or at least decorum, was beginning to be attended to. The dinner was elegant and sumptuous, the company numerous: it was in fact a sort of public dinner. Perhaps it was not very decorous in a statesman who had numbered fifty-three years, who aspired to be, and who soon was, prime minister of England, to go to such an entertainment in such a house; but there were other circumstances which made the dinner noticeable: Fox and his friends sat down to that table of the Cabarus with Mr. Arthur O'Connor, a proved traitor to his king, who was now looking for honour or promotion in the French army, and, together with a swarm of other Irish exiles or fugitives, was encouraging the First Consul to try his fortune in Ireland as soon as he should find it convenient to burst this bubble of a peace. Erskine, it is said, was extremely uneasy "lest evil report should misrepresent this matter in England; but Mr. Fox, *ever magnanimous*, treated it as an unavoidable though unlucky circumstance," speaking to Mr. O'Connor "as usual," and losing "none of the enjoyment of the evening from an event which, being *trivial, must be forgotten when malignity was fatigued with recounting it.*"† But the event did not seem so trivial to less partial observers, and even without malignity there were many in

* According to one who accompanied the eloquent leader of opposition, Bonaparte was a good deal flurried when the English ambassador presented Fox to him at a levee in the Tuileries, and, after betraying considerable emotion, said, very rapidly, "Ah! Mr. Fox! —I have heard with pleasure of your arrival—I have desired much to see you—I have long admired in you the orator and friend of his country, who, in constantly raising his voice for peace, consulted that country's best interest—those of Europe—and of the human race. The two great nations of Europe require peace! They have nothing to fear:—they ought to understand and value one another. In you, Mr. Fox, *I see with much satisfaction that great statesman who recommended peace, because there was no just object of war; who saw Europe desolated to no purpose, and who struggled for its relief!*"—*Memoirs of the latter years of the Rt. Hon. Charles James Fox, by John Bernard Trotter, Esq., late private secretary to Mr. Fox.*

Judging from his book, this private secretary was a very vapouring silly person, altogether inadequate to the task he undertook, of describing one who, with every deduction, must be admitted to have been a great and highly accomplished man. Bonaparte himself afterwards left upon record the most favourable opinions of Fox. "Fox," he said, "was a model for statesmen, and his school, sooner or later, must govern the world. His death was one of the fatalities of my career. If he had continued to live, affairs would have taken quite a different turn; *the cause of the people would have carried the day, and we would have fixed a new order of things in Europe.* ..... Fox came into France immediately after the treaty of Amiens. He was writing a history of the Stuarts, and asked my permission to examine our diplomatic archives. I ordered everything to be laid open to him. I received his visits *frequently:* the fame of his talents had preceded him; and I soon recognised in him a noble soul, a good heart, views extensive, generous, liberal, an ornament to human nature: I loved him. We often gossipped together, without any prejudices, upon a multitude of subjects. ..... Fox was sincere, upright, and clear sighted. ..... He was received in triumph in all the towns in France through which he passed. Fêtes were spontaneously offered to him, and the greatest honours were rendered to him in every place where his person was recognised. He must have been truly flattered by such a reception, which was so much the more honourable to him as it took place in a country which had long been the enemy of his own, and as he owed it only to the high esteem which the French people entertained for his noble character. *It is probable that if Pitt had come into France, instead of Fox, he would have been assassinated.* I loved Fox, and liked much to converse with him."—*St. Helena Memoirs, by Las Cases.*

* According to his private secretary and travelling companion, the First Consul manifested to Fox his irritation "against a part of Mr. Pitt's ministry, as having instigated and been privy to plots against his life, particularly that of the infernal Machine, and actually named one individual whom he reproached with having aided it—Mr. WINDHAM!" This differs from the French memoir-writers, to whom Pitt was ever the *bête noire*. But if the high-minded, chivalrous Windham was really the party principally calumniated (which we doubt), it doubly behoved Fox, who had been for many years the associate and friend of Windham, to resent the foul accusation. His secretary says, "Mr. Fox did everything to discharge the mind of the First Consul from such an idea, as far as his own positive contradiction, and as his belief strongly expressed, could go."

† John Bernard Trotter, Memoirs of Fox.

England besides the king who could not restrain their indignation at it. Nor was this the only time that Fox met and conversed with Arthur O'Connor. His private secretary says, rather shufflingly, "I do not recollect, upon the whole, that Mr. Fox saw this gentleman more than twice during his stay in Paris." Other reports, however, stated that his interviews with O'Connor and other Irish exiles were far more frequent. The private secretary—himself an Irishman and of ultra-liberal politics—also says: "It was indeed understood that the French government did not look with a favourable eye upon the Irish exiles, who certainly received no public countenance whatever." At such a moment, while Bonaparte was anxious to persuade England that he wished the peace to be durable, "public countenance" was out of the question: the countenance was all private; and a very few months showed with what a favourable eye the First Consul looked and had been looking upon the Irish exiles. But, at the very moment when the friend and companion of Fox pretends to have made this discovery, these Irish exiles were carrying on an active correspondence with their disaffected countrymen at home, in the view of provoking another insurrection and civil war. Fox might not know this fact, but he could not be ignorant of the animus of Arthur O'Connor, and therefore he ought not to have sat down to dinner with him either at Madame Tallien's or at any other and more respectable table.* He must have known also at this time that a renewal of the war with France was next to inevitable. Another imprudence (to use no harsher word) which Fox committed during his sojourn in Paris was, to accept an invitation from the notorious Miss Helen Maria Williams, a rabid republicaness, a vain, conceited, heartless woman, who had fixed her abode in France as in a new and enlarged Goshen, and who had scribbled and printed a stupendous quantity of nonsense in praise of the whole revolution, and in dispraise of all kingly government and of all kings, whether constitutional or despotic. Some of his friends wished him to decline this invitation altogether, "from apprehension of giving a handle to ill-nature and calumny." "But," adds his companion, "he, always the same, disdaining the *fear of suspicion*, and unwilling ungraciously to refuse an invitation earnestly pressed, did not agree with them, and went for a short time."†

These and various other incidents, some of which were exaggerated in the English newspapers, produced at home an impression very unfavourable to the eloquent rival of Pitt; and this impression was the deeper as before he and his friends quitted Paris all the world was convinced that a new rupture with France was inevitable, and that Bonaparte was destined to be the most persevering and most dangerous enemy that England had ever yet had to contend with. The patriot must ever be suspected whose praises are so loudly sung in the country of the enemy. It was believed by Englishmen, as it was afterwards said by Frenchmen, that Pitt would have been torn to pieces if he had shown himself in France: in the circumstances of the case, and according to the national and natural impulse, the hatred of the French could but increase the love of the English for the resolute, unbending statesman. The impression could not be speedily effaced: Fox felt its evil consequences when, on the death of Pitt, he was called to the helm, only to find himself obliged to pursue the same course which his rival had steered, and to continue a war with the power and the men who had bestowed on him such flattering unction.

Since the revolution of the 19th Brumaire, or the 10th of November, 1799, immense changes had taken place in the government and internal state of France. The Directory had left the finances in a wretched condition: forced loans, arbitrarily assessed, had been the chief resource of that rapacious and most corrupt government: these loans had destroyed all credit, and, the money having been spent or appropriated as it was raised, the treasury was left empty when Bonaparte became First Consul. He repealed the odious system, and substituted 25 per cent. additional upon all taxes. Other irregular exactions were put an end to, order was introduced, and confidence gradually restored: the merchants and bankers of Paris supplied a loan of 12,000,000 of francs, the increased taxes were paid with a regularity which had not been before known, the sales of national and confiscated domains were resumed, the exchequer soon began to fill, and money was no longer wanting for any of the necessary expenses of the state. The armies serving abroad continued to be mainly supported at the expense of the countries they occupied or invaded; but this business was reduced to some order, and the pay of the men and officers, which had always been left in arrear, was now regularly provided for by the minister of war.* This important post was given by Bonaparte to General Berthier, an excellent man of business. Gaudin, who had been employed in the royal treasury before the revolution, and who had refused to

* John Bernard Trotter, Esq., late private secretary, &c., dwells with ecstasy on the entertainment and on the personal charms of the hostess, although he admits that her character was rather the worse for wear. He says that everything which taste, genius, or art could contrive conspired to make this the most perfect sort of entertainment he had ever witnessed. Yet, from some particulars he gives, we should be disposed to question, at least, the taste.

He says: "A ventriloquist of extraordinary powers entertained us extremely. His imitation of a *Revolutionary Committee*, in a corner of the room, was admirable, as well as several other proofs he gave of this astonishing talent."

† The private secretary further says: "I mention this circumstance because it proves how unwilling he was to give offence or pain [*yet surely Mr. Fox ought to have reflected on the pain and offence he was likely to give to the majority of his countrymen, and even to many of his own friends and party, by accepting this invitation*], as also how much he soared above common party views. He was aware that he might be misrepresented and blackened for going to Miss Williams's conversazione as much as he had been for admitting Mr. A. O'Connor to his presence; but he despised slander, was not anxious for place [qy.], and was too benignant to slight with contempt and scorn the request of an *accomplished female*, whose vanity as well as her natural admiration of so great a man were deeply concerned that he should grant it."

* Dubois-Crancé, who had been war-minister under the Directory, had never been able to give any returns of the different corps, and had been accustomed to answer all questions by saying, "We neither pay, nor victual, nor clothe the army: it subsists and clothes itself by requisitions on the inhabitants."

take office under the plundering Directors, was now selected, as a man of ability and probity, to succeed Faypoult, who had proved himself a finance minister well worthy of such masters. Cambacérès, who appears to have been a strange mixture of virtues and vices, but always to have been by nature averse to deeds of violence, cruelty, or disorder, was continued as minister of justice. But at the same time the First Consul retained the cunning, atrocious jacobin, Fouché—atrocious by deeds as well as by words and principles—as minister of police, a functionary who rapidly became more powerful and important than all others in the interior of France, and more particularly in Paris. By the first consul's own confession, he was afraid of the ferocious Jacobins, and conceived that no man was so proper to keep them in check, to penetrate into their mysteries, to foil their plots, to win them over, or lead them artfully to their destruction, as one who had been a chief and leader of the party. Though such an assumption was scarcely provided for in the last thing called a constitution, the First Consul took to himself and freely exercised the royal prerogative of mercy. He was first formally invested with this right by the decree of the 16th Thermidor, AN X. (4th August, 1802). With the reservation of certain principles which were in the highest degree favourable to his own advancement, or which were too deeply rooted in the hearts of the present generation of Frenchmen to be touched without danger of another universal commotion, Bonaparte started with a fixed determination to undo nearly all that had been done by the revolutionists, whether Girondists or Jacobins. For the first of these parties he entertained a sovereign contempt, and against the second he felt a mortal antipathy and hatred—a hatred the more bitter on account of his previous forced homage to the party, from the degrading recollection of the subjection in which he had been held by Jacobin chiefs and Jacobin commissioners, and the incense he had been obliged to offer to them at the beginning of his career.

Early in the consulate it was understood that, whatever might be the scepticism or infidelity of Bonaparte, he was determined to give no encouragement to Atheism, Deism, Theophilanthropism, or to any of those creeds or systems which had sprung up with such wondrous rapidity during the revolution. No conviction, no zeal for Christianity, was or could be pretended by the First Consul, or by the Theists or Materialists who surrounded him and made up his government; but the dogmas of Anacharsis Clootz, Hebert, and the rest who had set up the worship of the Goddess of Reason, and the crudities of Robespierre, and his festival to the Etre Suprême, were reprobated as offensive to decency and good taste; and it was assumed that, as a portion, more or less great, of the French people were still Roman Catholic Christians in their heart, indulgence and respect were due to their faith. About 20,000 priests who had been banished or imprisoned were allowed to return, or were set at liberty on taking the oath of fidelity to the consular government as at present established. The churches were re-opened, and, though in most of the great towns many of them were but thinly attended, Christian worship was performed all over France. The fanatics of irreligion were made to understand and to feel that the Catholics had at least as good a right to their belief as they themselves had to their unbelief: they were free to stay away from the churches, but not to insult and interrupt the believers who chose to attend them; and on several occasions severe punishment was awarded to ribald crews, who, forgetting that the times were changed, renewed some of the mad freaks and obscenities in places of worship which they had played off under Chaumette and Hebert. The Sabbath was again recognised as a day of rest, the Decades gave way to the old calculation by weeks, and, by degrees, the whole of Romme's revolutionary calendar fell into disuse. The festival of the 21st of January, in commemoration of the atrocious execution of Louis XVI., was discontinued.* About this time Bonaparte said to his private secretary, "Bourrienne, I cannot yet venture to do anything against the regicides, but I will let them see what I think of them. The Court of Cassation must be re-organised. Target, who is now president of that court, would not defend Louis XVI. Well, whom do you think I mean to appoint in his place? ..... Why, Tronchet, who did defend the king. They may say what they please; I care not." And Tronchet was appointed accordingly.† The first consul visited the prisons of Paris, which were all in a frightful state; and, while in the Temple, he "could not help thinking of the unfortunate Louis XVI." "He was an excellent man," said he to his confidential secretary; "but too amiable, too gentle. He knew not how to deal with mankind!"‡ To Sieyes, who spoke of Louis as "the tyrant," he said—"Nay, nay! Louis was no tyrant! Had he been a tyrant, I should this day have been a captain of artillery—and you, saying mass." The oath of eternal hatred to kings was suppressed, because, as the first consul publicly alleged, it was a useless ceremony now that the republic was firmly established; and tended, moreover, to incense nations who still retained royalty, preventing an amicable un-

* The Directory, more base and not less perverse than the Convention, had retained the horrible 21st of January among the festivals of the republic. One of Bonaparte's first ideas on attaining the possession of power was to abolish this commemoration; but such was the ascendancy of the abettors of the fearful event, that he could not then venture on a straightforward course. He and his first two colleagues in the consulate, Sieyes and Roger-Ducos, signed, on the 5th Nivose, a decree, setting forth that in future the only festivals to be celebrated by the republic were the 1st Vendemiaire and the 14th of July. *Bourrienne.* † Id.

‡ Sir Sidney Smith, who had been taken prisoner on the French coast in 1796, had been barbarously shut up in the Temple, from which he escaped in 1798, in good time to be in the Mediterranean and on the coast of Syria. "And Sir Sidney Smith," said Bonaparte, in relating his visit to the Temple to his private secretary: "I made them show me his apartment. If the fools had not let him escape, I should have taken Acre! There are too many painful recollections connected with that prison. I will certainly have it pulled down some day." The Temple was pulled down soon after, and the ground on which it stood, with its extensive gardens and court-yards, became the property of Brewer Santerre, the ex-commandant-general of the national guards, who kept his head on his shoulders, and died quietly in his bed in 1809 or 1810.

derstanding between them and France. Privately, with the very few persons he admitted into a large share of his confidence (his full confidence he never gave to living being), he did not pretend to conceal that he was himself aspiring at the name of royalty, having already more than the substance of it; but he quieted their or his own impatience by declaring that "the pear was not yet ripe,"—that, powerful as he was, it was necessary to proceed with caution, and to make sure of one position before he advanced to another. He, however, as early as the 19th of February, 1800, took possession of the royal palace of the Tuileries, telling his colleagues that it was "a good military position," and a more convenient place for the seat of government than the Luxembourg, which had been defiled and disgraced by the residence of the Directors. He started from the Luxembourg in a state coach, drawn by six white horses, which had been presented to him by the Emperor of Germany after the treaty of Campo Formio. His two satellites or under consuls went with him, Cambacérès sitting at his left hand, and Lebrun on the back seat. He was followed by his ministers, senators, &c. in hackney-coaches, and he was escorted by 3000 troops, all picked corps, and each with its band playing at its head. His own staff, and his favourite generals, caracoled round his coach. The people of Paris who had so long strained their throats for "Liberty and Equality," greeted him with the loudest acclamations, shouting, as once for their kings,—Long live the First Consul! As he reached the centre gate of the Tuileries he had to pass a guard-house, which bore the inscription—"The Tenth of August, 1792—Royalty in France is abolished, and shall never again be established!" It was already re-established in the person of the 'heureux soldat.'* "I saw," said Madame de Staël, "the First Consul make his entrance into the palace built by kings; and, though Bonaparte was then very far from the magnificence he afterwards displayed, one saw an eagerness in all who surrounded him to make themselves his courtiers, which must have convinced him that it would be a very easy thing to govern the world. When his carriage reached the palace, his footmen opened the door and threw down the steps with a violence which seemed to say that even those inanimate things were insolent, if they retarded for one instant the movement of their master. As for him, he neither gave a look nor a word of thanks to anybody; it seemed as if he feared to appear sensible even of the homage which he exacted. While ascending the great staircase of the palace, surrounded and followed by crowds of eager spectators, his eyes rested neither on any particular object, nor upon any particular person; there was something vague and careless in the expression of his countenance, and his looks only expressed what it always suited him to show—an indifference to fortune, and a contempt for men." †

* Bourrienne.
† Considérations.

Even before quitting the Luxembourg, where the wife of the First Consul had held a sort of court, the word *Madame* had begun to be used; but now *Monsieur* was revived as well as *Madame*, and a number of terms proscribed by the revolutionists became once more familiar words. This first return towards the old French politeness was startling to some susceptible republicans; but things were soon carried further at the Tuileries by the introduction of such terms as Your Highness (*Votre Altesse*) and My Lord (*Monseigneur*). At the same time, however, feeling it important to do away with the idea that the cherished doctrine of equality was in danger, and that none but a king could occupy the palace of the ancient kings of France, the First Consul wrote letters to corporals and sergeants, calling them his "brave comrades," and commissioned that once ultra-republican painter David, who was still supposed to have an odour of liberty and equality about him, to place in a conspicuous place in the Tuileries a fine antique bust of Brutus, a fragment of the plunder of Italy, about which a great deal of republican noise, enthusiasm, and nonsense had been made in Paris. The energetic proclamations to the armies, and other exciting papers, which were written or dictated by the First Consul, continued for some short time longer to end with the magical words *Vive la République*. While splendid reviews took place outside the palace, in the Place du Carrousel, levees, circles, drawing-rooms, and balls were held in rapid rotation in the interior. Masked balls at the opera began to be resumed; and, aided by his wife, who loved gaiety and dress as she loved light and life, the First Consul (himself indifferent to such matters, but well aware of their importance to the generality of mankind, and most of all mankind to the French) revived a taste for dress, and for all the old amusements which had flourished under the monarchy. He favoured all these things, first, because they were old, and associated with the ideas of courts and royalty; and next, because they were the means of diverting the attention of that volatile people. "While they are chatting about all this," said he, "they do not babble about politics, and that is what I want. Let them dance and amuse themselves, so long as they do not thrust their noses into the councils of my government! Besides, I have other reasons for encouraging all this—I see other advantages in it. The trade of Paris is languishing. Fouché tells me there are great complaints.* This will put a little

* At this period the First Consul was much in the habit of perambulating the streets of Paris by night, and incognito, in order to discover what were the particular complaints of the tradespeople and others, and, still more, what they thought of him and his government. In these expeditions he was generally attended by Bourrienne, who made the shopkeepers exhibit the articles which he pretended to wish to purchase, while Bonaparte played his part in asking questions from the tradesmen's wives, or from any persons that might be in the shops.

"Nothing was more amusing than to see him endeavouring to imitate the careless, gay tone of the fashionable young men of the day. With an awkward attempt at their dandified airs, and pulling up the corners of his cravat, he would say, mincingly, "Well, madame, is there anything new to-day? Well, citizen, what say they now of Bonaparte? Your shop seems to be well stocked. You must surely be carrying on a good business. Well, what are people saying about this

money in circulation. Besides, it goes to disconcert the Jacobins. Everything is not bad, because it is not new. I prefer these opera-balls to the Saturnalia of the Goddess of Reason. The Parisians are pleased: I was never so enthusiastically applauded as at the last review."

Bonaparte, as every one knew, had prepared the revolution of the 18th Fructidor (3rd of September, 1797), which had sent forty-two members of the Council of Five Hundred and twelve members of the Council of Ancients to Cayenne and Sinimari, or to prisons on the French coasts;* and he had prepared those events with the anticipation of overthrowing the Directorial government, which, after its conduct on that occasion, could not with any decency or effect appeal to the republican constitution, seeing that it had been torn to pieces and trampled upon on the 18th Fructidor. Barras, Rewbell, and Lareveillère-Lepeaux had achieved their brief and self-ruinous triumph only by means of the money which Bonaparte had remitted from Italy, and the services of Bonaparte's devoted and resolute lieutenant Augereau; but the conqueror of Italy had no direct agency in the business, he was far from Paris at the time, his name was scarcely mentioned in the *coup d'état* of Fructidor, and he could afterwards with good effect declare that that revolution was no work of his. The Directory being overthrown, he was now anxious to undo in part what had been done then, and to mitigate the hard fate of men whose illegal transportation and imprisonment had contributed to work out his purposes. He therefore ordered his minister of police, Fouché, to draw up a report on all the persons who had been arbitrarily condemned, without any trial, on the 18th Fructidor; and, Fouché presenting a report such as the First Consul wished, forty of the deported or transported were forthwith authorised to return to France. Besides the members of the two councils, a vast many journalists, editors, &c. had been sent to Guiana; and there for the present they were nearly all left, Bonaparte entertaining the notion that, if he could send all the newsmongers and journalists of Paris to join them, it would be the better for him and for France. That magnificent maker of reports and lies, Barrère, was included in this amnesty or recall. He wrote a letter justifying his conduct during the revolution; but the First Consul did not seem disposed to show him any favour. Subsequently, however, it was thought that his ready pen was worth a pension; and the republican oracle, the framer of an interminable series of liberty and equality reports and decrees, was retained by Bonaparte to edit a journal entitled 'L'Anti-Britannique,' and to write pamphlets in justification of the overthrow both of the old dynasty and of the republic, and in support of the Napoleonic empire. For a time the recalled forty republicans were kept under the surveillance of Fouché's vigilant and all-seeing police; but these restrictions were soon removed, and many of them were called to fill high places in the government. Of these placemen, those who had been the most fanatic in their republicanism became the most devoted partisans, the loudest-tongued panegyrists, the most submissive slaves of the Consul. These sudden and extreme conversions were not calculated to improve Bonaparte's low opinion of mankind. He was accustomed to say that, with money, and a little gold lace to put upon their coats, he could unrepublicanise all these republicans. But still there were in Paris republicans of a lower grade, who retained all the fanaticism of the Reign of Terror, and who were from the beginning dissatisfied with a dictatorship which shut up their clubs, suppressed their newspapers, and excluded them from all hope of being great or famous as demagogues. It is rather remarkable that the hottest of these Jacobins, the most sincere and devoted of these republicans, were not Frenchmen, but Italians and Corsicans.*

Ceracchi, a sculptor from Rome, Diana, with several other Italian refugees, and Joseph Arena, a Corsican, and brother of Bartholomew Arena, who had been a distinguished member of the Council of Five Hundred, and who had vigorously opposed Bonaparte on the 19th Brumaire, when he went to St. Cloud to dissolve that legislature with bayonets, formed or headed a conspiracy against the life of the First Consul, whom they not incorrectly designated as the greatest of liberticides. Their plot was discovered, they were tracked by Fouché's adroit agents, and were all arrested.†

monntebank Bonaparte? . . . . . He was made quite happy one night when we were obliged to beat a hasty retreat from a shop, to avoid the attacks upon us provoked by the irreverent tone in which Bonaparte spoke of the First Consul."—*Bourrienne.*

His person and his gray great-coat soon became too generally known to permit of these Caliph-of-Bagdad excursions. But whether as consul for ten years, or consul for life, or hereditary emperor, Bonaparte continued to have a most prying curiosity, and to be exceedingly sensitive to the opinions or the sayings of the people. Even within the walls of his palaces he has been known to play the part of an eavesdropper.

* See ante, vol. iii. pp. 527, 528.

* In Babœuf's conspiracy to establish the republic of equals under the Directory, these warm-blooded Italian republicans were by far the most energetic and daring. Among them was Buonarotti, a poor Florentine, and a descendant of the great Michael Angelo.

† Bourrienne, who had the best means of knowing the whole history of this mad plot, gives the following account of it:—

The plot itself was a mere shadow; but it was deemed advisable to give it substance, and to exaggerate, at least in appearance, the danger to which the first consul had been exposed. There was at that time in Paris an idle fellow named Harrel; he had been a *chef de bataillon*, but had been disgraced and dismissed the service. He became connected with Ceracchi, Arena, and that company of enthusiastic republicans, urged them on to assassinate the First Consul, undertook to be the fiercest Brutus among them, fixed the time and place for the perpetration of the deed (it was to be done one evening at the opera), and then, on the 20th of September, 1800, went to the Tuileries, revealed the whole plot to private secretary Bourrienne, and engaged that his accomplices should be apprehended in the very act, if Bourrienne would only supply him with money to bring the plot to maturity. The secretary instantly communicated the business to Bonaparte, who ordered him to supply Harrel with money, "but not to mention the affair to Fouché, *to whom he wished to prove that he knew better how to manage the police than he did.*" For some time Harrel went every evening to the Tuileries to inform Bourrienne of the progress of the conspiracy. The First Consul was glad when he found that Ceracchi and Arena were deeply committed. But the time passed on, and nothing was done. The First Consul began to grow impatient. At length Harrel came and told Bourrienne that they had no money to purchase arms. Money was given to him. Harrel, however, returned the next night to say that the gunsmiths refused to sell them arms without an order or permission from the police. It was now found necessary to communicate the business to Fouché, in order that he might grant the necessary permission for obtaining the arms. On the evening of the 10th of October Bonaparte, in the presence of Bourrienne, asked his two satellite consuls whether they thought he ought to go to the opera. They observed, *that, as every precaution was taken by the police, there could be no danger;* and that it was very desirable to expose the futility of attempts against the First Consul's life. Bona-

Shortly after this, on the 24th of December, 1800, as Bonaparte was driving in his carriage to the opera-house, a tremendous explosion of several barrels of gunpowder, in a waggon which was drawn up on one side of the street, destroyed several houses, and killed many persons. The First Consul's carriage, driven at unusual speed by a coachman who is said to have been half intoxicated, had just passed; the fearful explosion made the man drive still faster; sundry impediments that had been placed in the streets were passed without accident; and unhurt, and enthusiastically cheered by the audience, who had promptly conceived the object of the explosion, Bonaparte entered the opera. As his hatred and dread of the Jacobins always exceeded his dislike of the royalists, he declared that he was convinced the murderous plot was a Jacobin one; but the police soon ascertained, beyond the reach of a doubt, that the Infernal Machine, as it was termed, had been the work of certain fanatical royalists connected with the Chouans in Brittany and the Vendée. They were caught in the toils which the police spread for them, and were speedily tried and executed. Their attempt had no other effect than that of increasing the popularity and power of the First Consul. At the same time that they were guillotined, Ceracchi, Arena, and the others concerned in the republican plot, having already been tried and found guilty, were brought out of prison and executed also. A few days after these Bourbonists and Jacobins had lost their heads, a SENATUS CONSULTUM, as every decree of the senate, or published will of Bonaparte, was now styled, came forth, ordering the immediate transportation to Guiana of 130 known leaders of the old Jacobin party, several of whom had participated in the atrocities of the Reign of Terror. In order that the First Consul might with greater facility carry into execution the determination he had so repeatedly expressed, of effectually putting down both Jacobins and Bourbonists, the legislature, or the 300 individuals who enjoyed the name of Corps Législatif, passed a law empowering the executive, or the First Consul, without previous trial or process of any kind, to banish from Paris, and even from France, all such persons as should presume, either in spoken words or in writing, to express opinions inimical to the present government! This law, supported by other laws and sharp practices, gagged the mouths and paralysed the hands of all journalists, pamphleteers, and political speculators, excepting only such of them as took the pay and wrote the praises of Bonaparte. The First Consul held the liberty of the press in the greatest horror; and so violent was his passion when anything was urged in its favour, that he seemed to labour under a nervous attack, or to be on the point of falling into a fit. "Great man as he was," says his secretary, "he was sorely afraid of little paragraphs." From first to last he could never endure any criticism of his conduct, either public or private, or the expression, in matters of politics, or government, or war, of an opinion contrary to his own. Yet, after all, this was but a continuation and extension of the system which had been made absolute under the republicans and terrorists, who had never allowed the expression of any opinions inimical to their own. Nor was there any novelty in the more terrible law which immediately followed, and which established *special* criminal courts to try all persons accused of treason against the state; for these courts, infinitely less bloody, if not less arbitrary in their proceedings, were but revivals of the Revolutionary Tribunals which had been voted and established by the Dantons and Robespierres. It is recorded as honourable to the Tribunate, or the talking part of this consular constitution, that this last law passed them by a majority of only *eight*—a fact which Bonaparte set down among his serious causes of complaint against the said Tribunate, a body he had determined to dissolve as soon as time should serve. The secret police was now re-organised and vastly increased by Fouché, who took into his pay spies and informers from all classes of Parisian society. In addition to this general police, which was left under the direction of Fouché, on whom Bonaparte could never wholly rely, there was a strong military police, headed by officers of gensdarmes and others, who had been trained under the First Consul, who had owed to him wealth or high promotion, and who regarded him with the same devoted feelings which the Mamelukes of Egypt testified for their beys. As a completion to this vile system, there was another police establishment under the immediate direction of Bonaparte himself, forming, in fact, part and parcel of his own court or household.* With three police corps incessantly at work, with thousands of informers and spies constantly reporting or inventing plots or dangerous conversations, in the intention of appearing to earn the money they were receiving, and of proving the

parte went to the opera, accompanied by Duroc and Bourrienne. When they had been in the theatre about half an hour, he told Bourrienne to go and see what was doing in the lobby. Scarcely had the private secretary left the box ere he heard a great uproar. Presently afterwards he discovered that a number of persons had been arrested. Harrel had led his dupes to the opera, and Fouché's agents had seized them there, with arms about their persons. The secretary returned to the box with the intelligence he had collected; and thereupon the First Consul, who had only gone to the theatre to bring the plot to a head, or to substantiate something like an overt act, hastened home to the Tuileries. The plot had been long and perfectly well known through the disclosures of Harrel; and it would have been easy to avert instead of conjuring up the storm. But this neither suited Bonaparte nor the police. One of the conspirators candidly confessed the part he had taken in the plot, which, he said, had been brought to maturity solely by the agents of the police, who were always eager to prove their zeal to their employers by some new discovery. The name of Harrel was forthwith restored to the army list; and he was appointed commandant of the castle of Vincennes. He held that post at the time of the Duc d'Enghien's murder there. "I was afterwards told," says the private secretary, "that Harrel's wife was foster-sister to that unfortunate prince, and that she recognised the duke when he entered the prison, which, in a few hours, was to prove his grave."—*Bourrienne, Mémoires.*

* "Before taking up his quarters in the Tuileries, the First Consul organised his secret police, which was intended to be the counter of Fouché's police. Duroc and de Moncey were at first the directors of this police; afterwards, Davoust and Junot. Bonaparte's wife called this business a vile system of espionage. My remarks on the inutility of the measure were made in vain; Bonaparte had the weakness at once to fear Fouché and to think him necessary. Fouché, whose abilities in this trade are too well known to need my approbation, soon discovered this secret household institution, as also the names of all the subaltern agents employed in Paris by the great agents."—*Bourrienne.*

necessity of their services, the mind of the First Consul, by nature, or by early habit and education, inclined to suspicion, was rarely left tranquil for a single day, for, when absent from Paris, these spies or their reports followed him, and always obtained his immediate attention. At the same time the practice of opening letters at the post-office, which had been rather common in France in all times and under every government, was carried out with greater activity than ever. This, like the polices, aggravated suspicion and uneasiness, but seldom led to the discovery of any important fact; for, as the practice was notorious, such correspondents as had dangerous secrets to communicate sent their letters by private hands, or wrote them in mercantile or in other forms and phraseologies previously agreed upon with their friends. "It is difficult," says one who saw all its workings, and the pernicious, miserable effects they produced on the First Consul, "to form an idea of the lies, absurdities, and nonsense contained in the bulletins drawn up by the agents of the police, *noble* and ignoble. . . . . That wretched police! During the time I was with Bonaparte it embittered his life, and often exasperated him against his wife, his near relations, and friends. The police possessed no foresight or faculty of prevention. Every silly thing that transpired was reported to him, either through malice or stupidity. Words overheard were misunderstood or distorted in the reporting; so that the only result of the plan was uneasiness, mischief, and confusion. The police, as a political engine, is a dangerous thing. It foments and encourages more false conspiracies than it discovers or defeats real ones."* By extending this contagion, "this leprosy of society;" by fostering spies and informers; by allowing them to be selected from every class (many of the most infamous of them were decayed people of fashion, or men and women who had had name, rank, and wealth before the revolution); by sending them to invade the privacy and confidence of domestic life; by encouraging the servant to report the words of his master, the wife to denounce her husband, the brother his brother, the son his own father, Bonaparte did more mischief to the morality of the French people than his own personal conduct, his decorous mode of living, and his discountenance of the orgies and obscenities and the rampant vices which had flourished not only under the Directory, but long before it under the old monarchy, could do good to the national character. It has been well said, that the most fatal periods in the history of a nation are those in which informers may be found holding elevated rank in society. This was the case under the consulate and under the empire; under the restored government of the Bourbons, and under Charles X.; and, if confidence is to be placed in French writers, this continues to be the case under the government of Louis Philippe. Any evil practice once firmly established, and made profitable to the agents, is hard to be rooted out.

Placed between the Jacobins and the royalists, the First Consul could hardly strike any very great blow at one party, without strengthening the other. He therefore did what the Directory had done before him: he tried to keep himself up by balancing one party against the other, and by weakening both by alternately frightening each. To the royalists he seemed to say, "If you do not attach yourselves to my government, the Jacobins will rise again, and bring back the Reign of Terror and its scaffolds." To the Jacobins, to the men of the revolution, he said, "See, the counter-revolution appears, threatening reprisals and vengeance! The royalists will have their fournées and their scaffolds: they will force from you the houses, the lands, the woods, all the property that once were theirs: I alone can protect you from these attacks!" As there was no intermediate party deserving the name of a political party—as, with the exception of a few enlightened, moderate, patriotic individuals—gentlemen, who were isolated, men of letters, who had no longer the means of appealing to the people, or of expressing their opinions—all Frenchmen who were not either Jacobins or hot Bourbonists were mere waiters upon events, or trimmers, or indifferent, or without any political opinion or predilection, but eager for show and amusement, and as much delighted with the growing splendour of the consular court, the grand reviews, and the daily parades, as ever their forefathers had been with the full-blown pomps and glories of Louis XIV., the task of Bonaparte was comparatively an easy one; and, as soon as he had neutralised the two great factions by their mutual jealousies and fears, his work was done, his despotic empire was established. But a despotism was the only form of government which could now possibly be established in France; the very reasons and causes which facilitated and unavoidably led to its establishment rendering absolutely impossible the formation of any free republic or constitutional government. It is idle and most unfair to draw comparisons between men placed in such essentially different circumstances, and at the head of two nations or peoples so opposite, as were George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte: if the Corsican had possessed all the American's love of liberty, if Bonaparte had been endowed with all Washington's republican virtues, he must have failed miserably, and have left France a prey to anarchy, if he had seriously attempted either to preserve the republic (or rather to make a republic, for none had ever existed) or to set up a free constitutional throne.

* Bourrienne.—When it was rather too late, Bonaparte himself reprobated the whole system as useless and dangerous. Conversing in the Isle of Elba with a French officer, he said, "You believe, then, that your police agents foresee everything, and know everything. I tell you that they *invent* far more than they discover. Mine, I believe, were better than those you have now, and yet it was often only by mere chance, or by the imprudence of the parties implicated, or through the treachery of some of them, that something was discovered of a plot after a week or a fortnight's seeking. Your opening of letters is still more useless. Do you think you can open and read every letter that goes through the post-office? You will never be able to do it. I often endeavoured to unravel and understand what the correspondence was which passed under mercantile forms, but I never succeeded. The post-office, like the police, catches only fools!"—*Id.*

At the commencement of the consulate the exiled or fugitive members of the Constituent Assembly were invited to return to France. It was for their own sake, and to please the moderate royalists, that the First Consul recalled them, but it was to please the Jacobins that their return was subjected to restrictions and exceptions. At first, the invitation to return to France extended only to such of the members of the first legislature as had voted in favour of the abolition of nobility, titles, &c. About the same time the general lists of emigrants were closed, and committees were appointed to investigate their claims to the privilege of returning and obtaining re-possession of their property.

In April, 1801, a general amnesty was granted to all emigrants who chose to return to France and take the oath of fidelity to the present government. About 500 individuals were, however, excepted, including those who belonged to the households of the Bourbon princes, those who had been at the head of armed bodies of royalists, or who had held rank in foreign armies employed against their country, and all those who were held to be convicted of treason. The property of the returned emigrants which had not been sold, or which had not been appropriated by the state for public purposes, was to be restored to them. But no laws were fixed to determine and regulate this restitution; and the First Consul restored or withheld, gave to one member of the emigrant family or to another, just in proportion as he found the parties disposed to enter his service and identify their interests with his. He was, besides, by no means anxious to put an end to their state of uncertainty or dependence. He rarely gave at once all that it was in his power to give, or all that the amnesty promised. To some of the returned emigrants he would restore nothing: to some few, who at once devoted themselves to his cause or to their own interests, he gave more than they or their progenitors had ever possessed: sometimes he restored the family property, or such a fragment of it as he chose, not to the father but to the son, and, if the younger son promised to serve his purposes better than the elder, he gave it to the younger; and sometimes, acting upon the republican law which established an equal division of property, and which law he was embodying in his own grand code, he divided the fragments of an estate among all the children of a family. As a general rule, he doled out the property piecemeal, giving now a house, now another, now a farm or a wood, as the returned, repentant emigrant rendered him services or conciliated his good-will. "The First Consul had, in fact, reserved to himself the faculty of disposing, under whatever pretexts might suit him, of the fortune and fate of all and everybody. This unheard-of state of dependence excuses in many respects the meanness of the nation. Can any one expect a universal heroism? And did it not require heroism to expose oneself to ruin, to beggary, and a fresh banishment, which might be brought about at any time by the application of some revolutionary decree? A unique concourse of circumstances placed under the control of one man all the laws of the Reign of Terror, and all the vast military force which had been created by the republican enthusiasm. What an inheritance was this for an able despot!" *

Bonaparte calculated that, by fostering the Catholic religion and entering into terms with the head of the church of Rome, he should detach the pope from the coalition of sovereigns, and the priests of France from the royalists. "It is indispensable," said he, "to have a religion for the people; and equally so that that religion should be directed by the government. At present fifty bishops, in the pay of England, direct the French clergy. We must destroy that influence; we must declare the Catholic the established religion of France, as it is the faith of the majority of the French people. We must re-organise the constitution of the church. The First Consul will appoint the fifty bishops; the pope will induct them; the bishops will appoint the parish priests, and the people will pay their salaries. They must all take the oath of fidelity; the refractory must be transported. The pope, in grateful return, will confirm our sales of the church property: he will consecrate the revolution; the people will sing God save the Gallican church! For this some will call me a papist. I am no such thing. . . . I am no believer in particular creeds; but, as to the idea of a God, look to the heavens and say who made that!" † These were words uttered in council. In private he said, "I am convinced that a good part of France would become Protestant, especially if I were to favour that disposition. But I am also certain that a still greater portion of those who have any religion at all would remain Catholics, and would oppose, with the greatest zeal and fervour, the schism of their fellow citizens. I dread these religious quarrels, which have been so terrible in France—I dread the family dissensions and the public distractions which a change to Protestantism would inevitably occasion. In reviving a religion which has always been dominant in the country, and in giving the liberty of exercising their worship to the minority, I shall satisfy every one. Without establishing a church separate from that of Rome, I will be the head of the church in France.....In every country religion is useful to the government, and those who govern ought to avail themselves of it in order to maintain their influence over mankind. I was a Mahommedan in Egypt; I am a Catholic in France. With relation to the *police* of a state religion, it ought to be entirely in the hands of the sovereign. Many persons urge me to found a separate Gallican church; but before I can resolve on such a measure the old pope must push matters to extremities; but I believe he will never do that." His secretary reminded him that Cardinal Consalvi had said, "The pope will do all the First Consul de-

* Madame de Staël, Considérations.
† Thibaudeau.

sires." "That is the best course he can take," rejoined Bonaparte; "he must not suppose that he has to do with an idiot. What do you think is the point his negotiations put most forward? The immortal salvation of *my* soul! But, with *me*, immortality only means the recollection one leaves in the memory of man! That idea prompts to great actions! It would be better for a man never to have lived than to leave behind him no traces of his existence!"* He, however, continued through life to declare that he was no materialist, that he believed at least in the existence of a God, or some great first cause; and, wishing at this moment to appear to believe more than he did, he was exceedingly wroth with Lalande, who, while he was negotiating his concordat with the pope, wished to insert his name in a biographical dictionary of illustrious atheists.† After a long correspondence, and the interchange of many messages and compliments, Pius VII. sent Consalvi, the cardinal

PIUS VII.

secretary of state, and Archbishop Spina, to Paris. Bonaparte, not deeming it delicate to leave the negotiations in the hands of that stray son of the church, Talleyrand, his present minister for foreign affairs and negotiator general, deputed his own brother Joseph to treat with the cardinal, giving him the theological assistance of the Abbé Bernier. As a great many of the constitutional clergy, or of those priests who had swallowed the *serment civique*, and had sworn to be true to whatsoever constitution had been made, had taken wives unto themselves, Joseph Bonaparte proposed to do away with the celibacy of the clergy; but here Consalvi, who had come to grant almost everything which might be demanded, it being felt that compliance with the will of the Consul offered the only chance of saving the states of the church in Italy from being annexed to the Cisalpine republic, and of restoring something like a religion and a decent worship in France, quoted the councils and unalterable canons of the Romish church, and declared his inability and the inability of the pontiff himself to entertain for a single moment such a proposition. All that could be done, consistently with the ancient discipline and ancient dogmas of the church, was to secularize and absolve from their vows such priests as had married; and this the cardinal engaged to do. At last, in September, 1801, the Concordat was concluded, the pope making several concessions which had never been granted by any of his predecessors. He sanctioned the sale of church property, and thus brought new purchasers into that market, for the devout or believing part of the French had hitherto abstained from buying the confiscated lands and property of the church, as from an impious, sacrilegious transaction. He suppressed many bishoprics, which had certainly been too numerous in the old times; he superseded all bishops who refused the oath of fidelity to the government; and he agreed that the First Consul should appoint the bishops, subject only to the approbation of the Vatican, which was to bestow upon them the canonical institution. The bishops, in concert and agreement with the government, were to make a new distribution of the parishes of their respective dioceses, and the incumbents appointed by the bishops were to be approved by the civil authorities. The bishops, of course, as well as all canons, curés, parish priests, and clergymen whatsoever, were to take the oath of fidelity to the present government; but, not satisfied by the general and comprehensive oath, Joseph, for his brother, the consul, introduced a clause binding them all *to swear to reveal any plots which they might hear of against the state*. This clause was inconsistent with the canonical vow which binds a Catholic priest to conceal what he may hear in the confessional; but Consalvi was obliged to admit it. The total abolition of convents was also confirmed, and various clauses were introduced as if to excuse or justify the violence of the revolutionary suppression and the seizure of all the property of the wealthy monastic orders. By pursuing this course themselves with respect to the great order of Jesuits many years before the French revolution, the popes and the absolute sovereigns of Catholic Europe had established a precedent; while the reforming emperor, Joseph, who, at a period subsequent to the suppression of the Jesuits, had laid his bold hands on the property of other orders, had added precedent to precedent. As for compensation or provision for the dispossessed monks, it was left by the Concordat much as it was before, the state paying or not paying, as circumstances might be, some pensions of the slenderest kind. Upon these and other conditions it was proclaimed on the part of the French government, that the Roman Catholic religion was that of the majority of Frenchmen; that its worship should be free, public, and protected by the authorities, but under such regulations as the civil power should think proper to prescribe; that the active clergy, instead of having tithes, domains, &c., should be paid and provided for by the state; and that the cathedrals and parish churches should be restored to them.

Although signed by Consalvi, this Concordat met with considerable opposition at the court of Rome, where several canonists and theologians maintained that sundry of its provisions were

* Bourrienne. † Id.

irregular, uncanonical, and subversive, not merely of the temporal rights of the church, but also of the doctrines and principles of the holy faith. Pius VII. himself had his scruples; but, being above all things anxious for peace and tranquillity, and fearing that if he did not accept these conditions, worse would be exacted from him, he sanctioned and confirmed the deed. On Easter Sunday, 1802, the Concordat was published at Paris, together with a decree of the consular government, containing regulations upon matters of clerical discipline, which were artfully worded, so as to make them appear part of the text of the original Concordat.* Nothing was done by Bonaparte without a trick in it; there was a trickiness or some double meaning even in the best of his doings. The pope afterwards remonstrated, but the First Consul turned a deaf ear to him. The Concordat must have this rider or there must be no Concordat at all: the will of Bonaparte must be absolute in regulating the discipline of the ministers of religion, or there should be no religion in France. Regulations concerning the discipline of the Protestant congregations in France were issued at the same time; and, that all might be dependent on the government, the Protestant ministers, like the Catholic priests, were to be paid by the state. In no cases were these salaries very high. There was no disposition to revive the splendour and the aristocracy of the old church: there was to be a rigid equality in each grade of the hierarchy, in rank and in pay. Ten archbishops were to have a salary of 15,000 francs, or about 600*l.* a-year each; fifty bishops were to have 10,000 francs, or about 400*l.* a-year each:† the parish priests, in the larger parishes, were to be paid about 60*l.* a-year each, and in the smaller parishes about 48*l.* The number of curés and parish priests of all kinds was fixed at 8000. To give proper solemnity to the promulgation of the Concordat, the First Consul resolved that it should be made in the cathedral church, and that his court and principal officers, with or against their wills, should attend him thither in high state. Here too another trick was necessary; for the consular court was in general extremely irreligious; "nor could it be expected to be otherwise, being composed of those who had assisted in the annihilation of all religious worship in France, and of men who, having passed their lives in camps, had oftener entered a church in Italy to purloin a painting than to hear the mass."* Some of the military chiefs too had been bred in the Protestant faith; some of them, as Moreau, retained in full force their republican predilections, and saw clearly that this setting up of the altar was only the prelude to the setting up of a throne: perhaps not one man in ten among them either believed with Bonaparte in the existence of a Supreme Being, or had agreed with Robespierre in believing the immortality of the soul. But to mass they must all go, for such was the absolute will of the First Consul; and therefore Berthier, the minister-at-war, invited them to a breakfast, and to attend the levee of the First Consul, who took them unawares with him to Notre Dame.† But on the road from the Tuileries to the cathedral Lannes and Augereau wanted to alight from the carriage as soon as they discovered that they were being driven to mass; and it required an express order from their general-in-chief to prevent their doing so. It is even said that Lannes at one moment did get out of the coach; and that Augereau kept swearing, in no low whisper, during the whole of the chanted mass. It seems to be admitted on all sides that, with the exception of some who, without having any religious convictions, possessed that good sense which induces men to respect the belief of others, and who conducted themselves with some regard to decency, the behaviour of all these military chiefs, and of all the other aggrandized children of the revolution, was to the last degree profane and indecorous. The First Consul rode in the state carriage of the Bourbon kings, with the same coachmen, and with running footmen by the coach-doors. The day chosen for the ceremony was the 15th of August, the festival of the Assumption—one of the most solemn of Catholicism—and destined to be, after a few more tricks and turns, the anniversary of St. Napoleon; for there was in the calendar a St. Charlemagne, and Bonaparte determined not to be left behind that great founder of an empire. He had selected the Archbishop of Aix to officiate and to inaugurate the Concordat, *because* that prelate had preached the coronation sermon in the cathedral of Rheims on the day when Louis XVI. was crowned.‡ Both mass and Te Deum were sung, and the clergy, to the accompaniment of one hundred and one discharges of artillery, struck up *Domine, salvos fac rempublicam et consules*—God

* Hist. Parlement. The regulations, or 'Organic Articles,' as they were styled, were, that no bull, brief, or decision from Rome should be acknowledged in France without the previous approbation of the government; that no nuncio or apostolic commission should appear in France, and no council be held, without a similar consent; that all appeals against abuses of discipline should be laid before the council of state; that professors in seminaries should subscribe to the four articles of the Gallican church of 1682; that no priest should be ordained unless he was twenty-five years of age, and had an independent and separate income of 300 francs; and lastly, that the grand vicars of the respective dioceses should exercise the episcopal authority on the demise of the bishop, and until the election of his successor, instead of there being vicars elected *ad hoc* by the respective chapters, as prescribed by the Council of Trent. This last article was most disliked by the court of Rome, as it affected the spiritual jurisdiction of the church.

† The lowness of their salaries, and their oath to reveal what they might hear in confession, made Sheridan say, in the House of Commons, that Bonaparte had appointed bishops with the salaries of curates, to perform the office of spies.

* Bourrienne.

† Rapp, Bonaparte's favourite and most confidential aide-de-camp, who had been brought up as a Protestant, knew what was meant by Berthier's invitation, and positively refused to attend the ceremony, although requested by the First Consul himself. "Provided," said Rapp, "you do not make these priests your aides-de-camp, or your cooks, you may do with them what you like." This Alsacian was one of the most critical *gourmets* of Bonaparte's family and household, who, altogether, were early distinguished by their love of good eating and artistical cooking. As a special favourite he was excused for remarks which were never pardoned in others.

‡ "Two motives had determined this choice: the ingenious hope that the more he imitated the old monarchy the more he promoted the idea of naming him sovereign; and the perfidious design of so discrediting the Archbishop of Aix as to render him entirely dependent upon him."—*Madame de Staël, Considérations.*

save the republic and the consuls!—assuredly a proper termination to so stupendous a farce. On the next day Bonaparte asked one of the republican generals what he thought of the ceremony. "O! it was all very fine," replied the general; "there was nothing wanting except the million of men who have perished in the pulling down of what you are setting up again!" The brow of the First Consul was clouded by this bitter remark.* The savans and the philosophes whom he had rallied round his person, and some of whom, during the sojourn in the land of Egypt, and the tedious voyage from that country, had laboured, with all the zeal of propagandists, to convert him to a sheer atheism like their own, appear to have given him considerable trouble at this time, and to have frequently made him blush at the degrading idea of being taken for one who believed in the exploded absurdities of Christianity. But, while on the one side he told his new bishops and curés that he hoped this Concordat would revive religious sentiments in France; and that in his opinion the Catholic religion, the only one founded upon ancient traditions, was the most likely to endure in the world, he said to that great luminary of the philosophes and unbelievers, Cabanis—"Do you know what this Concordat really is? It is the vaccination of religion; in fifty years there will be no more religion in France than small-pox!"† He resisted the endeavours which were made to persuade him to perform in public the duties imposed by the Catholic religion. To those who urged that his high example was required, he said angrily, "I have done enough already. I have been once to Notre Dame. Ask me no more. You will never obtain your object. You shall never make a hypocrite of me!" [He was, however, a hypocrite vicariously, and that too by doing criminal violence to the consciences of others; for, on certain great occasions, he obliged his generals, his ministers, and his courtiers, to attend publicly to the offices of the Catholic church, and to affect to be good Catholics for him.] At length he consented to hear mass in-doors, after the fashion of the kings; and St. Cloud was the place where this ancient usage was first re-established. But (still another trick) he directed the ceremony to commence sooner than the time announced, in order that those who would only have scoffed at it might not arrive until it was over. When he determined to hear mass *publicly* on Sundays in the Tuileries, a small portable altar was prepared in a room into which his cabinet of business opened. "This room," says Bourrienne, "had been Anne of Austria's oratory. The small altar restored it, for the time, to its original destination; but during all the rest of the week this oratory was used as a bath-room. On Sunday, the door of communication was thrown wide open, and we heard mass sitting in our cabinet of business. The number of persons there never exceeded *three* or *four*, and the First Consul seldom failed to transact some business during the service, which never lasted longer than twelve minutes. Next day all the papers had the news that the First Consul had heard mass in his apartments."

Fouché, a renegade priest, a distinguished member of "La Congrégation de l'Oratoire" when the revolution began, but who had declared himself an atheist, and had sought to overthrow Robespierre by means of atheism, was now, as minister of police, charged with the duty of settling the new clergy in their sees and livings. He addressed a circular letter to the prefects of departments, commanding them to exercise a sharp surveillance over the priests, and to draw a proper distinction between such as had been allowed to return from their emigration or deportation, and such as had had no need of pardon, namely, "the men, born of the revolution, who have always been faithful to it, who have united their fate to that of the republic, and who do not cease preaching, to-day, their love and respect to the government, both by their discourses and by their example."* This invidious distinction was intended to exclude altogether the priests who had resisted the revolutionary torrent and refused the *serment civique*—the only part of the clergy who, down to the time of this Concordat, could lay any claim to orthodoxy. But, without Fouché's and his master's restrictions, many of these priests were determined not to return to France, preferring to gain their livelihoods in foreign countries by teaching their language, or to be supported by the charity of their co-religionists, to the recognising of a Concordat extorted from the pope, and to taking the oaths to a government which they held to be illegal, irreligious, impious. The most conscientious, the most high-minded of the clergy, either remained in exile, or, returning, declined joining the new establishment. Of seventeen bishops and archbishops who were residing in England, only four submitted to the will of the First Consul. Of the prelates residing in France, eight resigned into the hands of the pope's legate the sees they held previously to the revolution, rather than acknowledge the Concordat and take the oaths to the present government. [In the Concordat itself Pius had been made to say that, for the good of the church and the sake of union, he confidently expected from the French prelates every kind of sacrifice, even to that of their sees.] Several pamphlets made their appearance even in Paris, complaining of the wrongs done to the church, of the violence offered to the conscience of true believers, and of the degrading compromise made between Materialism and Catholicism; and

* Bourrienne attributes the sharp repartee to Augereau: Thibaudeau and others, with more probability, put it in the mouth of that stanch Jacobin Republican General Delmas, who was a friend of Moreau, and exiled from Paris shortly after.

† Madame de Staël, Considérations.—Vaccination had just been introduced in France, or at least first widely spread there, by M. Liancourt de Rochefoucauld, one of the noble and best members of the Constituent Assembly, who had recently been recalled from his long exile by the decree of the consular government which has been noticed in the text. Bonaparte was enchanted with this great discovery in medicine, saying that it would save more lives per annum than the bloodiest of wars could cost him.

* Letter to the Prefects, in Capefigue, L'Europe pendant le Consulat et l'Empire de Napoléon.

in the seminaries of St. Sulpice an opposition to some of the clauses of the Concordat was got up by the Abbés Emery and Fournier. To stop all discussion, Bonaparte set Fouché and his police in motion: the pamphlets were seized and burned; severe measures were taken to prevent the printing of such things in future; the Abbé Fournier was seized and thrown into a mad-house; within a month after the promulgation of the Concordat, 150 ecclesiastics were arrested in the single diocese of Paris; and under the least pretext of resistance, bishops, abbés, curés, vicars, were thrown into the Temple, the dungeons of Vincennes, or some other of the *fifty-seven* new prisons of Paris. On the other hand, nothing could well exceed the base flattery and extravagant eulogiums of the leaders of that part of the clergy which submitted. Not merely in state-addresses, but in sermons delivered from the pulpit, and in pastoral letters, charges, and catechisms distributed all over France, they called the Corsican general the Envoy of God, the Instrument of his Decrees, the Representative of Providence upon Earth; they spontaneously sang *Te Deums* for the bloodiest of his victories over the independence of nations; they proclaimed that words could not express the extent of the services he was rendering to *Almighty God*, and to *themselves*. These were not things proper to revive religious sentiments among a scoffing, incredulous people. All that the Concordat did was to give some liberty of worship to the believing part of the community—a minority which in 1802 is stated broadly to have been less than one-third of the French nation—and to gratify the peasantry, who were not sufficiently enlightened or keen-sighted to discover the true nature of the new establishment. Whatever may have been his real intention in making this Concordat and organising this bastard Catholic church, it is an indisputable fact that his system acted like vaccination upon small-pox—that there was both less small-pox and less religion in France at the downfall of Bonaparte in 1814, than existed in 1801 when he first meddled with church affairs.* According to the St. Helena memoir-writers, he, however, at the very end of his career, expressed himself satisfied with the result of his measures, affirming that he never repented of having signed the Concordat; that it was a great political measure; that it gave him influence over the pope, and through him over a great part of the world, and especially over Italy, where the mass of the people were good Catholics; and that he might one day have been in a condition to direct the papal councils altogether, or to be pope over the pope. The same authorities add that he said, "Had there been no pope, one ought to have been made for the occasion"—a parody of the more impious idea expressed by Robespierre, that, if there were no God, one ought to have been invented.†

Bonaparte had now a church of his own; but, in addition to a church, he held some sort of nobility, or decorated order, as essential to the monarchy he was manufacturing. This nobility or order was to originate solely in himself, to date from the date of his power, and to be even more dependent upon him than was the new clergy. Here, however, it was necessary to proceed with caution, for, although they had lost the very notion of liberty, the French still clung to the dogma of equality; and, after all his delays, ruses, and manœuvres, this project encountered a stronger opposition than almost any other. Thibaudeau and others in the very council of state dared to argue that the scheme of the Legion of Honour was diametrically opposed to all the principles of the revolution; that the abolition of titles had not taken place under the Terrorists, but under the Constituent Assembly, which met at the commencement of the revolution, and which consisted of the most enlightened and best men; that the French nation was indeed much alive to honours and distinctions, but that this their natural feeling now yielded to their passion for equality; that, though distinctions of rank were indispensable in a monarchy, they were a never-failing source of irritation in a *republic* [some of these silly men could still imagine that a republic existed and was to continue]; that the immediate and inevitable tendency of this order of knighthood would be to run into a military and hereditary nobility; that the Legion of Honour involved within itself all the elements—individual distinction, power, honours, titles, and fixed revenues—which in other countries and times had led to an hereditary nobility; that, in fact, an hereditary noblesse could never have commenced its career with greater advantages; that the Legion would be an intermediate body, alike contrary to the text of the constitution and to the fundamental principles of the revolution. They said, too, it was as unclassical as it was unrepublican: "Crosses and ribands are the pillars of an hereditary throne: they were unknown to the Romans, who conquered the world!" Bonaparte, who could bandy Romanisms with the best of them, and who quoted, as he understood it, Roman history as frequently as any of them, reminded them that, though those ancient republicans might not have used ribands and crosses, they had their distinctions of rank nicely defined and rigidly established—they had their patricians, their equestrian order, their knights and citizens; and for each of these classes they had a separate costume: and, when high achievements were to be rewarded, they had their laurel wreaths, their mural crowns, their triumphs. Giving to Brutus another and a more correct character than that which he had enjoyed among the sans-culottists,

* Capefigue, Le Consulat et l'Empire.—Madame de Staël, Considérations.—Thibaudeau, Hist. du Consulat.

† Las Cases; General Gourgaud.—A special bull was issued, relieving from his clerical vows foreign minister Talleyrand, who thereupon espoused, in a more regular manner, the frail lady whom Sir Philip Francis had dishonoured and deserted. [See ante, vol. ii. p. 178.]

Napoleon's maternal uncle, the Abbé Fesch, who, during the revolutionary storms, had been *citizen* Fesch, now returned to the clerical profession, receiving the cardinal's hat from Rome, and the archbishopric of Lyons from his loving nephew.

he called him the greatest of all aristocrats, who had slain Cæsar only because Cæsar wished to degrade the senate and exalt the people. Coming closer to the point, he defied them to show him a republic, ancient or modern, where distinctions among men had not prevailed. He went on, in his rapid manner: "I would not say so much in the Tribunate; but in a council of state nothing should be concealed. I have no conception that this passion for liberty and equality is to be lasting in France. The French people have not been so far altered by ten years of revolution; they are still as gallant and as volatile as their ancestors the Gauls. They have but one prevailing sentiment, and that is *honour*. Only observe how they are struck by the ribands and orders of the foreigners the peace has brought among us! This reveals their secret predilection. [If the visionary philosophes and mad enthusiasts who began the revolution had reflected on these facts, on the character of the French people as constantly displayed through eighteen centuries, what an ocean of blunders and of blood might have been spared!] . . . . . If you judge of this institution according to the prejudices produced by ten years of revolution, it may appear worse than useless; but if you consider that we are placed *after* a revolution, and called upon to reconstruct society, you will form a very different opinion of it. For ten years you have been constantly talking about making institutions; but what, after all this talk, has been done?—Nothing! The moment had not yet arrived; but now it is come. Everything has been destroyed; we must now begin to create. We have, indeed, a nation and a government, but they are united by a rope of sand. There exist at the same time amongst us several of the old privileged classes, who are organised by a unity of principles and interests, and who will always pursue one definite object. But we, the children of the revolution, are scattered, without union, without any fixed system or lasting bond of connexion. As long as I survive I will answer for the *republic;* but we must consider what is likely to happen after my death. If you suppose the republic to be definitely established, you were never in your lives more mistaken. Do you suppose you can trust the people for the preservation of your institutions? If you do, believe me, you are mistaken. The people would in a short time shout 'Vive le Roi!' or 'Vive la Ligue!' with as much alacrity as they now cry 'Vive la République!' It is necessary therefore to give a lasting direction to the impulse of the people, and to prepare instruments for that purpose."* What Bonaparte knew, he knew well; but none of his knowledge was so perfect as that which he possessed of the character of the French people. In private he said that the main object of the revolution was the extinction of castes, not of ranks; that vanity, the ruling principle of the French, was at the bottom of all the convulsions of the Revolution; that it was the sight of the ancient noblesse enjoying privileges and distinctions to which they could not aspire which filled the *tiers état* with inextinguishable and natural animosity. He represented that there was a great difference between rewarding individual merit and conferring hereditary rank; that the cross of the Legion of Honour was not meant to descend from father to son, but to be worn only by the man who won it by his merits and his achievements. Nor was it to be confined to the military; on the contrary, every class of civilians, the lawyer, the physician, the man of science, the man of letters, might win it and wear it, and especial care would be taken to award it to the most eminent men in every civil department. The humblest citizen in France might aspire to the highest honours of the order: the cross would be conferred on the field of battle on the general of a division, on the colonel of a regiment, on the serjeant, or on the common soldier in the lines. Notwithstanding the force of these arguments, the power of the First Consul, and the immense influence of his position, the opposition to this creation of the Legion of Honour was very great. The Concordat did not encounter nearly so much resistance, whence it has been argued that the dislike of the French to the re-establishment of the old religion was much less violent than their hatred of what they deemed an attack on the holy rights of equality. The Concordat was opposed only by 7 voices against 78 in the Tribunate, and by 21 against 228 in the Legislative Body: the Legion of Honour was only carried by 14 against 10 in the Council of State, 56 against 38 in the Tribunate, and 166 against 110 in the Legislative Body. Out of 394 voters in all, the majority obtained was only 78. Surprised and hurt at so feeble a majority, the First Consul said in the evening, "Ah! I see clearly these equality prejudices are still very strong. I ought to have waited a little longer. It was not a matter of such urgency. But it must be owned the speakers in favour of the measure have defended it very badly. That strong minority I dislike:—they have not judged me fairly!" His private secretary begged him to be calm:—"Without doubt," said he, "it would have been better to wait a little longer; but the thing is done; and you will soon find that the taste for these distinctions is not gone by. It is a taste inherent in the nature of man. You may expect extraordinary advantages from this creation—you will soon see its effects." Bourrienne was quite right; the returned noblesse became mightily pleased with the institution; the most thorough-paced Jacobins, some of the most vehement of the liberty and equality professors, began to covet the ribands and the crosses; and these things were soon worn by many who had been foremost in voting the eternal abolition in France of all orders and distinctions whatsoever. The Legion of Honour was established with great pomp, and proclaimed a law of the state on the 19th of May, 1802. It gradually embraced many thousands of individuals

* Thibaudeau.

of nearly every possible character, condition and profession, not excepting fiddlers and singers, whom he much liked, and poets and rhymesters, whom the Consul sincerely scorned. He had not in the slightest degree overrated the avidity with which the distinction would be sought; to obtain it, gallant and most daring deeds were performed in war, and pride and conscience were sacrificed by many of the noblesse, as also by republican writers, orators, and savans; and every man that obtained the decoration took care to exhibit it in all times and places, wearing it as constantly as the devout or superstitious wear the Agnus Dei, or the amulet which is to preserve the body from harm and the soul from the evil one.

Before passing the Concordat and establishing the Legion of Honour, ten more years had been added to the original ten years for which Bonaparte had been elected First Consul; and before the festival of the Assumption, the 15th of August, the to be St. Napoleon's day, when the Concordat was inaugurated in Notre Dame with mass and *Te Deum* and a royal salvo, he was proclaimed Consul for life. His brother Lucien, who subsequently felt or pretended a disgust of his tyranny and an impatience of his rule, a passionate love for liberal institutions and representative governments, contributed as much as any one single man in promoting Napoleon's usurpations, in smoothing difficulties, in feeling the way for him, and in removing obstacles. But for Lucien and his oratory and civil courage, the revolution of the 19th Brumaire would have run all counter, and, instead of the Council of Five Hundred jumping out of the back windows of St. Cloud, General Bonaparte might have been sent a prisoner to the Temple. Since then Lucien, once the little Jacobin dictator of St. Maximin, had rendered many and important services, some of them public and some of them very private indeed; and there appeared to be, in his eyes, no effort or sacrifice too great if it had a tendency to seat his brother on an hereditary and absolute throne. Lucien had something to do in every preparatory trick; many of these tricks were of his own devising, and in others the task of execution was his.

In the month of December, 1800, while Fouché was hunting for plots and conspiracies, and for writings against the established consular government, he fell upon a pamphlet entitled 'A Parallel between Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte,' and sent it with an alarming letter to the First Consul. Bonaparte being out at the time, his confidential secretary read the pamphlet, and found that it openly advocated hereditary monarchy. He had scarcely read it through, and laid it upon the Consul's table, when Bonaparte entered the room, took up the pamphlet, and pretended to look through it. After a while he asked Bourrienne whether he had read the *brochure*, and what he thought of it? The secretary replied that he thought it was calculated to produce an unfavourable effect upon the public mind, as it revealed prematurely his monarchical views. Bonaparte threw the pamphlet on the ground as if contemptuously. Next day, other copies of the pamphlet were sent to the First Consul by some of the prefects of the departments nearest to Paris, who complained of the mischievous effect the publication was producing. One of these prefects even said that it was calculated to direct against him the poignards of fresh assassins. After reading these letters, the duplex or triplex Consul said, "Bourrienne, send for Fouché; he must come instantly, and give an account of this matter." In half an hour the cold-blooded minister of police was in the Consul's cabinet. Feigning astonishment and anger, Bonaparte said, "Fouché, what pamphlet is this? What are people saying about it in Paris?" "General, there is but one opinion as to its dangerous tendency." "Then why did you allow it to appear?" "General, I was obliged to show some consideration for the author of it." "The author! What author? What consideration? What do you mean? You should have sent him to the Temple!" "But, General, your brother Lucien, minister of the interior, patronises this pamphlet. It has been printed and published by his order. In short, I have discovered that the pamphlet comes from the Home Office!" Then, in the true old Brutus tone which might have gulled the Jacobin Club in former days, but which could not for a moment impose upon the two men who now heard him, Fouché and Bourrienne, the First Consul rejoined—"No matter for that! What signifies his being my brother? Your duty, as minister of police, was to arrest Lucien and send him to the Temple. The fool does nothing but contrive how he can commit me!" And with these words he rushed out of the room, violently slamming the door to after him. A smile which had been suppressed now curled the colourless lip of the renegade priest: "Send the author to the Temple," said he, "hem! That would be no easy matter! As soon as I made the discovery I went to Lucien to point out the dangerous imprudence he had committed. He made me no answer, but went and got the original manuscript, which he showed me, and which contained corrections and annotations in the First Consul's own hand writing!" As soon as Lucien heard what had passed with the minister of police, he also came running to the Tuileries, to reproach his brother with having thrust him forward to write the pamphlet, and then abandoned him. "It is all your own fault," said the First Consul; "you have allowed yourself to be caught. So much the worse for you! Fouché is too cunning for you. You are a mere fool compared with Fouché." Lucien resigned his office of home minister, and was appointed plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid, where there was business to do, and money to be made; and where, as is reported, Lucien availed himself so well of the latter opportunity as to return from his diplomatic mission richer by some millions of francs than he was when he wrote the parallel between Cæsar,

Cromwell, and Bonaparte. Other essays to prepare the public mind for monarchy and a new sacred hereditary right in the Corsican family met

LUCIEN BONAPARTE.

with better success than Lucien's pamphlet; and nearly every word and deed of the First Consul tended to accustom the French to those ideas. As the pear grew ripe less precaution was observed; but, to the last moment, there was a veil of hypocrisy thrown over it, and Bonaparte gave himself the air of being absolutely forced to pluck and eat the tempting, luscious fruit. It is supposed that it was at this particular point of his career that he most brought into play those principles of duplicity and dissimulation which are commonly called Machiavellian; and that trickery, falsehood, cunning, and affected moderation were never, by any man, put into play with more talent and success.* The trick which had been played upon Lucien in the year 1800 did not prevent that personage from playing fresh tricks himself in 1802, or cool in any degree his zeal for making his brother a king, or more than king. Lucien was the most active and violent propagator of the monarchic and hereditary ideas; and he pursued his vocation of apostle with constancy and address. Among the other warm apostles were Rœderer, the procureur syndic, who, on the 10th of August, 1792, had given Louis XVI. the fatal advice to quit the Tuileries and seek refuge in the National Assembly, who had played a double or equivocal part through all the revolution, and who had aided materially in the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire; Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angely, who had been one of the fiercest of the republicans, originating or proposing in the Convention some of the most terrible decrees, and who had voted for the death of Louis XVI. and the eternal abolition of royalty; and Fontanes, a littérateur, journalist, and mediocre poet, from Niort, who devoted himself to the star of Bonaparte as soon as it rose above the horizon, and who, in French phraseology, "had at that time inspired with a tender passion Eliza, eldest sister of the Consul,"* and (be it said parenthetically) the wife of another man—of Felice-Pasquale Bacciochi, a very poor but nobly born Corsican officer, who subsequently, by grace of his wanton wife, became Prince of Lucca and Piombino. Lucien, who some ten years afterwards inflicted upon the world an epic poem of his own composition,† supposed to be the most tedious even of that class of compositions in modern days, figured as the Mæcenas of the new Augustus, collecting around him all the readiest and most pliable littérateurs of Paris, giving them their cue on their themes, and paying them with money, places, or promises for the work they did. These men represented incessantly that the great man who had conquered the nations of Europe, and none but he, could preserve the glory of France, undo the evils and perpetuate the good which the revolution had done, and give to the French people the rational freedom, the happiness, the stable institutions of which they stood in need. The words "stability and order" were now constantly resounding in every ear, and introduced in every page of printed paper; and under the cloak of these two fine words the entire subversion of liberty and the erection of a despotism were concealed. They found a people wearied out by a long excitement and anxious only for order and tranquillity at home, and glory and conquest abroad; a people that did not moan or sigh over the bloody fantastic tricks which had been played, but laughed at them all, pleasantly terminating their political retrospects and reflections with a "*Que de farces nous avons faites dans notre révolution!*" They found the vast majority of the public men of the day disgraced and utterly discredited by their cowardly vacillations and rapid changes between the most extreme political opinions; they found many of the chief fanatics of Jacobinism ready to become the fanatics or the tools of a military despotism; and, therefore, Lucien and his brother-apostles and disciples soon found an easy acceptance of the mission they preached. But a greater than these—a man who, on account of his wonderful ability and dexterity, can never be mentioned save with respect—Talleyrand,—aided and contributed in establishing their system, doing far more for it than all these babblers and scribblers put together. It was not that Talleyrand had any taste or love for despotism in the abstract; but he saw clearly that nothing was left to his country but a long continued anarchy, with the worst of despotisms, an ever changing popular tyranny; the restoration of the Bourbons, with all the horrors of a vindictive counter-revolution, or the single absolute rule of Napoleon Bonaparte; and, like a wise man whose prudence was never disturbed by enthusiasm, or by passion of any kind, he, of these three evils, chose the least, and afterwards laboured, as far as prudence

* Bourrienne.

* Capefigue.
† Charlemagne, ou l'Eglise Délivrée.

and self-preservation permitted, to mitigate the operation of that at least evil which he chose.

When the consulate for life was only in embryo, most flattering counsels, the warmest encouragements, poured into the Tuileries from all quarters. At length, when the Senate first acquainted him with the vote by which they added ten more years to his consulate, Bonaparte returned a calm but evasive and equivocating answer; in which, nourishing his favourite hope of obtaining more from the people than from the Senate, he declared with feigned humility, "that he would submit to this new sacrifice, if the wish of the people should demand what the Senate had voted." An extraordinary convocation of the Council of State took place when a communication was made to them of the vote of the Senate and of the First Consul's reply. The Council proceeded to consider how the people should be consulted, and what questions should be submitted to them. Not satisfied with the ten additional years, and thinking it best to strike the iron while it was hot, and not to stop short in the middle of a work so pleasing to Bonaparte, and likely to be so profitable to themselves, they very soon decided that the questions to be put to the people should be these—"Shall the first consul be appointed for life? and shall he have the power of nominating his successor?"* The decisions on these questions were carried, as it were, by storm. The appointment for life passed the Tribunate and Legislative Body unanimously, but the right of naming a successor only by a small majority. Bonaparte now pretended to affirm that he condemned this second measure, which had not originated with himself. He thought it advisable to appear to reject a part of what was offered, and, as the clause about the successor had been so very far from being carried unanimously, he struck it out altogether. The farce of consulting the people was performed, as it had been on previous occasions, in this fashion: registers were opened in all the communes; the officers and employés of government hurried to sign first, drew others in their vortex, wrote the names of citizens who could not write themselves, occasionally dropping in a name which nobody owned, or which the owner of it might not have put in such a book, and using, it is said, threats as well as cajolery. It is, however, declared, and, considering the people and the times, the fact is not credible, that nearly every where the French in general repaired willingly and gaily to their municipalities. When the registers, or their abstracts, were all brought to Paris, it was declared that three millions and a half of persons had confirmed, with their signatures, the vote of the legislature. On the 2nd of August, 1802, the following decree went forth, with a proper preamble about the registers and the unbiassed will of the people:—"1. The French people name, and the Senate proclaim, Napoleon Bonaparte First Consul for life. 2. A statue of *Peace*, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other this decree of the Senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation. 3. The Senate will convey to the First Consul the expression of the confidence, love, and admiration of the French people."—And after a very few days this new revolution was completed by the issuing of a simple Senatus Consultum, which accommodated the last consular constitution, or that made after the bayonet-scene at St. Cloud, to the present change, by making it still more despotic. Senator Cornudet-des-Chomettes, a lawyer, who had been a member of the Council of Ancients, in presenting this new law for modifying the constitution, preached the funeral sermon of the sovereignty of the people. "Senators," said he, "we must for ever shut out the Gracchi. The will of the people, as regards the political laws they obey, is expressed by the general prosperity: the guarantee of the rights of society places absolutely the dogma of the practice of the sovereignty of the people *in the Senate*. This is the only social doctrine!" The senators admitted this novel social doctrine, not certainly with any expectation of keeping in their own hands the practice of the sovereignty of the people, but with the intention of making it over to Bonaparte in a formal manner as soon as he should choose to take another stride, and change his name of consul for life into that of king or emperor. To prepare the way for a pure despotism, this Senatus Consultum materially altered the formation of the electoral bodies; named the electors, like the First Consul, for life; gave the said First Consul the power of adding, at his will and pleasure, to their number; gave to the Senate (which was but a registering office, a hundred-fold less free or constitutional than the parlemens of the old dynasty) the right and faculty of changing institutions, of suspending trial by jury whenever it might be deemed expedient, of annulling the sentences of the courts of law, of dissolving the Legislative Body and the Tribunate, and, finally, of putting refractory provinces or departments out of the benefits of the constitution, *hors de la constitution*—an exclusion or privation which, considering what the constitution was, might have been borne with patience or with indifference. But this same Senatus Consultum did not stop even here, but rolled on, gathering and increasing strength and materials wherewith to fall like an avalanche on every objectionable point that remained of the constitution of Brumaire. It reduced the Tribunate from 100 to only 50 members, and enabled the First Consul to drive away every member of it, who, by his opposition or popular eloquence, had ever given him any umbrage. From the very beginning, Bonaparte had cordially hated this talking part of the constitution. His diatribes against the Tribunate would fill a book. He called them babblers, phrase-mongers, popularity-hunters, ideologists, Jacobins, thieves, scoundrels, whose idle talking prevented him from doing; in short, a self-seeking, undisciplined, dis-

* Bourrienne adds—"The reports of the police had a great influence over the results of these discussions, for they one and all declared that the whole of Paris eagerly demanded a consul for life, with the right of naming a successor."

obedient, pestilent race. All public discussion was as odious to him as it could have been to an Eastern despot; and one of his numerous grounds of hatred to England was found in the publicity which attends all measures of any consequence in this country, in the freedom and oftimes licence of our press, and in the unrestricted boldness of our parliamentary debates. The only discussions he could tolerate were those which took place in the Council of State, where the doors were closed, and the debaters awed by his presence. He would often say to the leading orators of the Tribunate—"Why, instead of declaiming in public, do you not come and discuss matters with me in private? We might then have family discussions together, as in the Council of State. . . . . Beware of violent speech-making! It was by *that* that the Jacobins drove the people mad." On one occasion he said to the Senate—"This Tribunate contains a dozen or fifteen metaphysicians, fit only to be thrown into the Seine: they are a kind of vermin that have crept into my dress! But let them not fancy that I will suffer myself to be attacked like Louis XVI.! I will never allow matters to come to that."* Before this revision of the constitution, Benjamin Constant, Isnard, Mailla-Garat, and other obnoxious members of the Tribunate, had been weeded out; now none were left in the reduced body but submissive, flattering members; and still Bonaparte entertained an aversion to them, because they *spoke*. While the Tribunate was reduced, the Council of State was greatly reinforced. "I love my Council," said Bonaparte, "because there I can discuss matters as in my private family, and obtain as much order and promptness of execution as at head-quarters from my staff." Such is a brief sketch of this constitution of the 16th Thermidor, year X, or the 4th of August, 1802.

As early as the beginning of the year 1800, Bonaparte had directed a commission of lawyers, under the presidency of Cambacérès, to frame a code of laws. These lawyers were the most eminent to be found in France; but it seems at length to be very generally admitted, that neither they, nor the man of military genius who put them in motion, and often presided over their deliberations, were properly qualified for the task of original legislation; or at all capable of making a truly philosophic, general, all-embracing, and enduring code of laws. Their want of preparation, and the extent of their ignorance, were displayed in their total want of diffidence, in the boldness with which they set to work, and in the rapidity with which they finished a task, which, to be done properly, would have taken properly qualified men (if such could have been found in Europe at the time), not four but twenty years. This codification-commission consisted of Tronchet (now president of the Court of Cassation), Bigot de Préameneu, Portalis, and Malleville. Pothier, the juris-consult of Orleans, and a greater lawyer than any of them, had facilitated the undertaking by various learned works, published before the revolution, and it was where they followed him implicitly that the least errors were committed. The sketch or *projet* of the first code was printed as early as the beginning of 1801, and was submitted to the different courts of justice in France for their observations and suggestions. These observations and suggestions were also printed; and the whole was then laid before the Committee of Legislation of the Council of State, consisting of Boulay, Berlier, Emmery, Portalis, Rœderer, Real, and Thibaudeau. Both Bonaparte, and his colleague in the consulship, Cambacérès, who had been bred a lawyer, and who might have been a good one but for his indolence and his numerous vocations foreign to law, took a very active part in the debates on the clauses of the code; and in many instances the imperative will of the First Consul, who thought it as easy to make laws for nations as to make regulations for an army, silenced all doubt and opposition. By the majority of the committee and of the whole council every word he let fall was caught with avidity, and every decided expression of his will was conformed to. During all the time the discussions were pending, instead of assembling, as usual, three times a week, the Council of State assembled every day; and the sittings, which, on ordinary occasions, lasted only two or three hours, were often prolonged to five or six: and, after those sittings, the First Consul frequently invited some of the members of the committee to dine with him, in order to continue the discussion. The various heads of the code were successively discussed in council, and then laid before the Tribunate, who handed them over to the Legislative Body. Some opposition was encountered, and some alterations were obliged to be made; but, by the beginning of 1804, the entire code, having passed both the Tribunate and the Legislative body, was promulgated as the 'Civil Code of Frenchmen' (*Code Civil des Français*). A few months after its promulgation, when Bonaparte made himself emperor, he changed the name into that of 'Code Napoléon,' and began making various changes far more important than that of the mere name—changes which never ceased while he was at the head of the government, and which went on with increased rapidity at the restoration of the Bourbons; so that the code of 1804, which was then declared to have the property of

* "Just at this time he delivered sundry remarks equally bitter on the liberty of the press. Camille Jourdan, who had given his vote for the consulate for life, published a pamphlet to justify his vote, and to enumerate all the guarantees for liberty which he expected the gratitude and honour of the First Consul would grant to the French people. Among these guarantees were the cessation of arbitrary arrests and imprisonments, the responsibility of ministers, and the independence of the judges. Each of these demands was an offence, but they were all mere peccadillos compared with Camille Jourdan's great crime of demanding the liberty of the press. For this the First Consul loaded him with invectives. 'How!' exclaimed he, 'am I never to have done with these firebrands?—these babblers, who think that politics may be shown on a printed page like the world on a map? Truly, I know not what things will come to if I let this go on. Camille Jourdan, whom I received so well at Lyons, to think that he should ask for the liberty of the press! Were I to accede to this, I might as well go and live on a farm a hundred leagues from Paris.' Bonaparte's first act in favour of the liberty of the press was to order the seizure of the pamphlet in which Camille Jourdan had extolled the advantages of the measure. Publicity, either by words or writing, was Bonaparte's horror. Hence his aversion to public speakers and writers."—*Bourrienne.*

fixity or unchangeableness, has been as liable to alteration as most other things in France. Bonaparte himself, as emperor, has been called the great destroyer of the code which bore and still bears his name. Law after law was changed or modified by decree or Senatus Consultum. As his monarchic views extended, after his marriage with the Emperor of Austria's daughter, he touched even the law of succession, and, instead of the nearly equal division of property, he established in certain cases the old right of primogeniture, with the distinction between moveable and immoveable property, creating, in order to have an hereditary nobility to support his hereditary monarchy, *majorats*, fiefs, &c., which, with the titles attached to them, were to descend to eldest sons. He left the much-cherished law of the revolution to burghers and common people, and this has led to that minute subdivision of property which is now, and is every day becoming more, the curse of France, though obstinately held to be its greatest blessing. The facile law of divorce, another favourite product of the revolution, he left much as he found it, though he frequently admitted its evil effects upon the morals of the people. He was, however, wont to boast that his fame in the eyes of posterity would rest more on his code than on his campaigns. In parts of Italy, in the Prussian provinces on the Rhine, in all the countries where his code has been taken as the basis of jurisprudence, capital changes have been made and are still being made in it. In France itself, its operation is not found to have either more speed or more certainty than other systems of law; and a library of law-books has already been written to explain, in different ways, what was at first held to stand in no need of explanation, to be clear to the commonest capacity, and to be as certain as a mathematical truth. This law-library is annually increasing, so that the French student will not long have to congratulate himself on the facility of his profession as compared with its labours in other countries. By competent critics in jurisprudence it has been said that the code of Napoleon has neither the merit of being a good code, nor that of having produced one single good or great lawyer.* In Napoleon's own time, the laws he himself made or sanctioned were never allowed to stand in the way of his arbitrary power, and from first to last he evinced a violent antipathy to lawyers. In fact there was no protection or redress whatever against arbitrary acts; for by an article of the consular constitution, which was retained in the imperial constitution, any suit against the agents of government, without a previous authorization from the Council of State (that is from the government itself), was forbidden.

The provincial administration attracted Bonaparte's attention: and it was re-organised upon one uniform plan, which contained none of that essence which gives life and heart to real municipal institutions. All provincial or local administration was to be made entirely dependent on the central power or executive at Paris. The dangerous parts of this centralisation system—of that system which tends to make the capital everything, and the provinces nothing—were never before carried to such lengths. The chief administrative authority of every department was lodged in the hands of a prefect; this prefect was rarely a native, but generally a stranger to the department; he received a large salary, and was dismissed or removed at the will of Bonaparte, like any other government servant. In all towns having more than 5000 inhabitants, Bonaparte, or his executive at Paris, appointed the mayors; but in communes having less than 5000 inhabitants, the mayors, as well as all the members of the municipality, were named by the prefects. Nothing was left to the choice of the people: all remains of popular election, and of municipal or communal liberty, the quiet enjoyment of which might gradually have prepared the French people for a national liberty and a representative government, were abrogated as things odious to Bonaparte. If, as some of his inconsiderate admirers still assert, he constantly kept in view, in everything he was doing, the eventual establishment of a free government in France, he must have had the falsest notions of the means likely to contribute to that great end!

A system of public instruction was also organised. The task of providing elementary education was thrown upon the communes; but the communes being mostly very poor, and the municipal spirit, with its faculty of self-government, being taken out of them by the centralisation system, with its pernicious principle that everything was to be done by the salaried servants of government, the establishment of primary schools made little progress, and elementary education and the instruction of the labouring classes remained in most parts of France in a languishing and precarious condition during the whole of Bonaparte's reign. In a population of 32,000,000, the number of pupils under ten years of age in the primary and secondary schools was only 75,000. Lyceums were established to furnish instruction in higher literature and in the classics, and in these establishments about 4000 pupils were maintained at the expense of the state, besides boarders, who were kept at the charge of their parents. The discipline was altogether military; and much more attention appears to have been paid in these Lyceums to drilling, military manœuvres, and mathematics, than to Latin and the Roman classics. Scientific education was given in special schools, such as the schools of Law and of Medicine, the College of France, and the Polytechnic School at Paris; the Military School at Fontainebleau; the School of Artillery and Engineers at Mayence; the School of Bridges and Highways, or of Civil Engineering; the Schools for the Mines, &c.; and in some of these the professors and

* The most able remarks on the Code Civil, or Code Napoleon, have been made by the highly distinguished German jurist and metaphysician Savigny, in his work *Vom Beruf unsrer Zeit zur Gesetzgebung und Rechtswissenschaft*, which has been translated into English by a barrister of Lincoln's Inn (Mr. Hayward, we believe), under the title of 'On the Aptitude [it should rather be the Vocation] of our Age for Legislation.'

teachers were first-rate men, and the practical methods of study excellent. These things contributed directly to the military glory and to the aggrandisement of France, and all were positive and material things, suited to the bare, cold utilitarianism of Bonaparte, who was the greatest oracle of that school before it got a name on this side of the Channel. But speculative, philosophical, and political studies were discredited, discouraged, and to a great degree suppressed, Bonaparte sneering at all such studies, or censuring them as idle and dangerous. The metaphysicians of the revolution, and the speculators who prepared that event, had furnished him with abundant materials for his sarcasms. "These metaphysicians," said he, "are the men to whom France owes all her misfortunes. These ideologists know nothing of men, and can never get a practical idea into their heads. I will have none of your ideologists (*Je ne veux point d'idéologues !*")* He always looked with a jealous eye on all those who, in writing or in any other way, meddled with legislation, or moral improvement, or political economy: he liked only such writers as directed their attention to positive and precise subjects, which excluded all thoughts of government and censures on administration. He wished all the schools to be paid by government, and to be exclusively at his disposal; so that, by possessing the monopoly of education, he could parcel it out only to the children of those who were most blindly devoted to him. "This," says his secretary, "was what the First Consul called the revival of public instruction. I remember that one of his chief arguments was this: 'What is it that distinguishes men? Education—is it not? Well, if the children of the noblesse be admitted into these academies, they will be as well educated as the children of the revolution, who compose the strength of my government. Ultimately, they will enter into my regiments as officers, and will naturally come into competition with those whom they regard as the plunderers of their families. I do not wish that!'" His sentiments, his fears as to the old noblesse, were considerably modified afterwards, when some who bore the proudest and most ancient names of that order took service under him, that they might live and command the luxuries of life, and, renouncing the Bourbon cause as irretrievably lost, put on his livery as chamberlains; but, to the end of his dominion over France, the advantages of the Lyceums and special schools were almost entirely reserved for "the children of the revolution," or, rather, for that portion of them who were sons of his own most devoted officers and servants. For Sieyes, who had said and firmly believed that politics formed a science which he had completely mastered—for Sieyes, who stood at the head of the constitution-makers and metaphysicians, who had been duped by his own self-confidence into furthering the ambitious views of the First Consul, and who had been for a short, a very short time, his consular colleague, he entertained a profound contempt; nor was the money-getting, sordid character of the ex-abbé proper to remove this feeling. It was a standing joke at the Tuileries that Sieyes's face always said plainer than words could speak it, "Give me some more money." The First Consul himself would say, "Yes, yes! only touch Sieyes on the side of his own interest, and he drops down from the clouds, and, ceasing to be a visionary, becomes a man of the world and of business." It was the same with too many others of that school; and Bonaparte, who never had a high opinion of mankind, despised men more and more in proportion as he became acquainted with them, or rather, perhaps, in proportion to his monopolising all the sources of profit and distinction. The modest, the honest, the high-minded stood aloof; but there was incessantly a crowd of supplicants at his door, exhibiting in many instances the very depth of human baseness, the most profligate sacrifices of principle to emolument; and it was upon such proofs as these that he built up his degrading theory—that men were only to be moved by their interests or by their fears. "One of Bonaparte's greatest misfortunes was, that he neither believed in friendship, nor felt the necessity of loving." *

The Jacobins had broken to bits the forty gilded fauteuils of the *Académie Française*, had scattered the Academy of Inscriptions and Antiquities, and all the rest of those learned corporate bodies, sequestrating their property where they had any, and stopping the pensions they received from the State. In building up a new monarchy Bonaparte was determined to restore these things, which would give a grace and a splendour to his royalty, and add to the number of his immediate dependents, for the Academicians were to continue to be paid by the State, and to receive their salaries quarterly like professors and schoolmasters, and bishops and parish priests, and the common run of government servants. The National Convention had decreed and the Directory had established the *Institut;* but its constitution savoured too strongly of the revolution and of democracy to please the First Consul, and it neither embraced the Academies of the ancient régime nor gave any protection to the Belles

* "The word *idéologue* was often in Bonaparte's mouth; and in using it he endeavoured to throw ridicule on those men whom he fancied to have a tendency towards the doctrine of indefinite perfectibility. He esteemed them for their morality; yet he looked on them as dreamers, seeking for the type of a universal constitution, and considering the character of man in the abstract only. The *idéologues*, according to him, looked for power in institutions; and that he called metaphysics. He had no idea of power except in direct force. All benevolent men who speculate on the amelioration of human society were regarded by Bonaparte as dangerous, because their maxims and principles were diametrically opposed to the harsh and arbitrary system he had adopted. He said that their hearts were better than their heads; and, far from wandering with them in abstractions, he always said that men were only to be governed by fear and interest."—*Bourrienne.*

* Bourrienne.—"How often," adds the private secretary, "have I heard him say, 'Friendship is but a name; I love nobody. I do not even love my own brothers. Perhaps Joseph, a little, from habit, and because he is my senior. And Duroc, perhaps I love him a little too. But why? Because his character suits me. He is stern and resolute; and I really believe the fellow never shed a tear. For my part, I know very well that I have no true friends. As long as I continue what I am, I may have as many pretended friends as I please. Leave sensibility to *women*; it is their business. But men should be firm in heart and in purpose, or they should have nothing to do with war or with government."

Lettres. Lucien, as the new Mæcenas, attracted to gay salons and soirées M. Suard, the Abbé Morellet, and the few other survivors of the Forty of the *Académie Française*, many of whom had perished by the guillotine, while those who survived found it very hard work to live without their pensions. Lucien was flattered as though he had been a new Cardinal Richelieu, the original founder of the French academy [there was this, and but this, in common between them—both he and the cardinal wrote bad poetry]; and a debt of gratitude was due to the First Consul for establishing a government under which these littérateurs might live at least without the daily dread of sans-culottic violence and the scaffold. Some of them, in very good prose, and in very indifferent verse, had celebrated the brilliant victories of General Bonaparte, and were quite ready to continue these easy labours. Lucien and his brother agreed in the advantages and the splendour to be derived from reviving the recollections of Louis XIV. and Richelieu, and of Corneille and Racine, who had been the glories of the old Academy. The prejudices were strong against the entire revival of that body under its ancient name; but nothing so easy as to introduce it, or such portion of it as might suit the First Consul, substantially, in a re-construction of the too democratic *Institut*. Suard and the Abbé Morellet, who had gained over Lucien upon this point, would fain have revived the name also; but here the First Consul was inflexible. It was finally arranged that the *Institut* should preserve its name and be divided into four classes. Hitherto the *Institut* had had a class of Moral Philosophy or Political Philosophy, and a class of Political Economy, with a branch devoted to statistics. Bonaparte, in his tranchant way, declared that moral philosophy was no philosophy at all, was not a science to be taught, was not a theory to be recognised apart from religion, was a vague dream without any fixed positive ideas; that political philosophy was equally vague, was not a subject proper to be treated by academicians, and could only tend to reproduce the school of Abbé Sieyes, and those dangerous constitution-makers; that political economy was the vaguest of all these pretended sciences; and that, as for statistics, they properly belonged to the class of mathematics: and with a stroke of the pen he suppressed these classes of moral and political sciences.* The class of Science, which was thus strictly confined to the physical and the mathematical, he placed in the first rank, giving the second rank to the class of "Language and Literature," which had formerly held the first rank, and which was to continue to form the Académie Française, and to include such of the surviving members of the old body as had conformed to the new order of things. The number of members was, however, to be the same as in Cardinal Richelieu's institution; and poets of the revolution, like Chenier, were admitted into the Forty. Considering the state of literature and science at that period, the First Consul did not, indeed, make a wrong estimate of their relative value: the littérateurs of France, the Ducis, St. Pierres, Cheniers, Lemerciers, and Fontanes could not be compared with her scientific men, as Lagrange, Laplace, Fourcroy, Berthollet, and Cuvier. "But," adds Bourrienne, "though no one could murmur at seeing the class of sciences take precedence of its elder sister, Bonaparte was not sorry to show, by this arrangement, the slight estimation in which he held literary men. He called them mere manufacturers of phrases. He could not pardon them for excelling him in a pursuit in which he had no claim to distinction . . . He said, 'These fellows are good for nothing under any government. I will, however, give them pensions, because I ought to do so, as head of the state. They will amuse the idle, and occupy public attention.'"*

Some of the Academicians, or members of the class of Language and Literature, gave him some uneasiness and increased his contempt or dislike to *littérateurs* in general, by a perverse adherence to republican predilections; but in general the Forty behaved with exemplary meekness and submission, knowing but too well that the head of the state, who gave pensions, could stop them. The chemists, mathematicians, physical philosophers, and naturalists, better earned the money they received, and by their labours and discoveries gave a real lustre to his reign, and at the same time conferred benefits upon their country; but it was observable that, with a very few honourable exceptions, these scientific men were far more base and prostrate before his despotism than were the men of letters.

By the end of the year 1802 Bonaparte had concentrated the whole power of the state in his single self, and had organised an absolutism compared with which that of Louis XIV. was a free government. In the words of the ablest and honestest of the republican historians of France, he had a class devoted to him *in the clergy* as re-organized by the Concordat; he had a military order in the Legion of Honour; an administrative body in the Council of State; a decree-making machine in the Legislative Body; and a constitution-making machine in the Senate.† The immense standing

* Capefigue, L'Empire et le Consulat.

* "It appeared to me," writes the late Sir James Mackintosh, who visited France in the autumn of 1802, "that one might give a just account of the state of learning at Paris, by saying that the mathematical and physical sciences were very actively and successfully cultivated, polite literature neglected, erudition extinct, and that moral and political speculation were discountenanced by the government, *and had ceased to interest the public.*"—*Letter to Dugald Stewart, in Life of Mackintosh, by his Son.*

The literature which most flourished, but which could scarcely be called *polite*, was a sort of soldataccio, camp, and brothel literature: a rapid production of obscene, irreligious novels and novelettes, not quite so atrocious in their principles, nor nearly so polished in their language, as the writings of de Sade, Louvet, and others, but coarse, frowsy, cynical, and altogether suited to the tastes and habits of the soldiery. In the way of the fine arts, filthy prints, the fitting illustrations or accompaniments of such books, were multiplied with amazing rapidity. Bonaparte himself had no taste for any of these foul things; he even expressed his disapprobation and disgust, and at times in strong, decided language; but he saw that they amused the French people, and, so long as they did not caricature him and his family, or convey insinuations against his government, he was content to let them run their course.

† Mignet.—Sir James Mackintosh was much struck with the passive submission of the so lately impatient and turbulent French people,

army was at his disposal, and, almost unanimously, devoted to him and his glory. So many places had been created with direct salaries from the state that he had another army in his placemen, and constant baits to hold out to the thousands of needy or ambitious men that were incessantly resorting to Paris to seek employments under government:—and now everything was under government, and by the centralisation system the place of distribution was the capital alone. This rage for place-hunting increased in proportion with his splendour and his power, contributing in an eminent degree to the growth and maintenance of that power, and to the general indifference for national freedom; for, besides France and Italy, Belgium and the annexed provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, Bonaparte could soon after this appoint to profitable employments in Holland, and in more than half the states into which Germany was divided, and a few years later Spain and Portugal presented themselves as new Lands of Promise to the ever-increasing and insatiate place-hunters. At the end of his reign, it was not easy to find a man that was not, or had not been, either *militaire* or *employé*.

The absolute power put into the hands of the First Consul for life was used with the utmost vigour. His government assumed at once most of the characteristics of an ancient despotism. Even while Fox and his friends were tarrying in Paris, secret arrests were made by night and by day, and by scores at a time. Men were arrested upon the information of spies and informers, were immured in the Temple or some other state prison without knowing of what they were accused; and were not unfrequently removed in a private manner and by night from these places of captivity in Paris to much more horrible prisons or fortresses in remote parts of France. These nocturnal arrests and removals were called Fouché's lettres-de-cachet. When a man suddenly disappeared and none could tell whither he was gone, the Parisians concluded that the devil or the minister of police had got him in his clutches. In many cases the mystery was preserved for years; in others the agents of police or even Fouché himself made money by revealing to those interested in their fate, the "whereabout" of these new *suspects* and state prisoners.

The peace of Amiens, besides affording the First Consul the opportunity of consolidating his power and of putting matters at home in order, allowed him time to devise a vast system of colonisation. He could not but know that, without foreign colonies, there could be no rapid or certain increase of the mercantile navy of France, and that without a mercantile navy he could have no hope of an armed or national navy capable of contending with that of England—a country whose subjugation was more frequently in his thoughts during this brief peace than it had been during the turmoil and bustle of the war. "Colonies and ships," "ships and colonies," were words constantly re-echoing in the Tuileries and the Council of State. He took up the ideas of colonisation and naval supremacy which had been current during the American war and all the earlier part of the reign of Louis XVI., and he added bolder notions of his own. He regarded colonies first as *military stations* whence conquests might be pursued, and secondly as sources of commercial prosperity and nurseries for seamen; and in his eyes the military part seems never to have been separated from the civil, or conquest from commerce. It was not alone for those territories themselves that he made Spain yield Louisiana, and Portugal so large a portion of Guiana: he hoped, and had really planned to make them keys to the conquest of Canada and Nova Scotia, the Brazils, Mexico, and even Peru; and, having no sympathy with, and no respect for, the republic of America, the United States, if not conquered, were to be observed, checked, coerced both in their commerce and in their political proceedings and alliances. The Spanish portion of St. Domingo had been extorted from the Court of Madrid because, from its central position, it would facilitate the reduction of the Antilles and all the West India Islands. Quite secondary to these notions of conquest were his commercial views, or his brilliant ideas of the advantages to be derived from opening the great American rivers to French trade and manufactures, and from enjoying the entire monopoly of the products and the trade of the West Indies. Even in the factories and counting-houses we had agreed to restore in the East Indies, he saw pivots on which to rest his lever. Making sure of that great half-way house the Cape of Good Hope (for to restore it to the Dutch was to cede it to the French), he aimed at acquiring possession of the great island of Madagascar, the old and much neglected settlements of the Portuguese on the Mosambique Channel and on the Abyssinian coast at the entrance into the Red Sea, of St. Helena in the Atlantic, and of all the more important of the islands which stud the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea, and the Bay of Bengal, which serve as stepping-stones to Hindostan and all the richest regions of the East. By establishing a line of naval stations from the Cape of Good Hope to the island of Ceylon, he hoped to crush the power of Great Britain in India, and to exclude her shipping from all the Eastern seas. Part of this work he considered as done to his hands, for the French had been allowed to retain undisturbed possession of the isles of France and Bourbon; the Dutch held Java, Sumatra, and whole archipelagoes of islands in those Eastern seas; the Spaniards held

and clearly foresaw in what all this would end:—"It appeared to me, that all the elements of a free, or even of a civil government, have been broken and dispersed in the course of the Revolution. Nothing, I own, would surprise me more than to see any authority in France not resting chiefly on military force. The Revolution unanimously condemned; a dread of change greater than the passion for change was in 1789; a broken-spirited people, and a few virtuous and well-informed men, without adherents, without concert, without extraordinary talents, breathing vain wishes for liberty:—these were the features which most struck me in the political state of France. Frenchmen seem destined to be the slaves of a military chief, and the terror of their neighbours for a time; beyond which, I can pretend to see nothing."—*Letter to Dugald Stewart.*

other groupes of islands; and all that belonged to Spaniards or to Dutch he considered as politically belonging to France and under his direct control. Suffrein, one of the best naval officers of France, had already visited and attentively examined most of these islands and all the British ports in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast; and, almost as soon as the preliminaries of the peace of Amiens were signed, the First Consul dispatched Captain Baudin with two corvettes to visit St. Helena, Madagascar, the other African islands, India, and the chief Asiatic groupes. Ostensibly this was nothing but a voyage of discovery and of science; Captain Baudin was accompanied by a complete staff of naturalists, geologists, and savans of various descriptions, including M. Peron, who embarked in the capacity of 'Anthropologist' to the expedition, and who, being especially charged with the "study of man," ranked at the tail of the zoologists* (in all, the staff of savans amounted to thirty-three); but the real object of the expedition was to obtain surveys and information which might facilitate the execution of the grand scheme of occupation and conquest, and this was afterwards made evident by more than one of the staff of *philosophes* who published long, pompous accounts of the voyage. Wherever they went, their first occupation was to ascertain how the island or the settlement might most easily be occupied by France; wherever the flag of England was floating (and at times it filled them with despair to see how many isles and corners of the globe were covered by the English leopard), their first thought was how, by war or by surprise, they might hoist the tricolor flag in its stead, and attach the territory for ever to the dominion of France, that enlightened, free, and philosophical country which had so much tenderer a regard for the happiness of the human species than had the proud, oppressive, greedy, and tyrannical Albion. Of St. Helena, where the career of their great employer was destined to close—the island which was afterwards represented as a pestiferous spot purposely chosen to shorten his days—they drew the most flattering description. It was an Isle of Calypso; it was a spot worthy to have given birth to the Goddess of Beauty, so sunny, balmy, and beautiful, so hilarious and healthy was it! In a report which the First Consul himself ordered to be published at Paris, the captain of one of the corvettes called St. Helena a terrestrial paradise, a Land of Promise where all the fruits of the earth and all its flowers were found in the greatest perfection; where the air was pure, the sky serene, and everything around hushed in a heavenly calm; where health shone in every countenance and where the diseases contracted in India were cured instantaneously! The publishing savans, however, admitted that the island would be rather difficult to take, and keep, until the naval superiority of the French should be fully established.

These splendid visions of conquest in the East ended without the possibility of making any great effort to realize them; but in the West, great and most costly exertions were actually made. The expedition to St. Domingo not only formed an essential part of Bonaparte's colonial system, but also afforded him the opportunities of finding employment in a time of peace for a portion of his immense army, and of relegating many of his discontented officers and soldiers far from France. Papers are said still to exist which show that this expedition was for the First Consul a measure of military police; that the drafting of the forces to be employed was most cunningly arranged; that the choice fell upon the demi-brigades, of which he was least sure, and upon the most ardent of the republicans; that the men devoted to Moreau, and the other sturdy republican generals who would not bend the knee at the Tuileries, were all thrust into this fatal expedition.* But to keep in control those discontented, turbulent masses, the command in chief was given to General Leclerc, who had become Bonaparte's brother-in-law by marrying his favourite sister Pauline; and to officers and men, the most tempting and extravagant promises were given of estates and riches in the vast and productive island to which they were going. About 24,000 soldiers were collected on the western coast of France in the autumn of 1801. To transport them to their destination, Bonaparte demanded the services of the Spanish navy; and seven Spanish ships of the line, besides frigates, were put at his disposal. The whole fleet, which sailed on the 14th of December, 1801, consisted of 23 or 24 sail of the line, including some Dutch ships, of 10 or 12 frigates, and of a swarm of smaller vessels and transports. The way in which the First Consul disposed of the naval forces of his allies or dependants gave rise to serious reflections in England, for it proved that all the shipping and ports from the Texel to Cadiz were at the disposal of the French, and that, if any long peace were allowed to the Continent, these navies would be greatly increased.

The negroes and mulattoes of St. Domingo, who had themselves abolished their slavery by energetic, sanguinary, and terrible means, were now settled down under an imitative temporary republic, of which Toussaint Louverture, a black slave of distinguished courage and ability, was the real head. Toussaint had fought like a Spartacus—only with better success—for the liberation of his race; but notwithstanding his bravery and talent, he had little instruction, and was, like all the negro race, essentially an imitator, who could only copy and follow the ideas and systems of the whites. At first, he made a constitution for the negroes of St. Domingo like that which the Directory had made for France; but, when the revolution of Brumaire

* Edinburgh Review, No. XI., Art. on Voyage dans les Quatre Principales Iles des Mers d'Afrique, fait par ordre du Gouvernement, &c. &c.; par J. B. G. M. Bory de St. Vincent, Naturaliste en chef dans l'Expédition, &c. This many-named naturalist soon grew weary of the sea and its privations, and made all the haste he could back to France. On the whole, these thirty-three savans were but a poor spiritless set, impatient of suffering and discomfort, and loathing the sea.

* Capefigue.

established the consulship, put the power of the state in the hands of Bonaparte, and altered the constitution, Toussaint changed his constitution

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE.

also, proclaiming himself First Consul of Haiti, the Bonaparte of St. Domingo! These close imitations irritated the First Consul of France, hurt his very susceptible pride, and made him the more eager for the overthrow of this negro republic. "This comedy of government," said he, "must cease! We must not permit military honours to be worn by apes and monkeys!" As for the abolition of negro slavery, Bonaparte considered it as one of the most glaring absurdities which had ever been entertained by the ideologists and revolutionists of France: he had had a near view of slavery in Egypt and Syria, and the sight had not rendered it odious to him; he doubted whether white men could cultivate the plantations in the West Indies; he knew that the negroes could, but he thought that they would work only under compulsion; and therefore he considered negro slavery as an indispensable necessity, without which such colonies would be useless. To Truguet, a warm abolitionist, he said, in open council, "M. Truguet, if you had come over to Egypt to preach the liberty of the blacks and Arabs, we would have hanged you on the mast of your ship! Your friends of the blacks delivered all the whites in St. Domingo up to the ferocity of the negroes! I am for the whites because I am a white man! This is reason enough. How could Frenchmen dream of granting liberty to Africans, to men who had no civilisation, who did not even know what was a colony and what a mother-country? It is quite clear that those who want the liberty of the blacks want the slavery of the whites. But again, do you believe that, if the majority of the National Convention had known what they were about, and had understood the colonies, they would have abolished negro slavery? At present nothing but self-conceit and hypocrisy can make people cling to those visionary principles of the Convention!" But, as Toussaint Louverture was a black, he was, by the same philosophy, likely to prefer blacks to whites; and, as the negroes of St. Domingo had obtained their liberty after fighting for it, it was quite certain that they would fight again rather than return to slavery. Accordingly General Leclerc and his doomed demi-brigades found, almost as soon as they landed in St. Domingo, that every negro on the island was hostile to them, and that they were sent to engage in one of the most difficult and destructive of warfares, in a country where the climate and everything else were against them. Their first successes only deceived them, led them into a false and dangerous confidence, and made their subsequent failures more terrible to themselves and more disappointing to those who had sent them thither. Fort Dauphin was easily captured; Cape Français was evacuated by the negro Henri Christophe, who had once been a skilful cook at a tavern, but who was now a general of the blacks, and second only to Toussaint Louverture; but, before quitting the town, Christophe burned the greater part of it, and he succeeded in drawing off 3000 armed negroes, with whom he joined the black First Consul. With nearly equal ease the French got possession of Port-au-Prince and the chief sea-ports, and of the principal military posts near the coast. This done, they advanced into the interior of the island to encounter the black First Consul and the yellow fever. Various loose actions were fought, in which victory did not invariably declare itself for the whites, and in which the black generals are said to have displayed both skill and courage. But the white First Consul had instructed his brother-in-law to employ craft where force failed; to sow jealousies and dissensions among the negroes; to dupe the black First Consul by treaties and promises of amnesty, honours and the viceroyalty of the island; and to adopt all means, foul or fair, to get possession of his person. Though by no means devoid of cunning, or unaccustomed to practise treachery himself, the negro chief fell into the snare, submitted to Leclerc, and was presently loaded with chains and sent a prisoner to France. But the successful treachery did not lead to the result which Bonaparte had confidently expected from it. With a unanimity, with a fury doubled by the dark deed, the negroes flew to arms under Henri Christophe and other leaders, fell upon the French when weakened by the endemic fever, scattered them, drove them back towards the coast, and tortured, mutilated, butchered them in heaps wherever they obtained the mastery over them. Between the blacks and the whites nearly all the plantations and the dwellings of men were wasted by fire and the sword; and devastations were committed from which the island has never recovered, nor is likely to recover under negro government. The French retaliated wherever they were able, and the most atrocious of wars was prolonged through many months. Even in the restored island of Guadaloupe, where but a slight resistance was offered by the blacks and mulattoes, detestable barbarities were committed, and the French commander frankly announced his intention of pursuing and *exterminating* the rem-

nant of the rebels. In the autumn of 1802, when the yellow fever and the blacks of St. Domingo had reduced the fine French army to a few hundreds of sickly, wounded, despairing men, and when Leclerc himself was dying of the endemic, Christophe, with the black chiefs Clervaux and Dessalines, invested the town of Cape Français.* Leclerc died on the 2nd of November, and was succeeded in the chief command by General Rochambeau, son of the old marshal of that name who had served in America with Lafayette, and who had commanded the first great revolutionary army in 1790. The arrival of fresh reinforcements from France—in all about 15,000 men—enabled Rochambeau to drive Christophe and his blacks from Cape Français, which they were threatening with a regular siege. He then attempted to recover the ground which Leclerc had lost, and to penetrate into the south of the island; but the troops, fresh from Europe, caught the terrible diseases of the climate; and after some marches which multiplied the mortality, and some disastrous encounters with Christophe, he was compelled to retreat to Cape Français, with a force so diminished, sick, and disheartened, as to render any long defence of that place an impracticability. As by this time the war with England had been recommenced, Bonaparte could not venture to send out any more ships and troops. Preferring a capitulation with the negroes to a surrender to the English, Rochambeau treated with the black chief Dessalines, agreed to deliver up the town to him, and evacuated Cape Français on the 1st of December, 1803. He and his garrison were followed to their ships by a great number of white families, who had returned to the island in the hope of recovering their plantations and slaves, but who now dreaded the ferocity of the free and triumphant negroes. The whole fleet or convoy, with troops, civilians, and planters, was captured by our squadrons; and Rochambeau was brought a prisoner of war to England. Several French generals, who occupied distant towns on the coast, were left behind in St. Domingo: of these, Brunet surrendered to the English; Sarrazin succeeded in escaping to Cuba; Noailles, in attempting to follow Sarrazin, was intercepted by an English sloop of war, and killed in the fierce action which ensued; and Ferrand retired to the town of San Domingo, a place of great strength, and the capital of the old Spanish part of the island, where the whites were more powerful, or the blacks more friendly and submissive, than in the old French portion of the country. Ferrand maintained himself there for nearly five years; but, for any benefit he conferred on France, he might as well have been in the moon: he could never make any progress in conciliating the blacks in the French part, and he could scarcely ship a hogshead of sugar without the certainty of its being captured by the English. In 1808, when the Spanish nation rose like one man against Bonaparte, the Spanish governor of Porto-Rico declared war against him, the Spaniards of the island rose upon him, and, after a battle in which he lost the greater part of his very small force, Ferrand put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains. A more fatal expedition is not to be found in the whole history of this long war: between February, 1802, and December, 1803, from 40,000 to 50,000 men perished in the island of St. Domingo; but, assuredly, one of the objects of Bonaparte was obtained; the troublesome, obdurate republicans could trouble him no longer—the dead, and only the dead, never come back,—as citizen Barrère had said in the high republican days. The treatment which Toussaint Louverture met with in France was at least as atrocious as any part of this horrible history. He was brought to Paris in the beginning of August, 1802, and was sent in the first instance to the Temple, which, as a state prison, was far more crowded than ever the Bastille had been. He wrote a letter calculated to work upon the magnanimity of the man who had the command of his destiny;* but in this case Bonaparte was not disposed to be either magnanimous or merciful. He ordered the negro chief to be conveyed to the castle of Joux, situated in the most desolate, the loftiest, and coldest part of the Jura mountains, and to be there immured in a dungeon *au secret*. And so perfect was the secrecy observed, and so accustomed, already, were Bonaparte's agents to do his will mysteriously and silently, that for a long time no research could discover to the eager curiosity of all Europe the place where Toussaint was confined. His imprisonment was rigorous in the extreme; he had a litter of straw for his bed, he was scarcely allowed food enough to support life, his cell was damp, and for more than half the year the Jura mountains are swept by the *bise*, or cutting wind which blows from the eternally snow-clad Mont Blanc and the other neighbouring Alps.† Neither the precise time nor the manner of his death is known; but the most credible account is, that one morning in the winter of 1803 Toussaint Louverture was found lying dead and cold on his straw. Reports, however, were spread, and for a long time believed by many, that he had been strangled or poisoned. About the same time that he was first brought to France, Bonaparte published an edict banishing all of the negro race from his European

* Since the arrival of Leclerc large reinforcements had been sent to him; but of 34,000 men in all, 24,000 were already dead, 7000 were in the hospitals, so that only about 2500 remained capable of bearing arms. Three generals, Ledoyen, Hardy, and Debelle, and a great number of field officers who had distinguished themselves in the early republican armies, were already in their graves, or were left as food to the land-crabs.

* It was said that Toussaint used the expression, "The first man of the blacks to the first man of the whites," and that this gave mortal offence to the First Consul. But Bourrienne, who saw the letter, says that there was no such expression in it. "Bonaparte," adds Bourrienne, "acknowledged that the black leader possessed energy, courage, and great skill. I am sure he would have rejoiced if the result of his relations with St. Domingo had been something else than the kidnapping of Toussaint."

† For an admirable description of the Chateau de Joux, and of Toussaint's dismal cell, with "the dim light, the rotten floor shining like a pond, the drip of water, the falling flakes of ice," see Miss Martineau's historical romance of 'The Hour and the Man.' This description was written after a visit to the spot in the year 1839.

dominions.* In the time of the Directory, to prove his desire of remaining in friendship with France, and to give his children the advantages of a European education, Toussaint had sent two of his sons to Paris. His wife and some other members of his family were, after his own seizure, brought over in another ship, and consigned to another state prison. After his death his family were confined at Brienne-en-Agen, where one of his sons died. The unhappy survivors were not set at liberty until the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814. His widow died in 1816, in the arms of her sons Placide and Isaac. His virtues, his genius, and political foresight seem all to have been romantically exaggerated; but, after every deduction, Toussaint-Louverture will appear to have been by far the most extraordinary man known to have been born of the unmixed negro race and in the soul-degrading condition of a slave; "and the deep damnation of his taking-off" must ever remain among the darkest state crimes of Napoleon Bonaparte.†

A few months after the first sailing of the exiled republican army for St. Domingo, the First Consul dispatched Colonel Sebastiani, a Corsican of great address and ability, to Egypt, Syria, and other countries in the Levant; for Egypt still lay at the heart of this all-grasping ruler; and, whether he should recover and keep the great West India islands or not, he was eager to possess himself of the ancient land of the Pharaohs, of the Isthmus of Suez, of all the country that lay between the Mediterranean and the shores of the Red Sea, or that stretched along that sea; for this possession, he still fancied, would facilitate his views on India: and it entered into, and would become, a capital part of the grand scheme for seizing the islands along the African coast, and in the Arabian and Indian seas, or all the approaches to Hindostan. ‡ This longing after the flesh-pots of Egypt was no new thing in France. Choiseul, during the American war, considered Egypt as a settlement which might serve France in lieu of her West India islands, which she was even then losing; and this daring minister went so far as to enter into measures for the acquisition of that country. The expediency of this seizure was pointed out by the celebrated traveller, Volney, in a remarkable pamphlet, entitled 'Considérations sur la Guerre des Russes et des Turcs,' which he published in 1788, immediately after his return from Egypt and Syria. Talleyrand was full of the same idea. He had asserted in Mémoires read in the Institute, and given to the world in print, that, even if France could keep her West Indian colonies from the English, *the emancipation of the negroes must, sooner or later, stop the cultivation of sugar, and render those colonies useless;* and that, therefore, it behoved an intelligent government to prepare beforehand for the inevitable change, by acquiring other countries capable of growing sugar and other colonial produce, and in which the labours of agriculture might be performed without blacks. He bade France look about her, pointing himself directly to Egypt as the country which offered at the same time the greatest facilities to occupation and the greatest advantages to the occupants.* Here, indeed, as in all other projects beyond the *terra firma* of the continent of Europe, permanent success must depend on the superiority at sea; but, counting on Spain, Holland, and the maritime states of Italy as his own (and ship-building was driven on in all these countries as in France), and relying on the voluntary or forced services of Denmark, Prussia, and perhaps of Sweden, the First Consul hoped—and, at one time, very confidently—that, before the peace of Amiens should be broken, he would have that naval superiority. His envoy with the roving commission, the very clever and very devoted Sebastiani, was also instructed to spy into the nakedness and weakness of the Turkish empire in Asia Minor, to seek through the Levant for advantages to France and enmities to England; but all this was kept secret, the motive publicly assigned for his journey being the anxiety of Bonaparte at the slowness with which the English troops were evacuating Egypt.

Sebastiani went first to Tripoli, and thence to Alexandria, to Aboukir, to Cairo, to Acre, and we know not where besides. He was a young man at the time, his Corsican imagination was very lively, and he knew the sort of reports which would best please his countryman and employer. On his return from Egypt, he wrote to the First Consul—"With only 6000 men you may restore that country to the French republic! so thoroughly are the English detested there. Your name alone procured me honour and protection every where; and it was in vain that General Stuart, *the representative of his British majesty*, endeavoured to excite the Turks *to assassinate* me." The report contained sundry other calumnies and gross insults directed against British officers in the Levant, and against their government at home; and ended with the

* The excellent poet and man, the venerable Wordsworth, who had just then been travelling on the continent, notices this barbarous and senseless edict in his sonnet dated 1st Sept. 1802:—

"We had a fellow-passenger who came
From Calais with us, gaudy in array,—
A negro woman like a lady gay,
Yet silent as a woman fearing blame;
Dejected, meek, yet pitiably tame,
She sate, from notice turning not away,
But on our proffered kindness still did lay
A weight of languid speech, or at the same
Was silent, motionless in eyes and face.
*She was a negro woman driven from France—*
*Rejected, like all others of that race,*
*Not one of whom may now find footing there;*
This the poor outcast did to us declare,
Nor murmured at the unfeeling ordinance."

† M. de Broias, Sketch of the Life of Toussaint Louverture, as cited in Penny Cyclopædia, art. Toussaint.—Biographie Moderne, ou Galerie Historique.—Bourrienne.—Letters, Manifestoes, &c., in Ann. Regist.

‡ "A great deal," says Bourrienne, "was said about the views and projects of France with regard to Turkey and India; and the complaints of the English originated in Sebastiani's mission to Egypt. On that point I can take upon me to say that the English government was *not* misinformed. Bonaparte too frequently spoke to me of his ideas respecting the East, and his projects of attacking the English power in India, to leave any doubt in my mind of his ever having renounced them."

* Essai sur les Avantages à retirer de Colonies Nouvelles, par l Citoyen C. M. Talleyrand.

intimation that the Venetians and Greeks of the Ionian islands would rise and declare for the French on the first favourable opportunity. As by this time Bonaparte despaired of being able to prolong the peace to the term he had originally wished, in order to be prepared for a maritime war, he published, on the 30th of January, 1803, the whole of Sebastiani's report in the 'Moniteur.' By this step, which he appears to have taken in an excess of rage at the free strictures made upon him by the English press, he disclosed to the world the real objects of his countryman's mission to the East; and irritated, insulted, and alarmed other powers besides England. When our government complained to his ambassador at London, that functionary mentioned the attacks of our newspapers, and Sir Robert Wilson's recently published account of the English expedition to Egypt, where Bonaparte was accused of cold-blooded butcheries and poisonings on his retreat from Acre.* But there was a wide difference between the cases: in England, the press was free; in France, it was fettered and manacled, and, to that degree, that scarcely a line of which Bonaparte or his police disapproved could be published in any journal. Sir Robert Wilson's book was but the work of a private individual, published by a bookseller; whereas Sebastiani's offensive report was an official paper, sent as such to the head of the government, and published by Bonaparte himself in his authorised organ and official gazette. It was said that he had revised it himself, and given it more pungency before sending it to be printed; but it signifies little whether this was true or false: it was enough, in the circumstances, that the report had appeared in the 'Moniteur.' It was true that Sir Robert Wilson's book was dedicated to the Duke of York, and had been presented to the king at a levée by the author; but, in England, neither

* Sir Robert Wilson had been the first to tell publicly in Europe the story of the fusilade of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, and of the drugging with opium the French soldiers who were sick of the plague. Of the massacre there never was the shadow of a doubt (except in the mind of Dr. Clarke, the traveller), the only difference being as to the number of the victims, or whether 1500 or 2000 and more Turks and Arnauts were fusiladed in cold blood, *two days after* their surrender, behind the sand-hills of Jaffa, where the whitening bones of many of them are still visible. Bonaparte himself admitted this horrible deed, justifying it by pleading that, in the reduced state of his army, he could not spare men to guard so many prisoners; and that, as these Turks and Arnauts had broken the terms granted to them after the battle of El Arish, he could not trust them on their parole, or take their promise not again to serve in this war. [Similar paroles had been scandalously broken by the French soldiery from the very beginning of the revolutionary war; and it was notorious that they continued to be broken all through Bonaparte's consulate and empire.] To this defence of the massacre the following good and brief answer has been given:—"He could not possibly have recognised in every one of these victims an individual who had already given and broken his parole. If he did, still that would not avail him. The men surrendered with arms in their hands. No general has a right to see men abandon the means of defence, and then—after the lapse of two days too!—inflict on them the worst fate that could have befallen them had they held out. The only remaining plea is that of expediency; and it is one upon which many a retail as well as wholesale murderer might justify his crime."—*Lockhart, Hist. of Napoleon Bonaparte.*

No point in the life of Bonaparte has been more vehemently debated than that of his poisoning his own people. Some of his partisans have denied it altogether, but others have satisfied themselves with reducing the number of victims from sixty or a hundred to ten, or eight, or six, or three; and with justifying the deed as a merciful dispensation, inasmuch as it abbreviated the sufferings of a few whose disease was hopeless, and tended to prevent the horrible contagion from spreading. When talking over the events of his life at St. Helena, Bonaparte allowed that a consultation had been held at Jaffa with Desgenettes, the chief surgeon, in which poison was spoken of, and the question put whether it would not be an act of humanity to shorten the sufferings of the plague patients, and preserve them from the Turks, into whose hands they must fall, by administering copious doses of opium to them? The dethroned emperor even argued that he should have been justifiable in administering the poison, and said that, under the circumstances, he would have advised the same treatment for his own son, and demanded it for himself. He added, however, that Desgenettes had replied to the proposition by saying that "his business was to cure, and not to kill;" and he left it to be implied that the poison had not been administered at all, or only to two or three individuals who were nearly at the last gasp. He asserted that the entire number of the plague patients at this moment did not exceed twenty; and that, during the whole retreat, every possible care was taken of the sick and wounded. Such was his exposition of the case according to Las Cases and other favourable reporters. But before this time, or during his first exile in the island of Elba, Bonaparte had given a somewhat different account of the facts. He told Lord Ebrington, distinctly, that it was he, Napoleon Bonaparte, that made the proposition to Desgenettes, and that he took credit for his humanity in having so done. He diminished the number of patients to *seven*—as if that changed the character of the crime; and he asserted that Desgenettes rejected his advice—as if that were an excuse for his having given it. Sir Robert Wilson was not the only person that charged General Bonaparte with this poisoning. Two Frenchmen, who were both with him in Egypt (M. Miot, a war commissary, and M. Martin, one of the savans, or a member of the commission of sciences and arts), told the same terrible story as soon as they could safely do so, or as soon as Bonaparte was overthrown. Miot said that, though he could not say he had any other positive proofs of the poisoning of the sick, except the innumerable conversations he heard in the army (*he could have had no more positive proofs, unless he had been one of those who administered the poison*), yet, "if the public voice could be believed, it was a fact, that some of the wounded at Mount Carmel, and a great part of the sick at Jaffa, perished by means of the medicines which were administered to them." *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Expéditions en Egypte et en Syrie. Deuxième Edition.* 1814. Martin says that Bonaparte, "unable to remove the immense numbers of sick and wounded, which a bloody siege (that of Acre) and a dreadful disease (the plague) had accumulated in Jaffa, proposed to Desgenettes to administer poison in the shape of medicine;" and that "Desgenettes shrunk with horror from this proposition, but Bonaparte thereupon addressed himself to an inferior officer of the medical department, and by his means perpetrated the crime."—*Histoire de l'Expedition d'Egypte.* Sir Robert Wilson, who related the fact upon the authority of French officers and soldiers (they mentioned it as a thing notorious in the whole French army), who called upon the savans, the members of the Institute at Cairo, to contradict him if they could, said that, from more confidential sources of information, he knew that, by persevering, Bonaparte found an apothecary who consented to become his agent and to administer the poison to the sick; that in a few hours 580 soldiers perished by opium; and that the apothecary afterwards unequivocally confessed the fact. We know ourselves, from private sources of information, that Murat, when seated on the throne of Naples, confessed his belief that some scores of plague-stricken soldiers had been dispatched in this manner; and stated that the same belief, but embracing a greater number of victims, was common among the soldiery in Egypt. A trustworthy Italian, Francesco Cavaliero, who was in Egypt with the French army, and who, at his death in 1825, left a manuscript journal, from which some striking extracts were given in the 'Penny Magazine,' tells us that on the retreat from Syria the sufferings of the sick and wounded were terrible in the extreme; that, in their deplorable condition, many of the soldiers put an end to their existence by placing the muzzles of their muskets under their chins, and letting them off with their toes; that *no* assistance was given to these sick and wounded; and that, "at length, it was reported that Bonaparte had ordered some drugs to be given to the sick and wounded, to put an end to their existence." And the Italian hereto subjoins one of the most striking anecdotes told any where or by any one of Napoleon Bonaparte:—"The troops upbraided him for this with most bitter language, representing the men as dying in consequence of this cruel order, and exclaiming, 'Shoot the tyrant! Shoot the Corsican rebel!' with many other abusive words; but he, with the utmost fortitude, listened to their reproaches, and answered them coolly in the following words:—'For shame! for shame! You are too many to assassinate me, and too few to intimidate me!' (*Vous êtes trop pour me tuer, et trop peu pour m'intimider!*) The soldiers exclaimed, with astonishment, 'What courage the fellow has got!' (*Quel courage a ce —— là*). And so nothing happened to him."—*Penny Magazine*, vol. vi. Francesco Cavaliero's manuscript bore evidence of its perfect genuineness; and the veracity and general respectability of the man's character were ascertained before the papers he left were used. After leaving Egypt, Francesco went to Malta, and from Malta to England, where he entered into the service of Admiral Bisset; then into Sir Thomas Harvy's; and finally, as steward, into that of Admiral Lord Keith, when his lordship commanded the Channel fleet. As admiral's steward, he had the opportunity of showing much attention to Bonaparte when a prisoner on board the 'Bellerophon;' and he received from the fallen emperor, on his departure for St. Helena, a strong expression of thanks, with the decoration of the Legion of Honour. On Lord Keith's death, he entered the service of the Duke of Wellington's brother, Lord Maryborough. Angry reports had probably exaggerated the number of the victims; the crime itself, horrible as it is, may, considering all the circumstances, and comparing it with other deeds of the same man, sink into insignificance; but we cannot agree with some recent English writers, who seem to consider all the facts of the case as disproved.

the dedication nor such presentation could render the sovereign or government responsible for its contents. In order to establish such responsibility the press of England ought to have been enslaved, and the expression of private opinion suppressed, as in France. But it was not so much the attack on our national honour and on the spotless character of General Sir John Stuart, as the development of ambitious views and fixed intentions, that incensed our government and people at Sebastiani's published report. The tone, too, of that document harmonized perfectly with many overt acts and political aggrandizements already accomplished. By deeds as well as by words the First Consul had proved that those who were disposed to give him a trial were making a very useless and dangerous experiment, and that the only treaty he consulted was his own ambition and absolute will. The erecting himself President of the Cisalpine republic, between the signing of the preliminaries and exchanging the ratifications of peace, had been overlooked or had not been allowed to stand in the way of the pacific experiment. It had, however, been understood at Amiens, and an express promise and pledge to that effect had been given to the Emperor of Russia, who took an active interest in the fate of the House of Savoy, that Piedmont should neither be united to the so-called republic in Italy, nor incorporated with France, but be left, with some slight clipping, to the unfortunate King of Sardinia. It was equally understood that France, which had been allowed all the benefits of the *uti possidetis* principle, should remain content with what she had, nor attempt any new incorporations or annexations of territory either beyond the Alps or elsewhere. Yet, because the young Emperor Alexander refused to take up that wild scheme of Indian conquest to be made jointly by France and Russia, which had been entertained by his father, and declined concurring in other hostile views against Great Britain and Austria, Bonaparte, after sundry encroachments and stretches of power on the side of the Rhine and in that other puppet-state the Batavian republic, took possession of the island of Elba in virtue of an agreement with Naples and Tuscany; seized upon the duchy of Parma, on the death of the Duke Ferdinand; and finally, by a Senatus Consultum, dated September 2nd, 1802, annexed and incorporated the whole of Piedmont with France; and, moving the old landmarks, divided it, in the rigid mathematical manner, into six departments—Po, Dora, Stura, Marengo, and Tanaro. Vittorio Amedeo, the original member of the coalition of sovereigns, had died broken hearted in 1796: his successor, Carlo Emanuele, had been compelled by the French, and his own republican-disposed subjects, to sign an act of abdication, and to retire with all his family to the rude island of Sardinia in 1798. As soon as the then impassable sea was placed between this sovereign and his oppressors, and he was doubly safe in the midst of the brave Sards, he put forth a simple and touching, yet spirited protest. Shortly after he voluntarily resigned the crown to his younger brother, Vittorio Emanuele, who was now ruling, not unwisely or unpatriotically, in Sardinia, which was all that was left of the dominions of his ancient House, one of the most ancient of the dynasties of Europe. But, as a very large portion of the Savoyard and Piedmontese nobility, either anxious to escape from the insolence and oppressions of the French and the republican party of their own countrymen, or to prove their fidelity and attachment to their princes, had followed the exiled family into the island, and as industry and civilization were at a very low ebb, balking the bounties of nature and the richness of the soil, the court remained crowded and miserably poor—so poor, for years, that the noblest were obliged to exhibit themselves in patched coats, and the royal family itself must have been reduced to absolute privations if it had not been for grants of money made by England. Nor was it the intention of the French to respect this last asylum (except the grave) of royalty and wretchedness. "Sardinia," said Bonaparte, "produces the best bread in the world:—Sardinia is but a continuation of the island of Corsica, and, like Corsica, must, naturally, be ours." Emissaries and propagandists were thrown into Cagliari to work upon the discontents of the people, and tempt them with prospects of the advantages and honours to be derived from an incorporation with the French republic; and more than once these agents very nearly succeeded in exciting dangerous insurrections. From Cape Bonifazio to the northern point of Sardinia was but a step: alert Corsicans, happy to gratify their old feuds with their nearest neighbours, were constantly traversing the narrow strait, landing on the Sardinian coast, plundering or destroying.

The French troops had never been entirely withdrawn from Switzerland; and in the autumn of the present year a fresh army was marched into the Cantons. The constitution which had been set up by the Directory, and the dissensions and feuds which French intrigue had promoted, had thrown the whole of that tranquil and once happy country into a most stormy and unhappy condition; had broken up nearly all respect for old institutions, had set the peasantry and burghers in hostile array against the aristocracy, and then in some parts the peasants against the burghers and the burghers against the peasants; had destroyed nearly all old connexions, and, by the madness of political faction, had up-rooted domestic affections and dissolved family ties, frequently setting the nearest relatives in deadly hostility to one another. Many collisions took place, and not a little blood was spilt. At the same time the established provisional government refused to sanction the dismemberment of the Valais, which Bonaparte wanted for his projected military road over the Simplon. In the month of October the First Consul sent his trusty aide-de-camp Rapp to Bern, to offer to the distracted Cantons his mediation for the settlement of all their differences; and at the

same time he ordered General Ney to be at hand to enforce obedience at the head of an army. Thus backed by Ney's grenadiers and dragoons, Rapp delivered a letter which told the Swiss magnates and legislators that they must submit to whatever terms the self-elected mediator might choose to propose. "If you are left longer to yourselves," said the First Consul, "you will go on killing each other for years, and perhaps without any chance of coming to an understanding after all. I must mediate between you, but I expect that my mediation shall be final, and that you will accept it as a new benefit of the Providence which, in the midst of so many vicissitudes, still watches over the independence of your nation." He recommended, or rather commanded them to send deputies to Paris, in order that they might agree with him as to particular measures. The democratic party readily accepted the proffered mediation; the aristocratic party, despite of Ney and his army, who were marching on Bern, showed considerable reluctance; but they were obliged to send Aloys Reding with other deputies from their own body to Paris, and eventually to submit to the law dictated in the Tuileries. It is true that Bonaparte, who now added "Mediator of the Helvetic League" to his other titles, displayed more moderation and at the same time infinitely more political wisdom in this matter than in any other of the same sort; but his *modus operandi* was worse than an insult to Austria, the close neighbour of Switzerland, and to the other powers of Europe, who had each as good a right to mediate as he had; the march of Ney's army was a direct and glaring attack on that Swiss independence which he had engaged to respect; and, besides all this, he forced the federal government to agree to maintain a body of 16,000 men in his service, as they had formerly done for the service of the Bourbon kings, and he retained Geneva and the bishopric of Basle, which had been seized by the Directors, at the same time separating from Bern the whole of the Valais, which country was not long after incorporated with France. In his discussions with the Swiss deputies, who were summoned when he wanted them to the Tuileries like lackeys, he gave vent to sundry expressions which must have humbled their national pride (that pride without which there is no nation worthy of the name) as much as they irritated or were proper to irritate the other states and sovereigns of Europe. "I never thought," said he (intimating by so saying that he could do it if he would), "of uniting you to France, for you are too poor to bear the charges which the French are obliged to sustain. This mediation in your affairs has given me a great deal of trouble. It is a difficult task for me *to give constitutions* to a country *which I know very imperfectly.* Should my appearance on your stage prove unsuccessful I should be hissed, which is a thing I do not like. . . . . But all Europe expects France to settle the affairs of Switzerland, for it is now acknowledged by Europe that Switzerland, as well as Italy and Holland, is at the disposal of France."* But neither by England nor by Austria was the acknowledgment of the fact accompanied by any recognition of the right, and this last pretension of the First Consul was in itself quite enough to rend the treaty of Amiens.

Another grand provocative to the rupture was the fierce and systematized hostility of Bonaparte to the commerce of Great Britain, which, instead of being allowed through the return of peace to flow in its old channels, was actually more impeded and hampered in France and in the countries where the French held sway than it had been during the war.

While the First Consul was making every month or week some new encroachment, or advancing some new claim; while he was every day departing, if not from the strict letter, from the spirit of the treaty of Amiens, he pretended to bind England to the strict observance of every article in that treaty which was against her, and insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and of every place she had agreed to restore. The final rupture came a few months later, but it was evident to the world before the close of the year 1802 that the treaty of Amiens was an experiment which had failed, and that recourse would soon be had once more to the *ultima ratio*—cannons, muskets, and bayonets.

The newly returned Imperial parliament assembled as early as the 16th of November, when Mr. Abbot was unanimously re-elected Speaker of the House of Commons. The speech from the throne seemed to intimate that the renewal of the war was at least probable, his majesty saying that, notwithstanding his sincere desire for peace, it was impossible for him to lose sight of that system of policy by which the interests of other states were connected with our own welfare, and by which he was obliged not to be indifferent to any material change in the relative condition and strength of the European powers. He strongly recommended the adoption of all those means of security which were best calculated to preserve the blessings of peace. Ministers did not, indeed, admit that there was any present necessity for recurring to arms; but the general impression was that such a necessity could not be far off; and, like Wilberforce, the greatest lovers of peace were chiefly anxious that if we were to go to war it might appear plainly to have been forced upon us, and not to have been resorted to as a measure of choice, or as the result of political calculation.† Augmentations both of the navy and of the army were proposed by ministers a few days after the commencement of the session. On the 8th of December, the secretary-at-war, Mr. Charles Yorke, rose to move the army estimates. He said that he considered that the feelings of the nation at large had been distinctly manifested; that those feelings were, that we should preserve the peace we had made, so

* Thibaudeau, Le Consulat.—A. Vieusseux, Hist. of Switzerland.
† Wilberforce, Diary.

long as it could be preserved with honour; that we should overlook insignificant provocations, and that we should also abstain from aggression and from irritating language; but that, at the same time, we should always be ready to repel aggression, and to resent a great national insult. In consonance with this feeling of the country, he wished to abstain from a war of words with the French government; but to be at every moment in a state of preparation against any evil alternative. He drew attention to the fact that the French had acquired that dominion over the opposite shores of Belgium and Holland, which it had always been the object of British statesmen to prevent. France was now possessed of all the Netherlands, and was all-powerful in Holland; she was mistress of the whole course of the Lower Rhine, of the Maese, and of the Scheldt. With such an immense increase of sea-coast and of naval resources, our navy alone, he thought, could not be entirely depended upon for the protection of our own long line of coast from the danger of invasion. The military force of France at the commencement of the present year amounted to about 428,000 men, without counting national guards and the immense bodies of gendarmerie. Such being the state of military preparation among the French, and such their increased means of attacking our coast, it was necessary for us also to be in a high military state of preparation. No nation could look for the continuance of peace, if it did not feel a proper confidence in its own means of defence and security. He stated the force of regular troops necessary to be kept up for the ensuing year at 129,000 men. The distribution intended was 60,000 for Great Britain and Ireland, 30,000 for the West India plantations and other colonies, and the rest for the East Indies. Including the militia and yeomanry, there would be an actual force for the defence of the United Kingdom of 200,000 men—a force which, he thought, would not tempt any foreign nation to attack us. General Tarleton, and others who had uniformly voted against the late war, voted with alacrity for the resolutions now proposed, considering the increase of our forces as absolutely necessary for the security of the country. "However great are the horrors of war," said Tarleton, "yet the horrors of seeing Bonaparte's flag on the Tower of London, or his political principles current in this country, are still more terrifying to me." Sheridan, who was falling away from the Foxite party, not without strong suspicions of interested motives, blazed forth most patriotically and eloquently. He regretted that any member of opposition should make allusion to the supposed fitness or unfitness of Mr. Addington and his colleagues for the high offices in government in which they were now placed. It was not wise to hint to the world that we had an incompetent government; he thought there never was a crisis in which it was more necessary for public men to prove to the people of England that they were above all party feeling, all party distinctions, and superior to any petty scramble for places, profit, or power. He dwelt upon the case of Switzerland as a glaring proof of the all-domineering and aggressive spirit of the French government. A power capable of such unprovoked aggression and of such perfidy was a power to be strictly watched. If the might of France was not greater now than in June last, when parliament was dissolved, her mischievous disposition certainly appeared much greater, and evidence had been accumulated to show how she used that might. The ambition of the ruler of France must now be principally directed against this country. Prussia was at his beck, Italy his vassal, Spain at his nod, Portugal at his foot, Holland in his grasp, and Turkey in his toils. What object then remained for his devouring ambition greater than or equal to the conquest or destruction of England? "This is the first vision that breaks on the French Consul through the gleam of the morning: this is his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he may address it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet, to the Goddess of Battles or to the Goddess of Reason." Fox vindicated himself from the charge of being the apologist of France, but contended that small peace establishments were better for the defence of the country than large ones. He affirmed that it was our continental connexions, and not our self-defence, which first introduced the idea of large standing armies into this country; he deprecated the expense to which the proposed increase of our forces must lead; and he concluded with something very like a compliment to his late host Bonaparte by saying, that for his part, he saw nothing improbable in the supposition that the ruler of France, having acquired great glory for himself in war, should now wish to turn his attention to peace, and to the internal improvement of his country. Windham, with great warmth, declared his conviction that from the first day of the French revolution to the present time, Mr. Fox had always been the apologist, and often the eulogist of France; that at this very day he looked upon that revolution with affection, and kept all its enormities out of sight. In the end the government resolutions were agreed to without a division. The number of men for the navy had been previously fixed at 50,000.

On the 21st of December, a bill for appointing commissioners to inquire into frauds and abuses in the several naval departments, and for the better conducting the business of those departments in future, having been carried by the government through the Commons, had been brought up to the Lords, when, on the motion for the second reading, the measure was supported by Lord Nelson, who was no orator, and, through other deficiencies, but little qualified to be a legislator. His lordship, in a short speech, pointed out the intolerable difficulties that naval men encountered in getting their prize-money paid to them; but there were other frauds and abuses which robbed the country and injured the health of the seamen, which were very notorious, but of which he took

no notice. The Lord Chancellor, with a delicate regard for the safety and conscience of the employés of government, hoped that in the bill there would be no departure from that principle of law by which no man is compelled to criminate himself. After an amendment had been agreed to, expressly to protect persons from the necessity of criminating themselves, the bill was passed. Navy commissioners were, in consequence, appointed; but most of the expensive and disgraceful abuses continued nevertheless, or were subjected to but slight and insufficient checks. The new functionaries owed their appointments to parliamentary interest; and, as in too many other cases, the persons who could best command that interest were the worst qualified for the places. There was less deliberate dishonesty than incapacity or unfitness: the commissioners could scarcely be expected to rummage among biscuit-bags and casks of salt-beef and pork: they left these duties to the under functionaries at Deptford, Woolwich, and elsewhere, who too often enriched themselves by giving the sailors bad provisions, and charging government the price of the best. The way in which the contracts were managed seems to have been no mystery except to the government itself. No other business of importance was transacted before the Christmas recess.

In the month of November a conspiracy against the king and government was discovered and announced in a manner calculated to give rather more suspicion and alarm than the nature of the plot and the character of those engaged in it seem to have justified. It was headed by Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, an old soldier, who had once distinguished himself in the service of his country, but whose head had since been turned by the principles of the French revolution and some of the wild political societies at home. The vertigo was first prepared by his disappointment in the hope of that promotion in his profession to which he considered himself entitled by his services and abilities, and by the refusal or delay of government to liquidate some claims which he made upon it. He was a native of Ireland, and well connected in that country. His intemperate language, his close connexion with some of the clubs, and perhaps some revelations made by spies and informers, drew down upon him the suspicions of a ministry which was exceedingly suspicious, and which was armed with the formidable powers resulting from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. In the year 1799 or 1800 he had been arrested on a warrant from the secretary of state's office, and had lain for many months in Cold Bath Fields prison, which, unhappily, contained a good many more state prisoners at the same time, and which had acquired among a portion of the people the odious name of the English Bastille. On the return of peace, or as soon as the Suspension Act was allowed to expire, he had been enlarged without having undergone any trial or even any public examination. Treatment like this was calculated to convert discontent into disaffection, and a mania for a visionary reform into plotting and absolute treason. On the 18th of November, two days after the meeting of parliament, Sir Richard Ford, a magistrate, issued a warrant, and a strong party of the London, Surrey, and Kent patrols proceeded

Colonel Despard.

to a low public-house in Oakley-street, Lambeth, nearly opposite the Asylum, where they found Colonel Despard and thirty-two other individuals, mechanics, day-labourers, and common soldiers, Irish, Scotch, and English, but chiefly Irish, who were all taken into custody, without making any attempt at resistance. On the following morning they were all examined before the sitting magistrates at Union Hall. They alleged that at the time when they were surprised they were met as a club for innocent recreation. The examination lasted eight hours. One of the soldiers, upon whose information the warrant was issued, and another man, were liberated, but all the rest of the party were committed. In the afternoon Despard, very heavily ironed, was carried to the Home-office, where several of the cabinet ministers were assembled. After undergoing a long private examination, during which his unhappy wife implored in vain to be admitted to see him, he was carried back to Newgate very strongly guarded. It was observed that he was handcuffed as well as ironed, and that in consequence of the weight of his irons he walked with great difficulty. It was said that he was very silent and composed in his manner. He underwent a second examination before the privy council, and was then fully committed to Newgate, expressly charged with conspiring to compass the death of the king, and with having seduced some of his majesty's guards from their duty. A few days after this, fifteen more persons were arrested and committed to different prisons in the capital, all charged with treason or misprision of treason.

A. D. 1803. On the 7th of February Colonel Despard was brought to trial at the Surrey Sessions House, Newington, before a special commission, of which the lord chief justice of the King's Bench

(Lord Ellenborough) was principal.* The case was opened by Mr. Abbott (afterwards Lord Tenterden), and then the attorney-general, the Hon. Spencer Perceval, addressed the jury. He stated that in the preceding spring, when a detachment of the guards returned from Chatham, a conspiracy was formed for overturning the government, and a society established for what was termed the extension of liberty, of which society two of the men at the bar, John Francis and John Wood, had been very active members, having frequently attempted to seduce soldiers to join the association, and having administered unlawful oaths to those who yielded; that among other soldiers these two men had seduced two guardsmen, named Blades and Windsor, giving them at the time two or three copies of the secret oath of the Liberty Extension Society in order that they might make proselytes in their turn and administer the oath to them; that Windsor *soon after*, becoming dissatisfied, gave information of the conspiracy to a Mr. Bownas, and showed him a copy of the oath; that "this gentleman" (that is, Bownas, who is suspected of having been a regular spy for government) advised him (Windsor) to wear the mask and continue a member of the society, *so that he might learn whether any persons of consequence were engaged in it.* The attorney-general then produced and read a copy of the oath, copies of which had been found in the possession of several of the prisoners at the bar.† He commented on different passages in the oath, with the view of showing that it would bear only a treasonable construction. Next, he proceeded to state that about the middle of last summer the conspirators began to think it dangerous to meet always at the same place, and therefore went, to avoid suspicion, to different public-houses in Windmill-street, Oxford-street, St. Giles's, Hatton Garden, Whitechapel, round about the Tower, and over the water in Lambeth. That at these meetings soldiers were invited and treated with meat and drink; and toasts were given such as "The Cause of Liberty," "Extension of Rights," "France for our model." That they gradually became more audacious, some of them proposing a day for attacking the Tower; and that the great blow was to have been struck on the 16th of November, the day on which it was thought the king would open parliament in person.‡ That on Friday, the 12th, Thomas Broughton, one of the prisoners at the bar, at a meeting of the society, prevailed upon two of the members to go to the 'Flying Horse' public-house, at Newington, where they would meet a nice man; that this nice man proved to be Colonel Despard; that at the 'Flying Horse' consultations were held as to the best means of seizing the Tower and intercepting the king; that Broughton, a soldier, suggested the idea of shooting the king's horses, as the coach must then be stopped, and that, upon another of the conspirators expressing his apprehension that they would be cut down by the life-guards, Despard exclaimed—"If nobody else will do it, I myself will! I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous." The attorney-general then admitted that government was well aware of the proceedings of these people, but would not interfere while danger was at a distance. He said that, with the single exception of Despard, all the individuals implicated were of the lowest order.

The evidence produced left little doubt as to the existence of a plot of the wildest and most absurd kind, and, indeed, would have been sufficient to substantiate all the attorney-general's charges, if it had been throughout of unexceptionable credibility. A clerk to the magistrates of Union Hall, who had accompanied the police patrols to the arrest, stated that nothing was found on the person of Despard, and that the three papers or cards bearing the oath, &c. were found on the floor of the room in the public-house where they were assembled. The police officers had no other papers to produce, and could only swear that the cards were found on the floor of the room. Thomas Windsor, a private in the guards and the original informer, swore that he had received some papers or cards like those produced from John Francis in March last; that one object of the members of the society was to raise subscriptions for delegates to be sent into the country; that the society was divided into companies of ten men, commanded by another man who bore the title of captain; that Francis and another person named Macnamara assumed the title of captain; that the oldest captain of five companies took the command of those five companies, and was called the colonel of that subdivision; that encouragements were given to gain as many converts or recruits as possible, and that the cards were to be distributed through the country for that purpose; that on the 12th of November, when he, Thomas Windsor, met Colonel Despard at the 'Flying Horse' (which was the first time he ever saw him), it was recommended to the colonel to have a regular organization in London, to which the colonel objected, because London lay under the eye of government, but in the country a regular organization was necessary, and he believed already general, particularly at Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and other great towns, adding that now was the moment for action; that after these words Colonel Despard said that the attack must be made upon the parliament-house; that the king must be put to death; that he had weighed this

* Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney were counsel for Despard; and Messrs. Jekyll and Hovell were, at the request of the other prisoners, assigned as their counsel by the court.

† The oath was printed on cards, with a preamble stating the objects of the secret society very briefly:—"Constitutional independence of Great Britain and Ireland! Equalization and extension of rights! An ample provision for the families of those heroes who fall in the contest! A liberal reward to all who exert themselves in the cause of the people! These are the objects for which we unite; and we swear never to separate until we have obtained them!" The form of the oath was, "In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B., voluntarily declare, that I will exert myself to the utmost to recover those rights which the Supreme Being has conferred upon his creatures; and that neither fear, hope, nor reward shall prevail upon me to divulge the secrets of the society, or to give evidence against a member of this or any other society of a similar kind. So help me God!"

‡ Parliament met on the 16th; but, on account of the preliminary business incidental to a new House of Commons, his majesty did not go down to deliver his opening speech until the 23rd.

matter well and that his heart was callous; that after the destruction of the king it was proposed that the departure of the mail-coaches should be stopped, as a signal to the people in the country that the revolution had taken place in town. That he had another meeting with Colonel Despard, when he (Windsor) was accompanied by Heron, a discharged soldier, and another person; that at this second meeting Despard said, "We have been deceived as to the number of arms in the Bank; there are only 600 stand there, and they have taken the hammers out to render them useless, so that they must be apprised of our intention;" that Despard also said to him in a more private manner, "Windsor, the king must be put to death the day he goes to the House, and then the people will be at liberty"—adding that if no one else would do it, he would; and that it was debated whether it would not be a good way to fire the great gun in the park at his Majesty's coach. Bownas, to whom this Windsor had first made his disclosures, could only prove the copy of the objects and the oath of the society as given to him by the said Windsor. Blades, a private in the guards, deposed that his fellow-soldier John Wood, now one of the prisoners at the bar, had told him of the union of several *gentlemen* who had determined to form an independent constitution at the risk of their lives, &c.; that the executive government had appointed Francis to be colonel of the first regiment of national guards; that Macnamara called upon Francis to point out three colonels and one artillery-officer, and that Francis pointed out him (the witness) as a proper man to be a colonel; that at a meeting, wherein it was arranged that the promotion should be settled and the commissions delivered previous to the attack on the king, Pendril, one of the conspirators, exclaimed, that if it had not been for four or five cowards the thing would have been done before that day—that he himself could bring 1000 men into the field—that now, if any man showed symptoms of cowardice, he would blow out his brains—that, if anybody dared to betray the secret, that man should have a dagger in his heart. Blades further deposed to meeting with Colonel Despard at the 'Oakley Arms' in Lambeth, where he heard much conversation about attacking the king, as also the parliament-house, and of then filing away for the Tower. The character of this witness did not pass well through the ordeal of cross-examination; and he admitted himself that he had been three times tried by court-martial for desertion, and that he had been accused of theft besides. Several other privates in the guards, apparently of better character than Blades, gave evidence as to the existence of societies for overturning the government, which, under the name of "Free and Easy," met at different public-houses;* but only one of them directly implicated Despard. This one swore that the oath of secrecy was administered to him by Colonel Despard himself; that at one time there had been an assemblage near the Tower, but that the plotters were immediately dispersed by orders from Colonel Despard; and that at another meeting the soldiers engaged in the conspiracy had drawn their bayonets and had said that they were ready to die in the good cause. One John Emblin, a journeyman watchmaker, deposed that he had been introduced into the society by one Lander; that he had disapproved of the plans, but had nevertheless neither revealed the plot nor broken with the conspirators; that he had been with Blades at the 'Flying Horse,' and had there met Colonel Despard, who informed him that a spirited effort would be made to recover that liberty which the people had lost, that a very considerable force was ready to come forward, particularly in all the great towns, and that he (Despard) had been engaged in this business for two years; and further, that Colonel Despard had said, "I have travelled twenty miles to-day, and wherever I have been the people are ripe and anxious for the attack." This witness also deposed to the plan for shooting the king's horses, as also to conversations about seizing the Bank and the Tower; and he swore that Broughton, one of the soldiers, had told him that it was resolved to load the great gun in the Park with four balls or with chain-shot, and fire at the king's coach as he returned from the House, saying, he would be d——d if that would not send him to Hell. Such was the evidence for the Crown. Serjeant Best pleaded for Despard, that it was not alone by words spoken that a person could be convicted of high treason; that words did not constitute an overt act, and were always liable to serious misinterpretations. He allowed that the colonel had attended one or two of the meetings, but urged that it had not been proved that he knew those meetings were of a treasonable nature, or that he had attended them with treasonable intentions. He denied that the printed card or paper containing the oath of secrecy, and found upon the floor of the tap-room (where it might have been placed by an informer or by the police), could be used as evidence against Despard; and he reminded the jury that there was no testimony to show that the prisoner was, in any shape, connected with those printed cards which had been distributed, except the testimony of one witness, who was acknowledged to be one of the most infamous men living. This case, he said, was totally unlike any which had been decided since the revolution of 1688; and, being in itself a most improbable one, it the more required cogent and most decisive evidence from the lips of credible witnesses. He ridiculed the idea of fourteen or fifteen men of the lowest description, in a common tap-room, with no arms but their tobacco-pipes, without mind or intelligence, with only fifteen shillings and sixpence in their exchequer, without a pike, pistol, or rusty musket, sitting to deliberate how to seize the

* Long before this time, and down to the present day, the commonest name in London for the convivial meetings of mechanics and other working people, was and is no other than "Free and Easy." Mad politics may have been discussed at some of these clubs or meetings; but the "Free and Easies" neither were nor are political clubs.

Tower, which was defended by a whole brigade of guards, to seize the king in the midst of his life-guards and his thronging and faithful subjects, and to revolutionize a great state. He argued that Colonel Despard, a gentleman, a veteran officer, could not have embarked with such men in such wild schemes, unless he had been bereft of his reason. He dwelt upon the former high character and the past services of the colonel, who, in a joint command with Lord Nelson, had once preserved a valuable colony from the enemy. He could not overlook a fact so notorious as the colonel's long confinement in Cold Bath Fields prison: it was known, he said, that the colonel had been *suspected* by government; but, though he had long been confined, there was never found sufficient evidence against him to go before a grand jury. The first witness called for the defence was the gallant Nelson, who, in energetic language, bore honourable testimony to the character of Despard: they had been, he said, on the Spanish Main together in 1779; they had been together in the enemy's trenches, they had slept in the same tent; assuredly, he was then a loyal man and a brave officer.* General Sir Alured Clarke and Sir E. Nepean declared that they had always considered his loyalty as undoubted as his bravery, and that he had returned from service with the highest testimonials to his character. Mr. Gurney endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of the witnesses for the prosecution, particularly by exposing the infamous characters of the two soldiers Windsor and Blades, and the discrepancies in their stories. Despard declined saying anything in his own behalf. The solicitor-general, Mr. Thomas Manners Sutton, replied on the part of the crown; Lord Ellenborough summed up the evidence; the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of Guilty, but recommended the prisoner to mercy.

Two days after, on the 9th of February, twelve of the other prisoners were brought to the same bar. The evidence brought forward was nearly the same as on the preceding trial. The trial lasted all day and all night, and it was past six o'clock on the morning of the 10th ere Lord Ellenborough finished summing up. The jury then retired, and at twenty-five minutes before eight returned with a verdict of guilty against John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, William Lander, John Macnamara, and four others of the prisoners, but recommended three of them to mercy. Those who were acquitted were then withdrawn, and Despard was placed at the bar in front of the remaining prisoners, to receive sentence with them. This last horrible office was performed in his very strongest manner, by that lord chief justice whose severity, solemnity, and awfulness are so familiar to many who are now living, and will not be forgotten in the traditions of after-ages. Lord Ellenborough told Despard that he must intreat him, by those hopes of mercy *which were closed against him in this world*, to subdue that callous insensibility of heart of which he had boasted. Although the evidence had shown that the guardsmen returned from Chatham had conceived a mad plot several months before Despard had any communication with them, his lordship described all the condemned men as "sad victims of his seduction and example." He told them, as he had told the colonel, that they had no chance of mercy in this world. Romilly and other good men were at work before this time to devise means for cleansing the statute-book from the horrid blots which disgraced it in a civilised age, but as yet slight progress had been made, and consequently the sentence passed upon the unhappy men involved all the abominable particularities about hurdles, hanging by the neck, but not till dead, ripping out of bowels and burning them before the faces of the living sufferers, and cutting off of heads and quartering of bodies.

Notwithstanding the recommendation of the jury, the appeals of his wife, and other applications, the king in council judged it not advisable to extend the prerogative of mercy to Despard. This sovereign had always a great faith in the efficacy of the gibbet as example, warning, and preventive; and it happened unfortunately that just at this moment the colonel's countrymen were again in a very turbulent state:—the dissenters of the north of Ireland were plotting under the guidance of Mr. Russel, who, like Despard, had been an officer in the army, and had served with much distinction; the Catholic peasantry in the south had very recently been in open insurrection, to fix the maximum price of potatoes and to expel the strangers who had settled among them; and ever since the rumour of the exceeding great probability of the renewal of the war with France, much activity and going and coming to and from the Continent had been observed among the old club-men in Dublin. Thus much was publicly or pretty generally known at the time when Despard was lying under his awful sentence; and, possibly, much more than this was known to the government, for, notwithstanding the boasted secrecy of Emmett, the essay at revolution, which was made in the month of July, must have thrown some dark shadows before it. On the 21st of February, Colonel Despard, Macnamara, an Irishman, and a carpenter by trade; John Wood, a soldier, a native of Derbyshire; John Francis, a soldier and shoemaker, born in Shropshire; Broughton, a carpenter, born in London; Graham, a slater, born in London; and Wratten, a shoemaker, whose place of birth was not known, were brought out to a scaffold erected on the top of Horsemonger Lane gaol, in

* In April, 1779, Nelson, who had just been made post-captain, was sent to take Fort San Juan, upon the river of the same name which flows from Lake Nicaragua to the Atlantic, being assisted by a few land troops and some Mosquito Indians. He ascended the then almost unknown river, and, after indescribable toil and suffering, reached, on the 9th of April, a small island on which there was a fort that commanded the bed of the river, and served as an outwork to the town. This fort Nelson resolved "to board." Putting himself at the head of a few sailors, he leaped upon the beach. Despard, then a captain, followed him, gallantly supported him, and, together, they stormed the battery. Two days afterwards the two heroes came in sight of the castle of San Juan, which they compelled to surrender on the 24th of April. Nelson was accustomed to count this as one of the most perilous expeditions in which he had ever been engaged. Of 1800 men, counting Indians and all, only 380 returned.

the presence of innumerable spectators. Though disgracefully retained in the statute-book, the most revolting parts of the sentence were now never executed: they were hanged altogether by the neck until they were dead, and then their heads were severally cut off and held up by the executioner, with a "This is the head of a traitor, Edward Marcus Despard,"—"This is the head of another traitor," &c. The colonel mounted the scaffold with a grim smile, and met death with the greatest firmness, saying to the people, that, after having served his country faithfully, honourably, and, he trusted, usefully, for thirty years and upwards, he was brought to suffer upon a scaffold for a crime which he was no more guilty of than was any man in the crowd then looking at him; and solemnly declaring not only that he was innocent, but that his majesty's ministers knew he was not guilty, and only sought his life because he was a friend to truth, to liberty, to justice, and to the poor and the oppressed. He added some rhapsodical words about the final triumph of liberty, justice, and humanity over falsehood, despotism, delusion, and over everything else hostile to the interests of the human race—words which were taken by some as proofs both of the bad school in which he had been studying his politics, and of the extreme lengths to which he was likely to have gone in order to work out his enthusiastic theory, and change the whole order of society as well as of government. Some of the populace cheered his last words; a far greater number uttered a dismal, reproachful groan as the hangman held up the grey-haired, blood-streaming head of the veteran.

On the 8th of March a message from his majesty to both Houses of parliament was received by the country, and by all Europe, as the signal of the close approach of war. It stated that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, his majesty had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions; that discussions of great importance were carrying on between his majesty and the French government, the result of which was uncertain; and that he relied with confidence on parliament, to enable him to take such measures as circumstances might require, for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people. In the debates which took place in the Lords on the proposed address in answer to this message, Lord Hobart (afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire), secretary for the colonies, said that it was the earnest wish of ministers still to be able to prolong peace. Earl Spencer, who had been first lord of the admiralty under the late Pitt administration, said that he had ever been a friend to vigorous measures; that he rejoiced to find ministers were at length sensible they had gone the full lengths of concession and negotiation, and were now determined to act a manly part; that there was no other chance of saving this country but by showing the First Consul that we were not afraid of meeting France even [illegible] single-handed, and that, rather than suffer the smallest particle of the national honour to be tarnished, we were ready to recommence hostilities. Lord Grenville, whose tone had never once changed since the signing the preliminaries to the peace of Amiens, said that this was the first instance of sound political wisdom shown by the present ministry; that they had at last seen the consequences of a system of concession and meanness; that he now hoped they would act with due energy and perseverance; that the experience of the last eighteen months had proved the renewal of the war to be inevitable. The Earl of Moira spoke in the same sense, with still more warmth: for his part, he wished ministers would speak out at once, and not be afraid of offending the First Consul of France: he had no notion of talking any longer in the complimentary style with this new Hannibal, who had sworn on the altar of his ambition a deadly and eternal enmity to England: we must, in the language of our immortal poet,

> "Be stirring as the time, be fire with fire;
> Threaten the threatener, and outface the brow
> Of bragging horror!"

The address was carried in the Lords *nem. con.* In the Commons Addington faintly repeated the hope that the continuance of peace might yet be found possible, asserting that the whole object of the preparations which he now recommended was for precaution and internal security, and not directed to offensive operations. Fox could not venture to oppose the motion, but complained of the House being left completely in the dark as to the particular circumstances which rendered warlike preparations necessary. If, through negligence, rashness, or some ill-concerted plans, they should involve the country in a new war, he would pronounce the present administration to be the most fatal and destructive that had ever directed the affairs of Great Britain! Windham thought that Fox considered too exclusively the evils of war, and did not sufficiently calculate the evils of a bad peace: but he too complained of the silence of ministers as to the real grounds of disagreement with France, not sufficiently reflecting that, as negotiations were not yet absolutely broken off, this silence was necessary and diplomatically essential. Sheridan again emitted flames of patriotism. The First Consul of France had modestly proclaimed to the vassal thrones of Europe, that England was no longer able to contend single-handed with France; but he (Sheridan) would hope that such an opinion would never be re-echoed in that House. He trusted that, if war was unavoidable, there were still left spirit enough in British hearts, and resources enough in British wealth, commerce, and enterprise, not only to defend the existence of the country, but to avenge the slightest insult to its honour. Here too the address was voted unanimously.

The very day after this debate (on the 10th of March) another message was delivered, expressing

his majesty's intention of embodying and calling out the militia. On the 11th, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of supply, ministers proposed to add 10,000 seamen to the 50,000 already voted. In the debates on this subject no small blame was thrown upon the Addington administration for having tried the experiment of peace, and several declarations were made that the existing administration was altogether incompetent to the carrying on of a vigorous war. The caustic Francis distinguished himself among the severe critics, deploring that at a crisis like the present all the eminent abilities of the country were excluded from its councils and government. Mr. Dent thought that, instead of 10,000, 25,000 additional men should be voted for the navy. Fox, still complaining of that want of precise information which ministers at that moment could not give without putting a sudden stop to negotiation, expressed his strong approbation of the treaty of Amiens, "and principally because it freed us from those detestable and abominable principles upon which the late war had been conducted." "He hoped that we should never again hear of wars begun for the pretence of the protection of religion and social order—he trusted that such hypocrisy was for ever destroyed, and that no ministry would again attempt to impose upon a generous people by such false pretexts." He recommended ministers to continue their endeavours at reconciliation with Bonaparte so long as was consistent with honour, and concluded with saying that he would not vote against the proposed increase of the navy. The motion was agreed to without a division. The voice of Pitt had not been heard. The great man continued to absent himself from the House, or to attend rarely. This gave his old political friends the more graceful opportunity of praising him in his absence, and of contrasting his ability with the mediocrity of Addington, whose ministerial days were already numbered. It is said, however, that Addington had grown fond of place and power, that his bland and submissive manners had captivated the court; and it appears quite certain, from the course taken by the Pittites, that Addington was by no means desirous of vacating his seat for Chatham's son, who was generally believed to have put him in it *pro tempore*, as persons put seat-keepers in a crowded theatre to secure their places till their return. It was noticed by Wilberforce, in the month of February, that Pitt was "not very friendly to Addington just now." In the month of April it was currently reported that there was a negotiation going on between Addington on one side, and Pitt and his relative Lord Grenville on the other, but that, as Addington, strong in court favour, pretended to retain his supreme post, and the king declined telling Pitt that his services were considered essential, it was not likely to come to any conclusion. The pride of Pitt must ever have revolted at the idea of serving *under* a personage so very inferior, in other particulars besides birth and connexion, as the son of his father's physician. It was the nature of the man not to serve under any one—it was his misfortune to exact from those who served under him an entire submission to his own views. His friend Wilberforce, writing on the 16th of April, says, "There certainly has been a negotiation with Pitt, in which his return to power, and that of some others of his ministry, has been in question;" and a few days later he notes a visit paid to him by Lord Bathurst, to talk "about the negotiation between Pitt and Addington." A little later Pitt, in a *tête-à-tête*, gave him the complete history of the *late* negotiation with Addington, convincing him that he (Pitt) had acted upon high and most honourable principles.

Some interesting debates took place on the profligacy and proneness to bribery, debauchery, and riot of the electors of Nottingham, a constituency which in all times has gained a pre-eminence of dishonour. For the present they ended in nothing; but soon after the Easter holidays a bill was unanimously carried, which was intended to put down that part of the abuses which consisted in rioting, by allowing the magistrates of the county a concurrent jurisdiction in the town of Nottingham with the magistrates of the said town. Other warm discussions ensued on the relative excellencies or defects of the militia as a proper defensive force; but they terminated in the passing of a bill which continued the militia in Ireland, as well as in England and in Scotland, but which in Ireland substituted the giving of bounties for the system of ballot, which had been found to work badly in that country.

The languid attention of very thin Houses (for men could think now earnestly only of the grand question of peace or war) was occupied until the Easter recess by the Clergy Residence bill, the Coroners' bill, debates on the Pancras workhouse, &c. But on the 6th of May, a fortnight after the re-assembling of parliament, Lord Pelham communicated to the Lords, and Mr. Addington to the Commons, another message from his majesty, intimating that orders had been given to Lord Whitworth, our ambassador, to quit Paris immediately, unless he found a certainty of bringing the pending negotiations to a close against a certain period, and that General Andréossi, the French ambassador, had applied for a passport to be ready to quit London as soon as he should be informed of Lord Whitworth having quitted Paris. Ministers said that there were now grounds for believing that Lord Whitworth was on his journey home, and might soon be expected; and that therefore an adjournment would be advisable for two or three days. Both Houses adjourned till the Monday following. But it was not until the 16th of May, and after another adjournment, preceded by a flourishing account of the financial state of the country, that all doubt and uncertainty were terminated by another royal message which announced the recall of Lord Whitworth and the departure of Andréossi. In order to give time for producing the necessary

papers, the consideration of the king's message was postponed for two days. But on the 17th, the day after the message was delivered, an Order of Council was published directing that reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French republic; and a proclamation was issued for an embargo on all ships in the British ports belonging either to the French and Batavian republics, or to any countries occupied by French arms. On the 18th copies of the requisite papers —of the letters, memorials, and other state papers forming the diplomatic correspondence between Great Britain and France since the period of the peace of Amiens—were laid before both Houses. On the same day the subjects of complaint against France were stated at length in a royal declaration or manifesto. This paper began with contrasting the liberal and friendly conduct displayed towards the subjects of France, in respect to matters of law and commerce, with the severity and injustice practised towards the subjects of England. It laid a proper stress on the circumstance of the French government having sent persons to reside in the British and Irish seaports, in the character of consuls, when no commercial treaty existed, and whose conduct gave reason to suspect purposes of the most dangerous kind. It exposed the encroaching and grasping spirit of the French government, as displayed to the world since the peace by their keeping a French army in Holland, by their violating the independence of Switzerland, and by their annexing to France Piedmont, Parma and Piacenza, and the Isle of Elba. Next it noticed the novel principle advanced by Bonaparte, that Great Britain had no right to take an interest in the affairs of the Continent, or to interfere with the proceedings of France in any one point which did not form a part of the stipulations in the treaty of Amiens; and the declaration adduced arguments to prove the incompatibility of this new French principle with the spirit of treaties in general and the national law of Europe. With regard to the non-evacuation of Malta, which the First Consul set forward as the one great cause of the rupture, it contended that the conduct of the governments of France and Spain, in seizing the property and destroying the consideration and the independence of the Knights, had been the cause of the non-execution of that article in the treaty of Amiens which stipulated the said evacuation of Malta by the British; and here it was added (with reference to that noisy report of Sebastiani which Bonaparte had published in his 'Moniteur'), that the French government had given public indications of a design to violate those articles of the treaty which stipulated the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire and of the Ionian Islands, and that this alone would justify our retaining possession of Malta, unless other securities against his ambitious projects were given by the First Consul, who had refused to give anything of the sort. The indignities which had been offered to the British government and nation were then recapitulated, and particular emphasis was given to the words which Bonaparte had used in a public address to the Corps Legislatif, "that Great Britain singly cannot contend with the power of France;" an assertion regarded as an insult and defiance, and contradicted by the events of many wars. The royal paper concluded with declaring, that, notwithstanding all the changes and encroachments which had taken place since the peace, his majesty was ready to concur even now in an arrangement by which satisfaction should be given to him for the indignities offered to his crown and people, together with a security against further encroachments on the part of France.

We reserve the account of the diplomatising, and of the strange concluding scenes of Lord Whitworth's embassy, for another page. Here we need only mention that the declaration of war was received in England with almost universal enthusiasm: the news was welcomed in the city of London with hats in the air, with three cheers, and with right-down English huzzas. Men felt that the experiment of a peace had been tried and had failed; that an armed truce would be nearly as expensive as an active war, without the excitement and glory of warfare; that such a truce would enable Bonaparte to crush the spirit of national independence, to establish his dominion over the continent of Europe, and to build, with all the resources of the Continent, in trebly fortified and inaccessible ports, a fleet which in the course of a few years might dispute with us the sovereignty of the seas. City corporations, with other bodies corporate and incorporate, cooled afterwards; but at the moment the renewal of the war was hailed with more joy than had been witnessed at the proclamation of the peace.

This important subject was not fully taken into consideration until Monday the 23rd of May, when all the avenues to the houses of parliament were crowded at a very early hour.* In each House an address was moved, re-echoing the sentiments of the king's message and declaration. Some few doubts were expressed as to the justice or the expediency of commencing hostilities without some further attempt at negotiation; but in both Houses the doubters were left in a most feeble minority. An amendment moved in the Upper House by Lord King, for expunging those expressions which so warmly attributed to France the guilt of breaking the treaty, was rejected by 142 against 10; and in the Commons an amendment moved by Mr. Grey, to assure his majesty of the support of the

* On the preceding night the Foxites had held a meeting to discuss their plans of opposition. Fox, it is said, spoke at this private meeting with great moderation, expressing his anxiety for the preservation of peace, but acknowledging the difficulties of the conjuncture. He had to submit to the folly of some of his associates. Sheridan was so drunk that at first he could not speak intelligibly; but he afterwards became more articulate, and dwelt upon the danger of throwing the "Doctor"—as Addington was called from the profession of his father —into the arms of Pitt. This idea, which is said to have been very prevalent among the partisans of Fox, proves at least that they believed that Addington wanted to retain his place, in despite of the man who had made him.—*Letter from F. Horner to Thomas Thomson, Esq., in Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P., by his brother, Leonard Horner, Esq., F.R.S.*

House in the war, but to express at the same time a disapprobation of the conduct of ministers, was negatived by 398 against 67. On this occasion Pitt was in his place, and he rose early in the debate to express a hope that on this great question all parties would be unanimous. His speech produced an immense impression, and was greatly admired: Fox, in replying to it, said that if Demosthenes himself had been present he must have admired, and might have envied.* Fox himself was quite facetious on what was certainly no laughing matter. He was of course at the head of those few who faced the tremendous majority. He confessed that Bonaparte was very wrong in demanding, as he had done, that we should expel all the French emigrants who had sought an asylum in our country, and that we should abridge the liberty of our press and modify our constitution; but he palliated the haughtiness and insolence of the language which he had used in conferring with Lord Whitworth; he said that Bonaparte had quite as much right to complain of our aggrandisement in India as we had to complain of his encroachments in Europe; that his expressed determination to take possession sooner or later of Egypt was not a sufficient cause for our going to war, but that the war was provoked by our retaining Malta and the Cape of Good Hope; that we were going to war on a sordid principle, which would deprive us of the possibility of obtaining any allies. The attorney-general (Spencer Perceval), Windham, and others, strongly objected to the tendency of Fox's speech, whose arguments all went to justify the conduct of Bonaparte. Windham called it not only a fallacious but a wicked speech, and Fox himself a pander to base and illiberal passions; he drew a comparison between his conduct and that of Pitt, who had, he said, employed his great abilities in kindling the flame of patriotism, and in calling forth the energies of the country.

On the 27th of May Fox moved an address to advise his majesty to accept the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, who, it was understood, had offered to mediate. He eulogised the character of the young emperor Alexander as warmly as he had once eulogised his grandmother the great Catherine. Pitt, who again asserted his wonderful mastery over the House, expressed his perfect approbation of the principles on which the motion was grounded, and of the wish to avert war if it were yet possible; but he hoped that Fox would not persist in it, as there appeared no reason to doubt but that the ministry would act in conformity with that wish, and with those general principles. In the end Fox consented to withdraw his motion, on a declaration from Lord Hawkesbury, secretary for foreign affairs, that the government, though it could not suspend the preparations for pursuing the war, would be ready to accept the mediation of Russia if the First Consul would accept it and accede to reasonable terms. In each House censures were moved on the conduct of the Addington administration; but, although the enmity or coldness between Addington and Pitt seemed on the increase, and although a very general notion prevailed, both in parliament and in the country, that Addington would make a spiritless and bad war minister, these motions were rejected by great majorities.

At war with France, it was impossible to be at peace with Holland, which was now little more than a French province, and which still retained maritime resources too great to be despised. On the 17th of June the king announced by message that he had communicated to the Batavian republic his disposition to respect its neutrality, provided only the French government would respect it and withdraw its forces from that country; but that this proposition not having been acceded to by France, his majesty had judged it necessary to recall his minister from the Hague, and to give orders for the issuing of letters of marque and reprisals against the Batavian republic. A few weeks after this message Lord Hawkesbury called the attention of the Commons to another royal message relating to the ex-Stadtholder of Holland, our late ally, the Prince of Orange, who had been despoiled and left without a home, and who had no reliance except on the generosity of this country. His lordship then moved that the sum of 60,000*l.*, and a pension of 16,000*l.* per annum during the pleasure of his majesty, should be granted to the illustrious House of Orange. The grant passed without opposition.

On the following day, the 18th of June, another royal message acquainted parliament that, for the security and defence of the country, his majesty thought it necessary that a large additional force should be raised and assembled forthwith. On the 20th, in the Commons, Mr. Yorke, the secretary-at-war, presented the plan of increase, which proposed to levy an army of reserve 50,000 strong—the men to be raised by ballot like the English militia, and their services during the war to extend to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands. A bill to this effect was carried through both Houses, not without opposition to some of its particulars, but without any division. Subsequently (on the 18th of July), Mr. Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill enabling his majesty to raise a levy *en masse* in case of invasion. [At this moment the opposite coasts of France and Belgium were lined

* F. Horner, Letter to J. A. Murray, Esq.—Horner says further:—"Pitt's peroration was a complete half hour of his most powerful declamation, not lowered in its tone for a moment: not a particle of all this is preserved in the report lately published, though said to be done by Canning. Fox's speech was quite of a different cast, and not at all in the tone which he usually adopts; no high notes, no impassioned bursts; but calm, subtle, argumentative pleasantry. He very seldom attempts to keep the House laughing; but in this speech, I understand, it was evidently his design throughout, and Mackintosh says he never heard so much wit."

Romilly, writing to his friend M. Dumont, says:—"The debate has not been published, for, owing to a new regulation which was made respecting the admission of strangers into the gallery, none of the newswriters were able to get in. Pitt's speech is universally allowed to be one of the finest, if not the very finest, he ever made. His influence and authority in the House of Commons, as shown in this debate, and still more on the day when Fox moved that the House should recommend the crown to accept the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, exceed all belief. The ministry seem, in the House of Commons, in comparison with Pitt, to be persons of no account."—*Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly, by his Sons.*

with troops, and the 'Moniteur' and the 'Brussels Gazette' were calculating how many weeks or days it would take Bonaparte to reach London.] This, he contended, was an ancient and indispensable prerogative of the crown, as was acknowledged in the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, in the assize of Henry II. and statute of Henry III.; and the object of the present bill was only to facilitate the exercise of such prerogative in case of need. The most insolent of all enemies, who had already subdued the greater part of the Continent, was threatening us with invasion and slavery: there never was a time when it was more necessary to assert this ancient and undoubted prerogative of the crown. After detailing the different classes under which the population of the country should be enrolled for the purposes of the bill, Mr. Yorke stated that, so lately as the reign of Henry VIII., all persons in England were required to exercise themselves at shooting with the bow. The same principle required that the Englishmen of the present day should exercise themselves in the use of the rifle, musket, sword, &c. In case of actual invasion every man must be bound to march; but the volunteers would be required to march only in their own corps. He cited the conduct of the English at Toulon, Lincelles, Acre, and in Egypt, to prove that they had not degenerated from the heroes who fought at Crecy and Azincourt. Windham, rising as soon as the secretary-at-war sat down, delivered a long and remarkable harangue, approving of what was now proposed to be done, but strongly reprobating the past inactivity and blindness of ministers, which had left the country so much worse prepared than it might have been for the commencement of a war. Pitt also spoke in warm approbation of the principle of the measure proposed; but expressed his surprise and concern at its not having been brought forward sooner. Lord Castlereagh, as a member of the present ministry, insisted that the bill had been presented as soon as it was possible and proper. Fox offered his hearty concurrence. The prospect of that always dangerous experiment, the universal arming of a nation, seemed to fill him with cheerful and hopeful visions. He said he had not approved of the present war, but, as we were engaged in it, he could not conscientiously oppose those measures which the state of war rendered necessary: he could conscientiously support this measure, this levy *en masse*, because it was for the defence of the country rather than for any project of offensive war. It was principally on the armed mass of the people that he relied for resistance to invasion. Our regular army might be good and great; our navy was the greatest and the best in the world: both might be excellent, but both might also be subject to accidents and chances; whereas the mass of a great people, once instructed in the use of arms, would be a solid and permanent security, which would not depend on the event of one battle, or be rendered inefficacious by any untoward circumstances. The invaders might bring to our shores regular armies as numerous and as well disciplined as our own, but they could not bring over that which we could command—an armed peasantry. He thought that the best mode would be to try whether a general armament of this nature might not be obtained voluntarily; but he allowed that if compulsion were necessary it should be resorted to. Addington intimated that there was no want of spirit and alacrity in the people; that upwards of 60,000 volunteers had already offered themselves; and that he considered the measure as singularly adapted to the genius and character of the people, as it was making a common cause with them in the defence of our common country. The bill was then read a first and second time, committed *pro formâ*, and the report was brought up on the 20th, when Sheridan deprecated any discussion until the third reading. On the 22nd, after the bill had been read a third time, on the question being put that it should pass, Colonel Crauford, in highly approving the measure, expressed his doubt whether other means of defence were not necessary. He conceived the country to be deficient both as to regular troops and fortifications—he thought that the regular army ought to be increased; that the coast from the Yarmouth Roads to the South Foreland ought to be fortified; that defences ought to be thrown up on the different roads leading from the coast to London; and finally, that London itself ought to be fortified. He thought that all men ought to be armed, and that those who could not have muskets should be supplied with pikes. He also strongly recommended the immediate appointment of a military council. Ministers replied that they were decidedly averse to fortifying London; that with such a fleet and army as we possessed, it would be disgraceful to think of that measure; and that, whether the gallant colonel was satisfied or not with the preparations the government had made, it was quite clear that the enemy were satisfied they left them no hope of success. Pitt again took an active part in debate, pronouncing a sort of eulogium on the military management of his own government. He asserted that during the late war every possible attention had been given to the subject;—that a plan had been completely digested, a survey taken, and the works actually traced by General Dundas; that the most minute sketches had been obtained of every important position for resistance, between the sea-coast and the metropolis; and that the defence of the different detached positions, such as Newcastle, the mouth of the Humber, &c., with our principal ports and arsenals, had also been considered. If the enemy should come—which was very doubtful—our success was certain; but he agreed with Colonel Crauford, that, in order that victory should be purchased with a smaller loss of life, some fortifications were very advisable. [All this was a prelude to the costly farce of those Martello towers which Pitt's restored government began to erect soon afterwards.] He dwelt with animating eloquence on the whole subject of invasion. Eng-

lishmen had been, by the favour of Providence, for a long series of years exempted from this species of contest; but, if they were now to be called upon to take their share in it with other nations, they must meet it with gratitude for the exemption they had hitherto enjoyed, and with a firm determination to support it with courage and resolution—they must show themselves worthy, by their conduct on this occasion, of the happiness they had enjoyed. "It is," he said, "for our property, it is for our liberty, it is for our independence, nay, for our existence as a nation, it is for our character, it is for our very name as Englishmen, it is for everything dear and valuable to man on this side of the grave. Parliament has now provided ample means for our defence; it remains for the executive government to employ them to the best advantage. The regular army must be augmented to that point to which the means are now given to raise it; the militia must be kept high in numbers and unbroken in spirit; the auxiliary force must be as promptly raised and disciplined as the nature of things will admit; nothing must be omitted that military skill can suggest to render the contest certain as to its success and short in its duration. If government show the same determination to apply all those means that parliament has shown in providing them—if the people follow up the example which the legislature has set them, we are safe. Then I may say, without being too sanguine, that the result of this great contest will ensure the permanent security, the eternal glory of this country; that it will terminate in the confusion, the dismay, and the shame of our vaunting enemy; that it will afford the means of animating the spirits, of rousing the courage, of breaking the lethargy, of the surrounding nations of Europe; and I trust that, if a fugitive French army should reach its own shores after being driven from our coasts, it will find the people of Europe reviving in spirits, and anxious to retaliate on France all the wrongs, all the oppressions they have suffered from her; and that we shall at length see that wicked fabric destroyed, which was raised upon the prostitution of liberty, and which has caused more miseries, more horrors to France, and to the surrounding nations, than are to be paralleled in any part of the annals of mankind."

The levy *en masse* bill was passed *nem. con.* On the 25th it was carried up to the Lords, who adopted it unanimously, one or two of the peers only censuring ministers, as Pitt had done, for not producing it sooner. Three days after this a message was delivered from his majesty, acquainting both Houses that a treasonable and rebellious spirit of insurrection had manifested itself in Ireland, and had been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin. The corresponding address to the throne was carried at once and unanimously; and before another sun rose two bills, one for trying rebels in Ireland by martial law, the other for suspending anew the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland, were hurried through all their stages and passed. In each House all this was done without any division; but in the Commons there was some animated and angry discussion. Windham reproached ministers (who had certainly known for months of the storm that had been brewing in Dublin) with their closeness and mystery, and with the now proven falsehood of their very recent statements that the Irish were tranquil, contented, and loyal. It appeared, he said, as if the government of Ireland might be destroyed, and its capital taken, before parliament was to receive the slightest warning. Ministers, after keeping the House in the dark, now wanted it to proceed without deliberation: it was usual to take at least a day to consider an address; and he thought that in the present instance a great deal of information was necessary before the House voted. Sheridan felt or affected an exceeding indignation at Windham for starting any objection, or creating any delay to the urgent measures of government at such a crisis; and he pathetically described the sufferings which a delay of twenty-four hours might occasion to the loyal part of the Irish. Addington paid the highest compliments to "*the disinterested patriotism*" of Sheridan, "who, whenever the country was in a critical situation, gave all his great talents to its support." Windham ironically noticed the compliments passing between the chancellor of the exchequer and Sheridan. The latter retorted, partly in the declamatory way, and partly with the drollery which was more natural to him: he said that he had never in his life deserted either his political principles or his political friends; while Windham had sat on every side of the House, "till at last he came, by a diagonal progression, from the treasury bench to his present seat." Windham, before the session ended, found more than one opportunity of pointedly expressing his intimate belief that Sheridan was looking out for a snug place under the Addington administration, and of ridiculing the zeal of this new convert. Long before these debates were over the new Irish rebellion had extinguished itself in the bottomless pool of its own follies. But at Paris the movement had been well concerted:—while the shores of England were threatened with invasion, Ireland was to be made the seat of civil war, and the Irish exiles and refugees had pledged themselves for the success of the insurrection, *if* Bonaparte would supply them with *only* money, arms, artillery, ships, and troops.

As early as the 13th of June, in bringing forward the budget, the chancellor of the exchequer had intimated his intention of reviving the income tax as a necessary war tax, and on the 5th of July he moved that the House should go into committee upon that subject. The new tax he chose to call a property tax, although in substance it was little more a *property* tax than the old one, only containing a clause by which, in cases of incomes from land or interest of money, no particular disclosure was to be required. The proportion now de-

manded was not, however, so large as formerly.* Several members objected to the misnomer, insisting that it was in reality an income tax, and not a tax upon property; that it raised an equal sum upon incomes of unequal duration, upon the precarious produce of industry, and upon permanent income; and that it was unjust that a precarious income, derived from mental or bodily labour, should pay an equal tax with an income which was permanent and obtained without exertion. Sir Henry Mildmay further observed that there was another point on which the present bill would have an unequal operation, contrary to its avowed principle—that of a fair, equal, and proportionate tax—for it made no exemption whatever in favour of persons having large families, if their incomes exceeded 150*l.* a year; so that, whether a man was single or had a family of twelve children to support, there would be no difference in the operation of the tax. The minister desired to know whether an exemption from the house and window tax, in favour of persons with large families, would not go a great way towards the object the honourable baronet so earnestly desired? On the 13th of July the bill was debated again in a committee of the whole House. After a member had warmly denounced the inquisitorial means adopted to ascertain the amount of the incomes of tradesmen, Pitt rose to express his disapprobation of several of the details of the measure, and to move an instruction to the committee, that "the like exemptions and abatements be extended to those who have income arising from money in the funds, or land, or money at interest, as are or may be allowed to other persons." Some of the Addington party censured him for attacking the minister, and for thwarting or delaying his purpose; and they seemed to hint that he was acting unfairly, and taking the minister by surprise. To this Pitt scornfully replied that ministers had been in possession of his sentiments for the last three weeks. The Addingtonians, however, still affected to be surprised, as at an unexpected motion. In spite of the censure of some, and the friendly persuasions of others, Pitt pressed his motion to a division, but it was rejected by 150 against 50. While this income or property tax bill was in committee several important confessions were made, and a few substantial alterations admitted. The chancellor of the exchequer, for example, confessed that there was a wide difference between income arising from lands or from capital already accumulated, and income arising from bodily labour, or from mental labour and professional skill; and that, of all the cases of hardship to which this tax could apply, he conceived it to be most severe on the learned professions. But Addington never admitted a principle without taking the spirit out of it by qualifications; and he went on to reason that, as there were some rich clergymen, lawyers, and physicians, all of the learned professions ought to be taxed. It would not, said he, be the policy of parliament, at this time, to exclude the income arising from those sources from contributing towards the present exigencies: there was no one who had arrived to great attainments in those professions who had not acquired a considerable proportion of capital! He felt the difficulty of extending the exemptions on account of the prodigious addition which would be created thereby to the trouble of the tax commissioners. But the very day after the rejection of Pitt's motion, Addington adopted the substance of that amendment, as "the exemptions it demanded were expected by a great number of people, and as he was convinced of the necessity of reconciling even the most necessary measures to the feelings of the public, and as he wished to avoid differences of opinion where unanimity was so very desirable." A diminished rate was fixed for landed incomes from 60*l.* to 100*l.* a year. A clause for empowering surveyors to examine property in order to estimate its value was so amended as to do away the power, originally given by the bill, of entering private dwelling-houses. All the clauses relating to the mode of stopping and collecting the tax on dividends payable at the Bank of England were struck out by the chancellor of the exchequer, who substituted for them other clauses, importing that stockholders' returns should be made in the same manner as those of other persons; but if, after the expiration of six months, no return should be made, then government should have the power of collecting the tax at the Bank as at first proposed. A clause was also introduced which not only exempted bank-stock already purchased by foreigners from the tax, but also all funded property which might, during the operation of the act, be acquired by persons not subjects of his majesty, and not residing in the British dominions. This clause, although it was well and fairly meant, and prevented numerous foreign holders of stock from being scared away from our Bank, led directly to much trickery and subterfuge, by which government was a loser. Instead of an exemption from the house and window tax, reductions were introduced in favour of persons having numerous families, upon incomes from 60*l.* to 400*l.*, for each child above two, or for three or more children, four per cent.; upon incomes from 400*l.* to 1000*l.*, for ditto, three per cent.; upon incomes from 1000*l.* to 5000*l.*, for ditto, two per cent.; and upon incomes of 5000*l.* and upwards, one per cent. Some abatements were also granted to persons whose incomes ranged between 60*l.* and 150*l.* per annum; and the bill was read a third time, and passed on the 1st of August.

Various other new taxes or duties were also imposed. Some of these were extended to Ireland, and the lord-lieutenant of that country was authorised to raise 1,000,000*l.* by loan. The total amount of supplies granted for the year was 41,363,192*l.* Of this great sum 12,000,000*l.*

* Where the owner of land let it out, he was to pay only one shilling in the pound, or five per cent.; but where the land was in his own hands, he was to pay one and ninepence in the pound, that is one shilling as landlord, and ninepence as tenant.

was to be raised by annuities, 1,052,000*l.* by lotteries, above 15,000,000*l.* by loans or Exchequer bills, and 4,000,000*l.* was to be taken from the consolidated fund. The session was closed on the 12th of August by a speech from the throne, wherein his majesty expressed his reliance that, under the continuance of the Divine protection, the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects would prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence or impair the power of this United Kingdom would terminate in the disgrace and ruin of those by whom it might be made. The king appeared in excellent health and spirits, and was enthusiastically cheered by immense multitudes on his way to and from parliament.

While parliament was sitting, and when the country was ringing with military preparations, and the marchings and countermarchings of troops of the line, militia, fencibles, and volunteers, the Prince of Wales repeated a claim which he had often made before, for military promotion, and for some post or command where honour and danger might go hand in hand.* The Duke of York had been for some years captain-general and commander-in-chief of the forces, the Dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge were lieutenant-generals, but their eldest brother, the heir to the throne, was left in the inferior grade of a colonel of dragoons. On the 18th of July the Prince of Wales addressed a letter to Addington, stating that, from the official communication to parliament that the avowed object of the enemy was invasion, and from the levy-en-masse and the other extraordinary measures of defence which parliament had agreed to, it was quite evident the danger was not believed to be dubious or remote; that, animated by the same spirit which pervaded the nation at large, he was anxious to undertake the responsibility of a military command; that he was aware he did not possess the experience of actual warfare, but at the same time he could not regard himself as totally unqualified in military science, since he had long made the service his particular study; that, however, his chief pretensions to promotion and active employment were founded on a sense of those advantages which his example might produce to the state, by exciting the loyal energies of the nation, and on a knowledge of those expectations which the public had a right to form as to the personal exertions of their princes at a moment like the present. "The more elevated my situation," said the prince's letter, "in so much the efforts of my zeal become necessarily greater; and I confess that, if duty had not been so paramount, a reflection on the splendid achievements of my predecessors would have excited in me the spirit of emulation: when, however, in addition to such recollections, the nature of the contest in which we are about to engage was impressed on my consideration, I should, indeed, have been devoid of every virtuous sentiment if I had felt no reluctance in remaining a passive spectator of armaments which have for their object the very existence of the British empire." He complained of the little value his majesty's ministers had formerly put upon his offers of service; of some "unknown cause" which had retarded his appointment; and of the obloquy to which he was exposed of being regarded by the country as idle and indifferent to the events which menaced it—of being insensible to the call of patriotism and of glory: he insisted that the claim which he advanced was strictly constitutional and justified by precedent; and that to debar him from it in the present situation of Europe would be alike fatal to his own immediate honour and to the future interests of the crown. After saying that he should be sorry to embarrass the government at such a crisis, but that nothing could compensate him for the misfortune of not participating in the honours and dangers which awaited the brave men destined to oppose an invading enemy, the prince's letter concluded with these words:—"All I solicit is a more ostensible situation than that in which I am at present placed; for, situated as I am, as a mere colonel of a regiment, the major-general commanding the brigade of which such a regiment must form a part would justly expect and receive the full credit of pre-arrangement and successful enterprise."

It appears that Addington left this earnest letter unanswered, for the prince repeated his application

* In April, 1798, the prince had written the following letter to his father:—"Sir, I have, from various considerations of duty and respect, delayed to the latest hour obtruding myself by a direct application to your majesty; and it is now with an earnestness that I never before ventured to approach you, sir, that I presume to throw myself at your feet, and to implore your gracious attention to the humble sentiments I offer in this letter. The serious and awful crisis in which this country now stands calls for the united efforts of every British arm in the defence of all that can be dear to Englishmen; and it is with glowing pride that I behold the prevalence of this sentiment through every part of your majesty's kingdom. Whatever may some time back have been your majesty's objections to my being in the way of actual service, yet at a crisis like this, unexampled in our history, when every subject in the realm is eagerly seeking for and has his post assigned him, those objections will, I humbly trust, yield to the pressure of the times, and your majesty will be graciously pleased to call me forth to a station wherein I may prove myself worthy of the confidence of my country, and of the high rank I hold in it, by staking my life in its defence:—death would be preferable to being marked as the *only man* that was not suffered to come forth on such an occasion. Should it be my fate to fall in so glorious a contest, no injury could arise to the line of succession, on account of the number happily remaining of your majesty's children. At the same time, were there fifty princes, or were I the single one, it would, in my humble judgment, be equally incumbent on them, or me, to stand foremost in the ranks of danger at so decisive a period as the present. I am the more induced to confide that your majesty's goodness will comply with this humble petition, from the conviction I feel that, had similar circumstances prevailed in the reign of the late king, when your majesty was Prince of Wales, you would have panted, sir, for the opportunity I now so earnestly covet. I know your majesty, and am fixed in this belief; and I should hold myself unworthy of my descent and station, if a tamer impulse could now possess me. Still more to justify this confidence, allow me to recall to your majesty's recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, when I solicited foreign service upon my first coming into the army. They were, sir, that your majesty did not then see the opportunity for it; but that, if anything was to arise at home, I ought to be one of the *first* and *foremost*. My character with the nation, my honour, my future fame and prospects in life, are now all at stake. I therefore supplicate your majesty to afford me those means for their preservation, which affection for my country and devotion to my sovereign would have prompted me to solicit, even though my birth and station had not rendered it my duty to claim them. I presume in no respect to prescribe to your majesty the mode of being employed: what I humbly, but most earnestly, solicit, is the certainty of active service, in such a character as to your majesty shall seem fit. With the profoundest humility, I have the honour to subscribe myself your majesty's most dutiful and most affectionate son and subject,

"GEORGE P."

This application had then been met by a peremptory refusal from the king, who declared "that military command was incompatible with the situation of Prince of Wales."

in another letter dated the 26th of July. In reply to this, Addington briefly alluded to similar applications which, in obedience to the *commands* of his royal highness, had been laid before his majesty upon former occasions. The prince then desired the minister to lay before his majesty his last note of the 26th. This Addington did; but the king only referred to the orders he had before given, adding that, his opinion being fixed, he desired that no further mention should be made to him of the subject. In the course of the levy-en-masse debates some of the prince's friends hinted obliquely at this curious correspondence, and expressed a hope that the heir to the throne would be gratified in his laudable wishes. Six days before the prorogation of parliament the prince addressed a letter to the king himself, repeating with additional earnestness the arguments he had used in his letters to Addington. "I ask," said he, "to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your majesty's person, crown, and dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your majesty's subjects have been called on; it would therefore little become me, who am the *first*, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, and idle, and lifeless spectator! . . . . . Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France! At such a moment the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he has already made through your majesty's *ministers*. . . . . And ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have everything to lose by defeat? The highest places in your majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be even the junior major-general of your army." He reminded his father that no other cause had been or could be assigned for the refusal, except that it was the will of his majesty. The king, in a very succinct answer, referred him to the repeated declarations he had already made of his determination on this subject, and told him that he had flattered himself he should have heard no more about it; adding, "Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment." On the 23rd of August the prince once more addressed the king, but without producing any effect on his fixed determination. At the beginning of October, when an extensive promotion took place in the army, the prince wrote to his brother the Duke of York, as commander-in-chief, "by whose counsels the constitution presumes that the military department is administered." He complained that his standing in the army, according to the ordinary routine of promotion, would have placed him by this time either at the bottom of the list of generals, or at the head of the list of lieutenant-generals; and that to be told that he might display his zeal solely and simply at the head of his regiment was a degrading mockery. The Duke of York replied, after warm professions of fraternal affection, that he must recall to his memory a conversation he had with the Prince of Wales, upon the same subject, soon after his majesty had placed him at the head of the army; that in the year 1795, on a general promotion taking place, he, at the prince's instance, had delivered a letter from him to his majesty, urging his pretensions to promotion in the army; to which his majesty had been then pleased to answer that, before ever he gave the prince the command of the 10th light dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to him what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering the army, and the public grounds upon which he could never admit of his considering it as a profession, or claiming promotion in the service; and that his majesty at the same time had added *his positive command and injunctions* to him (the duke) never to mention that subject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature, should it be proposed to him. "This message," continued the Duke of York, "I was, of course, under the necessity of delivering to you, and I have constantly made it the rule of my conduct ever since; and, indeed, I have ever considered it as one of the greatest proofs of affection and consideration towards me, on the part of his majesty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this business. Having thus stated to you, fairly and candidly, what has passed, I trust you will see that there can be no grounds for the apprehension expressed in the latter part of your letter, that any slur can attach to your character as an officer, particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourself, on the day on which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th light dragoons, the explanation and condition attached to it by his majesty; and therefore, surely, you must be satisfied that your not being advanced in military rank proceeds entirely from his majesty's sentiments respecting the high rank you hold in the state, and not from any impression unfavourable to you." The Prince of Wales wrote again to the commander-in-chief, denying that he had ever entered into any compromise—denying any recollection of the private conversation quoted by the duke—stating that in the first instance he had been merely referred to his majesty's will and pleasure, and that now he was informed for the first time that when the king had appointed him to the command of the Tenth he had caused it to be fully explained to him what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army. He insisted that neither in his majesty's letter nor in the letters of Mr. Addington was

there one word or the most distant allusion to the condition mentioned in the duke's letter; and that, even if he had accepted the command of a regiment on such conditions, his acquiescence could have relation only to the ordinary situation of the country, and not to a case so completely out of all contemplation at that time as the probable invasion of this kingdom by a foreign force sufficient to bring its safety into question. Four other letters passed between the royal brothers; but, whether the commander-in-chief had the inclination or not to gratify the Prince of Wales, he had not the power to move the king from his unalterable resolution. On the 23rd of October, when the prince was on the point of starting for Brighton, where the Tenth was quartered, Addington wrote him a short ambiguous note, saying that, in consequence of some intelligence which had reached him, he was impelled by a sense of duty to his royal highness and to the public to express an anxious hope that he might be induced to postpone his journey to Brighton, until he (Addington) should have an opportunity of making further inquiries. As the mysterious minister did not communicate the nature of this intelligence, the prince chose to consider that it related to invasion, or to some landing projected on the Sussex coast; and on the following day he replied by note that he apprehended that Addington expected some immediate attempt from the enemy, adding that his wish to accommodate himself to anything which the minister might represent as material to the public service would make him desirous to comply with his request; but that, if there was reason to imagine that invasion would take place directly, he was bound, "by the king's precise order, and by that honest zeal which was not allowed any fitter sphere for its action," to hasten instantly to his regiment. The prince went down to Brighton on the 24th or 25th; and on the 26th of October there was a grand scene in the capital, which was probably the motive which induced Addington to request his royal highness to remain in town, and the motive which induced the prince to hurry down to the coast:—there was a review in Hyde Park of all the volunteer corps of London, 12,500 strong. The king was accompanied by the queen, and all the other members of the royal family except the heir-apparent. Monsieur (afterwards Charles X.), the Prince de Condé, the Duc de Bourbon, and the Duc de Berri, were all present on horseback, attended by many of the old French noblesse, and by General Dumouriez. The Duke of York figured as commander-in-chief, and afterwards conveyed to the volunteers the compliments of the king in general orders.*

The war was certainly inevitable before, but perhaps no single circumstance tended more to exasperate Bonaparte than the trial of Peltier, with the eloquent pleading of the late Sir James Mackintosh. Jean Joseph Peltier was a journalist and royalist refugee, living and publishing in London, and not in himself a very interesting or exalted person, having little literary merit, and being much more abusive and calumniatory than eloquent or witty. At the commencement of the revolution he edited a monarchic paper, entitled '*Les Actes des Apôtres*,' and wrote a great number of pamphlets. After the 10th of August, 1792, when the Bourbon monarchy was rent to pieces, and "when our shores were covered as with the wreck of a great tempest," he fled to England, and availed himself most actively, and to an immense extent, of our liberty of the press. Perhaps he considered that his pen had given offence in France which would never be really pardoned; perhaps he had no property to which to return, and no means of livelihood so productive on the other side of the Channel as were his writings in England, and his occasional douceurs from the Bourbon princes and some of the emigrant noblesse; and perhaps he felt that attachment to legitimacy, and that abhorrence to all the revolutionary governments, which he professed; but what is certain is, that he refused to avail himself of the permission granted by Bonaparte to emigrants to return to France and resume their property—or such portions of it as were not sold or appropriated, or such as he might choose to give them. After writing a 'History of the Revolution of the 10th of August,' a 'History of the Campaign of 1793,' and a periodical work, entitled '*Tableau de l'Europe*,' prophesying the precariousness of all the revolutionary governments, and the inevitable restoration of the ancient dynasty of France, he began, after the peace of Amiens, to publish a new journal, called '*L'Ambigu*,' in which he lashed the First Consul, his court, and government, without mercy, and not without calumny. In the fourth number of this paper appeared a miserable ode on Bonaparte's Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, fictitiously ascribed to Chenier, the republican poet, who had written a great many odes in the high days of Jacobinism, quite as bad both in the poetry and in the ferocity of the sentiment. Peltier, or his ode, represented Bonaparte as Cæsar who had passed the Rubicon, as the tyrant who had left no liberty in France; and pictured the last of the Romans with an avenging poniard in their hands—and then, descending from classicalities, asked the warriors of France whether they were not ashamed of serving a Corsican, *un Corse*—and then, returning to the classical, recommended the Tarpeian Rock, &c. At the same time Peltier gave vent to another thing in rhyme, called 'The Prayer of a Dutch Patriot,' wherein he spoke of Bonaparte's making and unmaking of kings, of his making himself Consul for life, &c., praying that the succession might soon be left open by his death, or that he might disappear like Romulus in a mysterious apotheosis.* Instead of meeting

* Two days after the Westminster, Lambeth, and Southwark volunteers, with other suburban corps, both horse and foot, and forming a total of 14,676 men, were reviewed in the same place, and in presence of the same high personages, and of the same immense and animated crowd. These well-timed reviews had an excellent effect on the public spirit. The volunteer corps of London and the villages and hamlets in its immediate vicinity already exceeded 46,000 men.

* There was also a passage in plain prose, intended to remind the

these rhymes with contempt, Bonaparte fell into a transport of passion: he pretended that they were provocatives to his assassination and to the overthrow of his government. He instructed his ambassador at London to demand satisfaction from the British government. Our secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Hawkesbury, replied that in England the press was free and unshackled, that its excesses were punishable by law—that our courts of law were open to all—that the British court and the ministers themselves, often traduced and libelled, had no other resource—that he did not doubt but than an English jury would give the First Consul satisfaction if he chose to proceed against Peltier by law. The First Consul, who could not or would not conceive that our government had not the same power over newspapers which he had over his 'Moniteur,' and the same power to treat journalists as he had treated them by scores and by hundreds, intimated that nothing less would satisfy him than the suppression of 'L'Ambigu' and the deportation of Peltier. He wrote directly to the English premier to urge these demands, and to recommend a change of our laws relating to the press. Addington calmly and respectfully replied that the abuse of the press might sometimes be a great evil, but that our constitution left to every man the use of his pen, at his own risk and peril if he misused it; that libels, like other offences, were punishable by judge and jury; that, though at times a libeller might escape punishment, it was difficult to find a remedy without touching that liberty of the press which was part of our system and of our habits, and endeared to the English people; that, foreigner as he was, the First Consul might bring his action, only that such a course would give greater publicity to the libel, and that a better course would be to treat Peltier and his papers with contempt, as he (Addington) and his colleagues had often treated similar attacks made by English journalists. There was assuredly, at this moment (in the summer of 1802), no want of a conciliatory tone on the part of our ministers. Lord Hawkesbury went so far as to say in a note to M. Otto, that it was "impossible that his majesty's government could peruse the articles in question without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published them should suffer the punishment he so justly deserved." Finding it beyond the reach of his might or persuasion to make our government arbitrarily suppress 'L'Ambigu,' and transport its editor, the First Consul instructed his ambassador at London to urge that government to institute proceedings in our courts of law. Lord George Gordon had been punished and imprisoned for a libel on the late Queen of France, and Mr. John Vint had been found guilty of a libel on the Emperor of Russia; why therefore should not the First Consul of France proceed in the same way against a man who was but an alien in England? His eagerness for vengeance on a poor refugee scribbler made him reject Addington's very sensible advice. He would fain have precipitated the trial, but he could not change the routine of our lawyers' terms and sessions. Before the trial came on all those causes of disagreement with the British government which we have mentioned occurred, inclusive of Sebastiani's Levant mission and insulting report; and the consul moreover had made his 'Moniteur' teem with abuse of the British constitution, government, and people, it being no secret that many of these 'Moniteur' articles were either written by his own pen, or dictated by him, while, for the reasons already stated, he and his government were answerable for whatever appeared in that paper. At last, on the 21st of February, 1803 (the day on which Colonel Despard and his associates were executed), the trial came on in the Court of Queen's Bench, before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and a special jury. The information had been filed by his majesty's attorney-general *ex-officio*, and stated, "that peace existed between Napoleon Bonaparte and our Lord the King, but that M. J. J. Peltier, intending to destroy the friendship so existing, and to despoil the said Napoleon Bonaparte of his consular dignity, did devise, print, and publish, in the French language to the tenor following," &c. [Here the passages from the paper were inserted, and described as libellous, &c.] The attorney-general, who also himself conducted the prosecution, argued that the object of the writer was to excite the subjects of France to rebel against their chief magistrate *de facto*, and further to excite them to his assassination—that there could be no doubt of Napoleon Bonaparte being the *de facto* chief magistrate or First Consul of France, as he had been recognised by us in that character, and in that character we had made peace with him, and that therefore such a publication in this friendly country could not

French that tyrannicide had always been considered a republican virtue; that Bonaparte, not satisfied with the murder of Louis XVI., and the destruction of so many princes and brave men who had perished in the wars, was still thirsting for more blood, and that nothing was left for patriots to do, but to avenge their wrongs, or perish with glory.

The rhymed platitudes which so enraged the First Consul, and which were quoted on Peltier's trial, were the two following passages —the first from the Chenier Ode, the second from the Dutch Patriot's Prayer:—

De la France, ô honte éternelle!
César, au bord du Rubicon,
A contre lui, dans sa querelle,
Le Sénat, Pompée, et Caton;
Et, dans les plaines de Pharsale,
Si la fortune est inégale,
S'il te faut céder aux destins,
Rome, dans ce revers funeste,
Pour te venger, au moins, il reste
Un poignard aux derniers Romains.
* * * * * *
Guerriers, ressentez-vous l'outrage
Qui par un Corse vous est fait?
Guerriers, que le traitre subisse
De Tarpéia l'affreux supplice!
Pour ces biens qu'il vous a ravis,
Pour ces biens, sa honteuse idole,
Il a livré le Capitole.
Ecrasez-le sous ses débris!

Le voilà donc assis où s'élevait le trône!
Consul, il règle tout; il fait, défait les rois.
Peu soigneux d'être aimé, la terreur fait ses droits!
Il est proclamé chef et Consul pour la vie!
Pour moi, loin qu'à son sort je porte quelque envie,
Qu'il nomme, j'y consens, son digne successeur:
Sur le pavois porté qu'on l'élise empereur
Enfin (et Romulus nous rappelle la chose),
Je fais vœu, dès demain, qu'il ait l'apothéose.

escape punishment. "The First Consul," continued the attorney-general, "is to be respected even as if his ancestors had enjoyed the same power for a number of generations. Perhaps I may hear of publications in the 'Moniteur' reflecting on our government. What have we to do with that? I am standing here for the honour of the English law and of the English nation. I state this to be a crime, and as such have brought it before an English jury; and, if any other country think that they can prosper by such publications, let them have the benefit, but do not let us have the disgrace!" It was every way a happy choice by which Peltier selected for his counsel the able and animated Mackintosh, the author of 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ,' or the best defence of the French Revolution, whose juvenile errors had been corrected by age and experience, and whose arguments—as he had recently told the gentlemen at Paris*—had been so completely refuted by the conduct of the French people. The subject had much that was inspiring, the contrast of condition between the real prosecutor, the master of the greatest empire which the civilised world had yet seen, and the defendant, a poor friendless outcast, was striking and dramatic; Mackintosh, in the prime vigour of his faculties, had exerted them all in praiseworthy preparation, and he was warmed and encouraged in the delivery of his forensic oration by the presence of a crowded and enlightened audience, which included some of the most gifted men of that generation. Mackintosh was as ingenious as he was eloquent, and he artfully applied himself to the deep-rooted national feelings, national prejudices, and common sympathies of the jury, exciting their passionate regard for the liberty of the press, their jealousy and hatred for successful despotism, their pity for the poor outcast, "the voluntary victim of loyalty and conscience." At the same time he showed the innoxiousness of Peltier's attacks, and the, to Englishmen, revolting tyranny exercised in France against the productions of the press. This obscure journal, 'L'Ambigu,' if the jealousy of power could ever be at rest, appeared under circumstances the least calculated to give disquiet to the First Consul: it could not be much read here, for it was not in the language of the country; it could not be read in France, for the police were not supine nor negligent in the execution of Bonaparte's severe and universal prohibition against the admission of English newspapers. Under these circumstances 'L'Ambigu' was issued for the purpose of amusing and consoling the fellow-sufferers of M. Peltier, by occasional reflections on the factions which divide and agitate the land from which they are exiled—it was intended as a consolation to those to whom no consolation remains but in contemplating the instability of human affairs, and seeing that the men by whom they were driven from their country were often the victims of fortune as well as they. This was the only journal that dared still to speak of a family once the most august in Europe. This court afforded an instance of the instability of human grandeur in that family:—the last instance of a prosecution by the French government was for a libel on that Princess who had been since tortured and butchered by her own subjects! He admitted the principle of the attorney-general that no government recognised by our sovereign was to be libelled with impunity; he agreed with him that in this respect all governments were on the same footing, whether they were governments of yesterday or governments confirmed by a succession of ages. He called that English law-court his client's last asylum upon earth; he applauded the honorable and dignified conduct of ministers in refusing to violate the sacred hospitality due to an unfortunate stranger, who now appeared in that court as the only place in which his prosecutor and he could be upon equal terms; he flattered the honourable pride of the jury by saying for his client that the most refreshing prospect his eye could rest upon was a just, impartial, and fearless English jury—that he felt, with him, gratitude to the Ruler of empires that, after the wreck of everything else ancient and venerable in Europe—the wreck of all established forms and acknowledged principles, of all long-subsisting laws and sacred institutions,—Englishmen were met there to-day administering justice after the manner of their forefathers; and he further interested them in favour of his "weak and defenceless fugitive," and he further warmed their nationality, by reminding them that his client had waived his privilege of having half his jury composed of foreigners, preferring to put himself upon a jury entirely English. He represented this cause as the first of a series of contests with the freedom of the press which Bonaparte was determined to carry on in the only country where the press was free; and he called upon his countrymen to pause before the great earthquake swallowed up all the liberty that remained among men. Holland, Switzerland, and the imperial towns of Germany had once participated with us in the benefit of a free press. Holland and Switzerland were now no more, and near fifty of the free imperial towns had vanished since the commencement of this prosecution. Every press in Europe, from Palermo to Hamburgh, was now enslaved: and here he electrified the court by exclaiming, "One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate! There is still one little spot where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society—where he can boldly publish his judgment on the

* Mackintosh was among the crowds of English who were introduced to Bonaparte during the summer and autumn of 1802. "Rather an amusing incident occurred on that occasion. The First Consul was furnished by his nomenclator with some circumstance of the life or character of the most eminent of the persons introduced, on which to found a compliment. As Mr. Mackintosh advanced to be presented to 'the Head of the French government,' a friend who passed him, returning from the ceremony, whispered him, 'I have got your compliment.' The First Consul, from some mistake on his part, or from some change in the order of presentation of the two gentlemen, had addressed him who was first introduced, with an assurance that somewhat surprised him, 'that he was the person who wrote the unanswerable answer to Burke.'"—*Life of Sir James Mackintosh, by his Son.*

acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the arms and hearts of Englishmen; and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire. It is an awful consideration. Every other monument of European liberty has perished. That ancient fabric, which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our forefathers, still stands: it stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire; but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins." Again returning to the cherished system of the trial by jury, he mentioned the important struggle of Cromwell with the spirit of English jurors. "That spirit," he exclaimed, "is, I trust in God, not extinct; and, if any modern tyrant were, in the drunkenness of his insolence, to hope to overawe an English jury, I trust, and I believe, that they would tell him—Our ancestors braved the bayonets of Cromwell, we bid defiance to yours!"*

The attorney-general (Spencer Perceval) replied, saying that, notwithstanding the most brilliant speech he had ever heard, and which had occupied his attention and dazzled the understandings of the jury for three hours, he did not find much to answer; that his honourable friend was wrong in attributing the prosecution to the first magistrate of France; that the real prosecutor was the chief magistrate of this country; that Peltier's publication was clearly libellous and had a tendency to provoke assassination, &c. Lord Ellenborough summed up at considerable length, and the jury returned a reluctant verdict of Guilty against the defendant. But, before Peltier could be called up for judgment, the war was renewed, and he was let off scatheless. He had in the mean time published the report of the trial, with Mackintosh's defence at full length, as revised by the author. Numerous copies of it were smuggled into the Continent, and from one of these Necker's famed daughter, Madame de Staël, who was accustomed to call Bonaparte a "Robespierre on horseback," made a spirited translation into French, which ran throughout Europe like an unquenchable Greek fire. It was afterwards reprinted in other places, and wholly or partially translated into other tongues. It gave a better reason for the renewal of hostilities than any that our diplomatists put into their protocols and ultimatums; it showed to the civilised world the real stake for which England was fighting; it did more mischief to Bonaparte than he would have suffered from the defeat of an army or from the destruction of a fleet. It could not but fill him with rage and animosity. He, the master of Europe, had been bearded by a penniless pamphleteer and an advocate whose fortune was all to make; and this could have been done in England, and in England alone. Again he poured forth rhapsodies against that accursed liberty of the press which allowed little men to meddle with great, and against that British constitution which sanctioned such excesses, or prevented their being punished with arbitrary transportation, or captivity without a trial in secret state-prisons. The 'Moniteur' became more violent and abusive than ever;—from this moment war was declared in the First Consul's heart,—from this moment the secret countenance and encouragement he had given to the Irish refugees and malcontents became an open and barefaced protection. About the same time he made or renewed the demand that the British government should expel from the United Kingdom all royalist emigrants, and oblige the princes of the house of Bourbon to quit the asylum they had chosen, to go and reside at Warsaw, where Louis XVIII., or the Pretender, as he was termed, had taken up his abode. His ambassador at London delivered note after note to Lord Hawkesbury, to convince him that by the alien bill the English government had the power of arresting, or expelling in a summary manner, the Count d'Artois, the Duc de Berri, the Prince de Condé, and whatsoever foreigner it thought proper, and that the said government ought to exercise this power in order to quiet the alarms of the First Consul, who knew that these personages and their adherents were hatching plots in London against his authority and life, and were from the near English coast carrying on an active correspondence with the royalists and malcontents on the western coasts of France—in Normandy, Britany, and the Vendée. To this demand the British government replied by quoting the history of the exile of the last of our Stuart kings, and the conduct of the French government in his regard. James II. had retired with his adherents to France, where he was welcomed by Louis XIV.; and, though in the war which followed that event the French government adopted his cause as their own, no stipulation was made at the treaty of Ryswick that he should be sent out of that country, nor was any subsequent demand ever made to the French government to that effect, although it was notorious that in peace as in war the abdicated sovereign and the exiled court at St. Germain plotted, and intrigued, and carried on an active correspondence with their partisans in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Lord Hawkesbury, however, so far gratified the First Consul as to remove some Chouans and other resolute royalists from the island of Guernsey, where they almost touched the French coast, to a town in the interior of England, where they could be kept under some sort of surveillance. His lordship did not demand in return any expul-

* Mackintosh added, "What could be such a tyrant's means of overawing a jury? As long as their country exists, they are girt round with impenetrable armour. Till the destruction of their country, no danger can fall upon them for the performance of their duty; and I do trust that there is no Englishman so unworthy of life as to desire to outlive England. But if any of us are condemned to the cruel punishment of surviving our country—if, in the inscrutable counsels of Providence, this favoured seat of justice and liberty, this noblest work of human wisdom and virtue, be destined to destruction—which I shall not be charged with national prejudice for saying, would be the most dangerous wound ever inflicted on civilization,—at least, let us carry with us into our sad exile the consolation that we ourselves have not violated the rights of hospitality to exiles; that we have not torn from the altar the suppliant who claimed protection as the voluntary victim of loyalty and conscience!"

sion of, or surveillance over, the Irish exiles and refugees.

A word more must be said touching those so-called consular agents which Bonaparte had dispatched to the different ports of the United Kingdom, even while he was resolutely refusing to enter into any commercial treaty with us, or to remove the prohibitions he had put upon British manufactures and other goods. These agents were one and all military men, artillery or engineer officers, or officers who had acquired the art of military surveying, and the faculty of judging at a glance of the strong and the weak points of a country. For the same reason most of the ambassadors who were or had been employed by Bonaparte were not civilians or trained diplomatists, but military men. Andréossi, who was now residing in this capacity in London, had not the slightest pretension to diplomatic skill, but he was one of the most skilful engineer and artillery officers in the French service, had an excellent coup-d'œil for seizing the military features of a country, and a facility and rapidity in mapping and planning, as he had already proved in Italy and in Egypt, and of which he afterwards gave further proof in Turkey and in his published work on Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and the passage of the Dardanelles.* The so-called consuls were observed to be very busy in all the sea-ports, and more particularly in the ports of Ireland. On the 27th of November, 1802, Talleyrand, as minister for foreign affairs, wrote under the dictation of Bonaparte a very significant letter to M. Fauvelet, consul or commercial agent at Dublin, from which the following is a sufficient extract: "You are charged to procure a plan of the port where you reside, specifying its depth and the possibility of ships of the line entering it. Besides this plan of the port you must inform yourself which is the best wind for ships of war to enter the port, what is the greatest depth of water in the roads, and whether transports heavily laden can get close in shore."† It is not to be supposed that these earnest instructions were confined to Dublin, or that soundings and surveys were not procured in other ports. It is frankly stated by a recent French writer that engineers took soundings in all our roadsteads, and got access to all our dockyards and arsenals. In addition to such duties these commercial agents in Ireland were charged with keeping up a good intelligence with the chiefs of the malcontents. Some of these agents were also members of Bonaparte's secret police; and it has been confidently asserted as a fact of which proofs exist, that by means of these men money was brought over and distributed, especially in Ireland, for the purpose of influencing votes at the general election which took place in the autumn of 1802.* The hope, however, of creating in this way any considerable French interest in the British parliament could scarcely have been entertained. Some of these agents (probably such of them as had been trained in the police) were wary and silent, as became the business they had on hand; but others of them were blatant and boastful, and spoke openly of the ease with which Bonaparte and his "Invincibles" might conquer the United Kingdom. At last, the English government did, what it ought to have done at first—it sent all these Messieurs out of the country.

If there be one, historical fact clearer than another, it is that Bonaparte was resolved on renewing the war with Great Britain. His one predominant idea was, that his existence depended on an extension of his conquests. "My power," he would say, "depends on my glory, and my glory on my victories. My power would fall if I did not support it by fresh glory and new victories. Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest alone can maintain me. A newly-born government like mine must dazzle and astonish. When it ceases to do that, it falls!" It was vain indeed to look for peace with one who had these convictions, and such immense means for warfare at his disposal—to look for rest from a man who was restlessness itself. Even apart from calculation, war was his idol, and his greatest source of enjoyment. Notwithstanding his activity of mind, and his almost incessant employment (for he insisted upon directing everything himself, whether it were the making of a road or a bridge, or the making of a code of laws or a system of education), he was always observed to become moody and sad in a time of peace, and to utter hypochondriacal complaints about his health and his tendency to corpulency;† whereas in camp or in the field he was always gay and buoyant. If he had wished to prolong the truce of Amiens for a season, it was only because he wished to be the more fully prepared for war, and to be enabled to work out some of his great projects in the interval. As it was, he had derived vast benefits from that truce; and in the end it was broken as much by his own vehement passion, which so frequently outran his discretion and his policy, as by any demonstration made by England, or any other single cause whatsoever. Bonaparte was at

* Talleyrand, who did not much relish this practice of employing military men as diplomatists, made an excellent pun out of a pretended mistake of the name and quality of Andréossi. He was discussing with the First Consul the appointment of an ambassador to England. After several persons had been named, Bonaparte said, "I believe I must send Andréossi." Talleyrand replied in his dry way, "You must send André *aussi*" (or, You must send Andrew also)—"Pray, who is this André?" "I did not mention any André," replied the Consul; "I said Andréossi. Surely you know Andréossi, the general of artillery." "Ah! true," rejoined Talleyrand, "Andréossi: I did not think of him; I was thinking only of our diplomatic men, and could not recollect one of that name. Yes, yes! Andréossi *is* in the *artillery*." The general was, of course, appointed ambassador forthwith, and went to London after the peace of Amiens was concluded. Bourrienne, who tells this amusing story, adds that Andréossi did not remain long in England, and had nothing of consequence to do diplomatically while he stayed, which was very lucky for him, as he knew nothing of diplomacy. But it was not to diplomatize that Andréossi was sent to England, or that other men of the same class were sent to other countries. In his own particular line Andréossi may have done a good deal during his short stay. Such an officer could not travel between the coast and London, or ascend and descend the Thames, without making important military observations. During his short stay he made several journeys, and some engineer officers attached to his suite, or figuring as private gentlemen, travelling for their amusement, ran over a good part of England.

† Talleyrand's letter as cited by Capefigue, 'Le Consulat et l'Empire.'

* Capefigue.

† Bonaparte's complaints, however, were not all attributable to hypochondriasis. Before he was named First Consul for life, he had symptoms of that hereditary complaint of which he died at St. Helena.

once the most crafty and the most passionate of men; this mixture of qualities must be constantly borne in mind, in order to account for many of his actions. "The First Consul never anticipated a long peace with England. He had wished for a peace merely because, knowing it to be desired by the people after ten years of war, he calculated it would increase his popularity, and afford him the opportunity of laying the foundation of his government. Peace was as necessary to enable him to conquer the throne of France as war was essential to secure that throne, and to enlarge its base at the expense of the other thrones of Europe. This was the secret of the peace of Amiens, and of the rupture which so suddenly followed it, *though that rupture certainly took place rather sooner than the First Consul wished.* On the great questions of peace and war, Bonaparte entertained exalted ideas; yet, in discussions on those subjects, he always declared himself in favour of war. When told of the poverty of the French people, of the advantages of peace, of its happy influence on trade, the arts, national industry, and every branch of public prosperity, he did not attempt to refute the argument—indeed, he concurred in it; but then he remarked that all these advantages were only conditional, so long as England was able to throw the weight of her navy into the scale of the world, and to exert the influence of her gold in all the cabinets of Europe. Peace must therefore be broken, since to him it was evident that England was determined to break it. Why, then, not anticipate her? Why allow her to have all the advantages of the first step? He must astonish Europe—thwart the policy of the Continent—strike a great and unexpected blow! Thus reasoned the First Consul, and every one may judge whether his actions agreed with his reasoning."*

On receipt of the speech with which King George had opened the session of parliament, the First Consul gave way to a paroxysm of rage; and his passion was not moderated by the reception of the debates in both Houses which followed the opening speech. At first Talleyrand, who never was in a passion in his life, conferred with our ambassador. He declared the astonishment of his master at the king's message, and at the very unfriendly debates, and asked what was the meaning of those violent attacks of the English press against the government and person of the First Consul? Lord Whitworth went over the old ground, saying that whatever was published in the English papers might be considered as a national retaliation for what was published in the French papers; that in France these attacks were published *officially*, which was by no means the case in England; and that, although the French government possessed a control over the press in France, the English government neither had nor could have such a control in their country. "But at least," rejoined Talleyrand, "your government can execute the treaty of Amiens, and evacuate Malta!" Lord Whitworth replied that

* Bourrienne.

that evacuation was now connected with other circumstances, and with other clauses of the treaty which had been infringed by France.* A few days after this the two diplomatists had another conference. Lord Whitworth recapitulated all the principles on which the treaty of Amiens was founded, and the right which arose from those

Lord Whitworth.

principles of interference on the part of Great Britain, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential differences which might have arisen in the relative situation of the two countries. He instanced the cases, beginning with Italy and concluding with Switzerland, in which the territory or influence of France had been greatly extended subsequent to the treaty of Amiens. He then told Talleyrand that, notwithstanding the indisputable right of the king his master to claim some counterpoise for such vast acquisitions, the tenth article of the treaty, by which England had agreed to give up Malta, might have been carred into effect before now, if the attention of his majesty's government had not been roused by the official publication of Colonel Sebastiani's report—a report of a nature, exclusive of the personal allusions it contained, to excite the utmost jealousy in the minds of his majesty's ministers, and to demand on their part every measure of precaution. His lordship concluded with the distinct declaration, that it was impossible for his majesty to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he received satisfactory explanations as to the First Consul's views in Egypt, &c. With that immovability of countenance which has become like a proverb, and without any regard to the big reproachful type of the 'Moniteur,' which, so lately as the 30th of January had embodied the report, Talleyrand declared that Colonel Sebastiani's mission to the East was "*strictly commercial.*" With the same placid face—which will never be forgotten by those who have once seen it—he expatiated on the First Consul's love of peace, on the low state of the French finances, and the other facts and circumstances which rendered peace so desirable to

* Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, January 27, 1803.

France, concluding with a desire to know the precise amount of the satisfaction or compensation which the British government would require. Lord Whitworth replied to this last query, that he could not at the moment say by what means the apprehensions of England were to be allayed; but that he could assure him that, in the discussion of those means, we should be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe.*

In spite of the advice of his most able minister for foreign affairs, who thought little of his diplomacy except when expressed by a hundred thousand bayonets, and who feared that the passionate part of his temperament would carry him into some indiscretions, Bonaparte determined to confer personally with the English ambassador; and Talleyrand had scarcely left him ere his lordship was informed that the First Consul wished to converse with him at the Tuileries at nine o'clock that night. It has been conjectured, and it may indeed be assumed as a certain fact, that this irregular and unseemly obtrusion into the department of Talleyrand proceeded from a design to shake the resolution of the British ambassador, and to astound or terrify him by a display of rude violence, which had succeeded with the Austrian diplomatist at Campo Formio. But England had not been humbled and crushed like Austria, and Lord Whitworth was not Count Cobentzel. Bonaparte received our ambassador in his cabinet with a show of "tolerable cordiality;" and, after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, desired him to sit down, seating himself at the opposite side of a table. But then he began a rapid, uninterrupted harangue, which lasted two hours, during which the ambassador was scarcely allowed to say one word. It was matter of infinite disappointment to him that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust. He enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England, placing in the first line our not evacuating Malta: no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce in our retaining possession of that island—of the two he would rather see us in possession of the faubourg St. Antoine than of Malta! (*Before the war ended, British troops had possession of that faubourg of Paris.*) He complained of the abuse of him in the English public prints, but, most, of the French papers published in London. He complained of the protection which he said was given to Georges-Cadoudal and others of his description, who, instead of being transported to Canada, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly causing commotions and crimes to be committed in the interior as well as on the coast of France. "Every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him." Why did England pretend to be alarmed about Egypt? He could conquer that country when he chose, but "this he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since, *sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.*" As a proof of his desire to remain at peace, he asked what he had to gain by going to war with England? An invasion was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, if forced into a war, by putting himself at the head of the expedition; but was it to be supposed that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless he were forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition might go to the bottom of the sea? He would not pretend to diminish the danger of invading England—there were a hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion; and such was the disposition of his troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprise.—Perceiving that these menaces did not disturb the equanimity of Lord Whitworth, the First Consul altered his tone. If the British government and he could only agree and act together, what might they not do? Look at the natural force of the two countries—France with an army of 480,000 men (for to this amount it would be immediately completed), and England with a fleet which made her the mistress of the seas, and which he thought he should not be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, as their strifes might overturn it. If England could only come to this understanding, there was nothing that he would not do to gratify her. Participation in indemnities, as well as in influence on the Continent, treaties of commerce, in short everything that could testify friendship he would do for her. As little moved by his cajolery as by his threats, Whitworth, when allowed to speak, calmly said that the king, his master, had no wish to participate in the conquest and spoils of the Continent, had no ambition to acquire more territory, but only to preserve what he had. His Lordship went over the same ground as with Talleyrand, touching the attacks of the English newspapers, the report of Sebastiani, &c.; remarking that in England the paper-war "was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed." His lordship was going to speak of the encroachments and accessions of territory, but Bonaparte interrupted him by saying, "I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; *ce sont des bagatelles*, these are trifles, which must have been foreseen by you while

* Dispatch, dated February 17, 1803.

the negotiations at Amiens were pending; *vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure*—you have no right to speak of them now!" After this rude interruption, the ambassador dwelt upon the many unfriendly indications on the part of France which had excited the distrust of Great Britain. Since the signing of the treaty of Amiens not one of his majesty's subjects had been able to obtain justice or any kind of redress in France—not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every French claimant had received satisfaction in England within a month after the treaty: his lordship himself had pressed these claims ineffectually. Bonaparte had said in public as well as in private, and to the ambassadors of foreign powers as well as to his own subjects, that England was unequal to a single-handed contest with France; and he gave Lord Whitworth to understand that, without allies, we could never touch him. To this his lordship replied, that if his Britannic majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions. Here the First Consul rose and put an end to the conference, saying that he should give orders to General Andréossi to enter on the discussion of this business. In his haste, he had given the lie to his minister of foreign affairs. "It must be observed," says Lord Whitworth, "that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission to *commercial motives only*, but as one rendered necessary, in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the treaty of Amiens."*

The orders to Andréossi were explained in an official note which that officer delivered to Lord Hawkesbury on the 10th of March. In this note no reparations or securities were offered; not so much as an explanation was given; but astonishment was expressed at the protracted occupation of the island of Malta by British troops, and explanations were demanded and categorical replies to queries put by the First Consul. The day after this note was delivered in London, the king's message to parliament stating that military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, and recommending the adoption of additional measures of precaution for the security of his own dominions, was received at Paris. Talleyrand, who in two or three previous interviews had endeavoured to soften or to explain away sundry parts of the private conversation which the First Consul had held with our ambassador, now had another conference with Lord Whitworth, who assured him that the king's message was merely precautionary, and not, in the least degree, intended as a menace. His lordship further said that it was merely a measure of self-defence founded on the armaments which were carrying on in the ports nearest to England; and that, had not these armaments been as notorious as they were, the very circumstance of the First Consul's known determination to augment his army, in time of peace, would have been a full and sufficient motive for our adopting precautionary measures. He could draw from Talleyrand no reply whatever to these observations; that diplomatist merely repeated that the armaments fitting out in the French and Dutch ports were intended for the colonies; that there was no foundation whatever for the alarm felt in England; that the First Consul was pacific, having no thoughts whatever of attacking his majesty's dominions, unless forced to do so by a commencement of hostilities on our part; that he should always consider the *refusal to evacuate Malta as such a commencement of hostilities;* and that, as we had hitherto hesitated to evacuate that island, he was justified in adopting the measures which might eventually be necessary. Talleyrand then desired leave to go and consult the First Consul. In the evening the two diplomatists met again. The Frenchman informed Lord Whitworth that the Consul had been highly irritated at the unjust suspicions which his majesty's government entertained, but nevertheless would not allow himself to be so far mastered by his feelings as to lose sight of the calamities which the present dispute might entail upon humanity; that if England would discuss the matter fairly the First Consul would do the same, but that if England prepared for war he would prepare for war, trusting to the support of the French people in the cause of honour and of justice. His lordship repeated that England did not wish for war; that peace was as necessary to her as it could be to France; that all we desired was security; that everything proved to us that that security (as far as India was concerned), was threatened by the First Consul's views on Egypt; and that, consequently, our refusal to evacuate Malta was as much a measure of precaution as the defence of any part of his Majesty's dominions. At parting, Talleyrand put into his lordship's hands a "*Note verbale*," telling him that it was not to be considered as anything absolutely official, that it was simply a memorandum to assist his lordship, but such, nevertheless, as he might transmit to his government if he chose. This said *note verbale* was a masterpiece of cold, sneering, impudent threatening—the style of it is rather that of Bonaparte than of Talleyrand. Its averments were —1. If his Britannic majesty, in his message to parliament, wished to speak of the expedition preparing at Helvoet-Sluys, all the world knows that it was destined for America; 2. If France does not receive satisfactory explanations respecting armaments in England, *it is natural* that the First Consul should march 20,000 more men into Holland, as Holland is mentioned in the king's message; 3. These troops being once in Holland, *it is natural* that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; and, moreover, that additional bodies should join those troops to main-

* Dispatch, dated February 21st, 1803.

tain an offensive and defensive position, &c.; 4. *It is natural* that the First Consul should order several camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coasts; 5. It is likewise *in the nature of things* that the First Consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country; 6. It is also the *natural consequence of all this* that the First Consul should send a fresh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in case of necessity, the position of Taranto; 7. England arming, and arming with so much pugnacity, will compel France to put her armies on the war establishment. These numbered clauses were followed by three paragraphs, asserting that, though England was the aggressor, every means would be taken by its government to excite the people by declaring that France meditated an invasion; that the whole British population would be obliged to put themselves under arms for their defence, and *their export trade would, even before the war began, be in a state of stagnation throughout the whole extent of the countries occupied by French arms;* that his majesty's message was inexplicable, unless he seriously contemplated evading the execution of the treaty of Amiens; and finally, that Europe well knew that it was possible to attempt the dismemberment of France, but not to intimidate her.*

A day or two after this Lord Whitworth, who had not been there since the private conference with the Consul, went to the Tuileries. It was Sunday the 13th of March, a day of *lévée*, or *grande reception* (one Sunday in each month being devoted to this purpose), and Madame Bonaparte and the ladies of her court were assembled in the great state-room to dispense their smiles to the brilliant staff of the Consul, the foreign ambassadors, the whole corps diplomatique, and such foreigners of distinction as might be presented. It was against all rule, even in that innovating, irregular court, to discuss state matters on such a day, and in such a company: Lord Whitworth had not the remotest notion of entering upon any business; but he had some English travellers to present, and he was anxious to see the effect which the king's message to parliament had produced on Bonaparte. His lordship had scarcely taken his place in the circle, where all the foreign ambassadors were assembled, ere Bonaparte went straight up to him, and addressed him, "evidently under very considerable agitation." He began by asking him if he had any news from England? Whitworth replied that he had received letters from his government two days ago. Bonaparte instantly rejoined, with increased agitation, "And so you are determined to go to war?" "No," his lordship replied; "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace." "*Nous avons*," said he, "*déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans*" (We have already made war for fifteen years). Lord Whitworth answered, "*Qu'en est déjà trop*" (That is already too long). "*Mais*," rejoined the First Consul, "*vous voulez la faire encore quinze années, et vous m'y forcez*" (But you wish to make war for fifteen years longer, and you force me to it). His lordship said that was very far from his majesty's intentions. The First Consul then proceeded to Count Markoff and the Chevalier Azara, the Russian and Spanish ambassadors, who were standing together at a little distance, and said to them, "*Les Anglais veulent la guerre, mais s'ils sont les premiers à tirer l'epée, je serai le dernier à la remettre. Ils ne respectent pas les traités. Il faut dorénavant les couvrir de crêpe noir*" (The English want war; but if they are the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheathe it. They do not respect treaties: they must henceforward be covered with black crape). In a few minutes he resumed the conversation with Lord Whitworth. He began: "*Pourquoi des armémens? Contre qui des mesures de précaution? Je n'ai pas un seul vaisseau de ligne dans les ports de France! Mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi; si vous voulez vous battre, je me battrai aussi. Vous pourrez peut-être tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider*" (Why these armaments? Against whom these precautionary measures? I have not a single vessel of the line in the ports of France. But if you will arm, I will arm also; if you will fight, I will fight also. You may possibly be able to kill France, but never to intimidate her). "*On ne voudroit*," said Lord Whitworth, "*ni l'un ni l'autre* (We wish neither the one nor the other). *On voudroit vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle*" (We wish to live on good terms with her). "*Il faut donc respecter les traités*," replied he; "*malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les traités. Ils en seront responsable à toute l'Europe*" (Then treaties must be respected. Woe to those who do not respect treaties! They will be responsible to all Europe). Lord Whitworth, calm and collected, replied not a word; and the First Consul rushed out of the apartment, repeating his last phrase, "Woe to those who do not respect treaties! They will be answerable for it to all Europe!" So Jupiter-Scapin had Napoleon Bonaparte already become.* "It is to be remarked," adds Lord Whitworth, "that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people who were present; and I am persuaded that there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on the occasion."† The alarmed Josephine followed her husband, and in an instant the hall was cleared of its brilliant company. Savary, who says he was present and standing at only a few paces from the Consul when he stopped short before the English ambassador, allows that his master was in a furious passion; and he adds that, after his hasty retiring, the ambassador of Russia and Lord Whitworth withdrew to the deep embrasure

* Dispatch (with *note verbale* enclosed), dated March the 12th.

* The original invention of this admirable compound nickname has been attributed to the Abbé de Pradt, but it savours rather of Talleyrand.

† Dispatch, dated March the 14th.

of a window, and were still conversing together when the salon was cleared of company, Count Markoff saying to his lordship, "You could hardly have expected such an attack; how, then, could you be prepared to reply to it? All you have to do is to give an account of it to your government. In the meantime, let what has taken place suggest the line of conduct you ought to pursue."* As the British government before this had entered into very friendly relations with the young Emperor of Russia, it is possible that something to this effect may have passed in the embrasure of the Tuileries window; but how Savary could have heard the words, unless he had been eaves-dropping (a practice to which he was much addicted), it is not easy to guess.

For some days Talleyrand carefully avoided meeting the English ambassador; but they met at last, and then Lord Whitworth told him that he had been placed by the First Consul in a situation which suited neither his public nor his private feelings; that he went to the Tuileries to pay his respects and to present his countrymen, and not to treat of political subjects; and that, unless he received some assurance of not being exposed to a repetition of such insults, he would never go there again. Talleyrand pleaded that it was far from the Consul's intention to distress his lordship; that he had felt himself personally insulted by the English government, and that he had thought it was incumbent upon him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe.† Even when informed of the flagrant insult which its ambassador had received, the English government neither recalled Lord Whitworth nor broke up the negotiation. In reply to the *note verbale* Lord Hawkesbury complained that the French government demanded explanations, and would give none itself. He stated that the tenth article, which related to Malta, was but a part, and a dependent part, of the treaty of Amiens; that it was a principle invariably applied to all other antecedent treaties or conventions, that they were negotiated with reference to the actual *state of possession* of the different contracting parties, and to the treaties or public engagements by which they were severally bound at the time of their conclusion; that if either of the parties, subsequent to the treaty, so aggrandized itself, as to affect the nature of the compact, the other party had the right, according to the law of nations, to demand satisfaction or compensation, &c. Our foreign minister further complained of the object of Sebastiani's mission, of the very extraordinary publication of that officer's report, and of the First Consul's intimation of his designs with respect to the Turkish empire. With respect to the giving up of Malta, and the reconstructing the scattered and beggared Order of the Knights of St. John, he now told the French government that the Emperor of Russia, one of the guarantees of the independence of Malta, had refused to accede to the arrangements except on condition that the new or Maltese Langue should be abolished; that the court of Berlin was silent on the invitation which had been made to it to become one of the guaranteeing powers; that the abolition of the Spanish priories, the seizure of the property of the knights in Spain, in defiance of the treaty of Amiens, to which the King of Spain was a party, and the declaration of the Portuguese government of their intention to sequestrate the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish Langue, unless the court of Madrid restored the Spanish priories,* were circumstances which, without any other special grounds, would warrant his majesty in suspending the evacuation of Malta.

When Lord Hawkesbury's answer was received, Talleyrand persuaded Lord Whitworth that the First Consul was still very averse to proceeding to extremities. A long exchange of letters and notes ensued, and Bonaparte gained—what he much wanted—time. His fleets were still at St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and other parts of the West Indies; the trading vessels of France were scattered over the globe, and he dreaded that if war broke out few of either class of this shipping would ever return to France. The numerous grants of leave of absence, the deplorable condition of his cavalry, which required re-mounting and better horses than could be found in France, and the temporary nullity of his artillery in consequence of a project for re-casting all the field-pieces, made him most anxious to gain a few months more, before throwing down or taking up the gauntlet. If the British government had declared war on the 11th of March, or the day after the king's precautionary message, its advantages and the Consul's embarrassments would have been infinitely greater than they proved to be; and the effect on the public opinion of Europe would have been much the same. While we went on diplomatising, swarms of French ships returned to port, the leaves of absence were annulled, the cavalry was re-mounted, a new conscription was put in force, and, the re-casting plan being in part or wholly abandoned, those prodigious trains of artillery which the French now introduced in every campaign were got into a state of readiness. There were other obvious advantages to Bonaparte in this procrastination, and there was one especial benefit which has generally escaped notice:—if war broke out now, he knew it would be impossible to garrison and keep Louisiana (where the entire population were inimical to the French, and furious

* Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Mémoires.

† Dispatch dated March the 17th.

* In the month of October, 1802, or about seven months after the signing of the treaty of Amiens, the King of Spain had annexed to the royal domains all the property of the Knights of Malta in his dominions, and, after this spoliation, had declared himself to be Grand Master of the Order in Spain. There appears to be no doubt that these steps were taken at the suggestion or dictation of Bonaparte; but as far as concerned the knights and their means of re-establishing themselves and of keeping possession of Malta, it signified little whether they were dictated by the First Consul, or whether they proceeded from the desperate poverty to which his alliance had reduced the Spanish monarch.

at the Spanish court for ceding their territory), and that any force sent thither must be intercepted by the power that was mistress of the seas; the Anglo-Americans of the United States were not desirous of having so turbulent a neighbour as the First Consul of France, and were very desirous of having and holding Louisiana themselves; and, accordingly, a bargain of sale and transfer was set on foot between the two governments, Bonaparte offering to sell what he knew he could not keep, and what he dreaded might be seized by the English before he could get the money or close the bargain: nor was it until the 30th of April (just twelve days before the British ambassador quitted Paris) that the bargain was closed by the United States government giving him 15,000,000 dollars for Louisiana! On the 29th of March Andréossi presented an official note to Lord Hawkesbury, stating that, as his Britannic majesty had engaged to restore Malta to the Order, and to entrust it *pro tempore* to a Neapolitan garrison, it was expected that his majesty "would reject all sophistry, every distinction, every mental reservation which might be offered to him," and keep his engagement. Lord Hawkesbury replied that the Order could scarcely be said to exist; that the Neapolitan garrison depended on the Order being in a condition to take possession, and after a short time to defend the island. He, however, remitted to Lord Whitworth the heads of an arrangement to be concluded by treaty or convention; the substance was—1. That Malta should remain in perpetuity to his majesty; and that the Knights of St. John should be indemnified by England for any losses of property they might sustain by this arrangement; 2. That Holland and Switzerland should be evacuated by the French troops; 3. That the island of Elba should be confirmed to France, and the King of Etruria (a Spanish prince and a puppet Bonaparte had set up in Tuscany) should be acknowledged; 4. That the Italian and Ligurian republics should also be acknowledged, provided a satisfactory arrangement were made in Italy for the expelled King of Sardinia. Bonaparte rejected these terms as altogether inadmissible. At this stage of the negotiations a little circumstance occurred which is perhaps chiefly interesting as giving evidence of the way in which the French treated weak independent states.

Rheinhardt, a Würtemberg schoolmaster, who had transferred himself to Paris, where he had risen to diplomatic eminence in the course of the revolution (he had even been minister for foreign affairs under the Directory), was now residing at Hamburg as Bonaparte's chargé d'affaires. Assuredly not without orders from Paris, he drew up a most abusive article, accusing England of breach of faith, of an avidity for conquest, of a sworn enmity to France, which made her the aggressor in every war or quarrel, speaking of the king's message to parliament as "the effect of treachery, *lunacy*, or imbecility;" giving a new and much moderated version of the Consul's outbreak to Lord Whitworth; and calling upon Europe to compare the dignity, *simplicity*, and straightforwardness of the head of the French government with "the tergiversations, the duplicity, the evasion, and the parliamentary messages of the English government."* Not satisfied with an ordinary medium of publication, Rheinhardt demanded the insertion of his libel in the official Gazette of Hamburg; and this having, in the first instance, been refused, he went so far as to demand, in his official capacity, the insertion of his article by express order of the government or senate of that independent little republic. The senate, after some hesitation, were forced by their fears to submit and grant the order, and the article appeared in their official gazette, headed, "Inserted by desire," and dated Paris, March 15th.† Lord Hawkesbury, in communicating these facts, said his majesty was unwilling to believe that the First Consul could have authorised so outrageous an attack upon his majesty personally, and upon his government, and so daring a violation of the independence of a neutral state; but that, unless some satisfaction should be given to his majesty for the indignity which had been offered to him in the face of all Europe by the French minister at Hamburg, it was impossible to continue the negotiations. It never cost Bonaparte a scruple to deny his own acts and repudiate his own agents, even though those agents were his own brothers; and Talleyrand could always repeat a lie with all the solemnity of a truth. Accordingly this minister assured Lord Whitworth that the English government could not be more surprised than the First Consul had been at seeing such an article inserted in the Hamburg Gazette by authority; that an immediate explanation had been demanded from M. Rheinhardt, who, if his conduct had really been such as was represented, would doubtless feel the effects of the First Consul's displeasure; and he begged his lordship, in the mean time, to inform Lord Hawkesbury that Rheinhardt's proceeding was completely disavowed. Lord Whitworth replied that, as the insult had been public, it was necessary that the reparation should also be public. Talleyrand rejoined, that the First Consul considered M. Rheinhardt's conduct as so reprehensible, that every satisfaction might be expected. But, before any further satisfaction was given, the British government was informed by Mr. Hill, our minister at Copenhagen, that the French minister there had demanded the insertion of Rheinhardt's

* He called upon Europe to witness other things which it was never her fate to see—as that France would combat for the liberty and independence of the different states of the Continent, and for the sacredness of their treaties.

† The facts were communicated in a dispatch from Sir George Rumbold, our resident at Hamburg.

"Late last night," wrote Sir George, "it was determined that the senate should be convened extraordinarily on this day, in order to consider of a requisition from the French minister, to insert in the Hamburg paper a most offensive article, intended as a justification of the First Consul, and an attack on the measures of the British government. It is with great regret that I inform your Lordship that the senate have judged it prudent to comply with this demand; and that the article will be inserted in the paper of to-morrow. It is now in the hands of the publisher for that purpose. It was the wish of the senate that they might at least be allowed to omit or qualify the most offensive passages, but M. Rheinhardt said his orders were positive, for the *full and exact* insertion of the whole."

offensive article in the papers of Altona; that the Danish magistrates of Altona had answered that they could not possibly admit it without an express order from their own court; that the French minister at Copenhagen had requested orders to that effect, but that as yet he had received no answer. In the mean while, however, it had been intimated by Lord Whitworth, that England might be disposed to consent to an arrangement, by which Malta would remain in our possession for a limited number of years, provided that the number of years was not less than ten, and that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to give us the island of Lampedusa for a valuable consideration. Joseph Bonaparte, who had now been thrust by his brother into the negotiation, said that, by this modification, the difficulty respecting Malta, which he considered as insurmountable, was not removed. Yet, on the very same day, Talleyrand himself had suggested the possibility of coming to an arrangement on this ground of a temporary occupation of Malta. Joseph demanded time to consult with his brother the Consul, and thus some more days were gained, during which nothing was heard of him or the compromising proposition. When Talleyrand renewed the discussions, on the 21st of April, he spoke as if the Consul might be induced to consent to the proposition; but on the next day his tone was altogether changed, and he dwelt upon the dignity and honour of Bonaparte, which could not admit of his consenting to anything which might carry with it the appearance of yielding to a threat. At the next conference he said still more decidedly that the First Consul neither could nor would relinquish his claim to the full execution of the treaty of Amiens; spoke of the calamities which must follow the failure of these endeavours to avoid a rupture, and insinuated that Naples and other countries friendly to and connected with Great Britain would be the first victims of the war. Lord Whitworth asked him whether such conduct would add to the glory of the First Consul; or whether his falling upon those inoffensive, weak, and defenceless states would not rather tarnish that glory, and ultimately unite against him not only all the nations of Europe but also every honest man in France. "Certain I am," said his lordship, "that it would excite far more detestation than terror in England; at the same time it would serve to impress upon us still more strongly the necessity of omitting no means of circumscribing a power so perniciously exerted!" And he could not help adding, that, although no act of hostility had taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our industry, and our credit had been attacked in every place to which French influence extended, did, in fact, almost amount to the same thing; since it went to prove, in addition to the general system of the French Consul, that his object was to pursue, under the mask of peace, the same line of conduct as the preceding revolutionary governments.* On the renewal of the attempt to procrastinate, his lordship declared that his government could be trifled with no longer, and that he must demand his passports in a very few days. As Bonaparte was not yet ready, as many of the French ships were still at sea, "a person," a private individual, whom he suspected of being employed by the First Consul, dropped in, as if casually, upon our ambassador, and endeavoured to ascertain whether he were in earnest about the passports, and whether some more profitable delay might not be obtained from him; and when, after this visit, his lordship waited upon Talleyrand, and assured him that, unless he had something favourable to tell him, he must quit Paris on Tuesday next (this being Friday), that perfect actor played the cheerful part, led his lordship to think that he did not consider the case as desperate, and closed the conference by saying repeatedly, *J'ai encore de l'espoir* (I have still some hope). After two more days had passed, Lord Whitworth again waited upon the minister for foreign affairs, and demanded the necessary passports. Talleyrand *hoped* that his lordship's departure was not so near—hoped that they might yet come to an understanding on the ultimatum which his lordship had verbally proposed to him, and promised to go immediately and confer with the First Consul. Lord Whitworth rejoined that he could no longer protract a negotiation on terms so disadvantageous to his country, unless he were furnished with some positive assurance that the Consul would accede to the terms of the ultimatum. Talleyrand said he should shortly hear from him. But two more days passed, during which Lord Whitworth packed up, and expected every hour to receive either a favourable answer or his passports, without anything being heard from Talleyrand or Joseph Bonaparte, or any one else. On the 2nd of May, however, late at night, he received a note from Talleyrand, whose faculties were always the brightest after midnight. In this note he stated categorically, that, as the island of Lampedusa did not belong to France (had France claimed possession of, or domination over, only those places which rightfully belonged to her, there would have been no need of this ultimatum), it was not for the First Consul either to accede to or to refuse the desire testified by his Britannic majesty of having that island. That with regard to Malta, and its proposed temporary possession, the First Consul could not but previously communicate with the King of Spain and the Batavian republic, contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens, in order to know their opinion; and that, besides, as the stipulations relative to Malta had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the First Consul and the other contracting parties to the treaty, before they could agree to any change in the article about Malta, were bound to concert with those guaranteeing powers; that the First Consul would not refuse this concert, but it belonged not to

* Dispatch, dated April the 25th.

him to propose it, since it was not he that urged any change in the guaranteeing stipulations. That, with regard to the evacuation of Holland by the French troops, the First Consul would have no difficulty in repeating that that evacuation should take place at the instant that *all* the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens should be executed by England in every quarter of the globe. Not a word was said on reparation or compensation to the King of Sardinia, or on the subject of the evacuation of Switzerland. Lord Whitworth replied that this state of suspense could no longer be borne, that he could see no intention to expedite the negotiation, and that therefore he must repeat his demand for the passports. On the 3rd of May, by four o'clock in the morning, his lordship had everything ready for his departure, excepting only the passports, without which neither he nor any other man, public or private, could procure post-horses either in Paris or in any other part of France. The day passed in a most disagreeable uncertainty, but at twelve o'clock at night, another un-official individual hinted that it was not meant to give the passports without making another attempt. And accordingly, at one o'clock in the morning, his lordship received a note from that night-bird, Talleyrand, stating that, as he had to make him on the morrow morning a communication of the greatest importance, he need not expect the passports to-night, and proposing that Lord Whitworth should call upon him at the foreign office at half-past four to-morrow afternoon. At the appointed hour the English ambassador was at the office, where he received from the hand of Talleyand a proposition in writing, that the island of Malta should be placed in the hands of Austria, Russia, or Prussia. To avoid the reproach of precipitation, his lordship agreed to transmit this proposition to London, and to wait the answer of his court, declaring, however, that he saw so many objections to the plan, that he could give no hope whatever of its being accepted. Lord Hawkesbury replied to the proposition in a letter of instruction to Whitworth, which reached Paris on the 9th of May. It stated that the proposition was in every way loose, indefinite, and unsatisfactory; that *until the very moment* when Whitworth was about to leave Paris the French government had avoided making any distinct proposition for the settlement of the differences; and that even at that last moment, when they felt compelled to bring forward some proposition, they had limited it to one part only of the subject in discussion; that, if his majesty could be disposed to waive his demand for a temporary occupation of Malta, the Emperor of Russia would be the only sovereign to whom, in the present state of Europe, he could consent that the island should be assigned; but that his majesty, at the same time, "had certain and authentic information that the Emperor of Russia would on no account consent to garrison Malta." The letter concluded with saying that no satisfaction had been given with respect to Rheinhardt's conduct at Hamburg, and that without such satisfaction—without a public disavowal from Talleyrand—Lord Whitworth must abstain from concluding any arrangement. His lordship instantly went in search of Talleyrand, who had driven over to St. Cloud, and who could not possibly be seen until the morrow. But, as the morrow came and brought no Talleyrand, our ambassador wrote to him, desiring him to name an hour when he might communicate the answer of the British government to his last proposition. When another day had passed without any answer from the foreign minister, our ambassador enclosed a copy of the ultimatum, accompanied by an official note, in a private letter to Talleyrand, and sent the packet to the foreign office by Mr. Mandeville, one of his secretaries, with instructions to deliver it to Talleyrand, or, in his absence, to the head clerk of his office, M. Durand. On receiving the packet this M. Durand promised to give it to his chief as soon as he came in, saying he expected him very shortly. At half-past four in the afternoon, having waited till that time in vain expectation of an answer, Lord Whitworth went himself to seek the invisible minister. He was told that the family were in the country, and that it was not known when the minister would be in town. About half an hour after his lordship had returned home from this bootless search, the packet which Mr. Mandeville had delivered to M. Durand was brought back by *a servant*, with *a verbal message* from the foreign office, that, as the minister was in the country, it would be necessary for his lordship to send the packet to him there!" "In order," adds the ambassador, "to defeat, as much as depended upon me, *their intention of gaining time*, I wrote again to M. de Talleyrand, recapitulating the steps I had taken, and desired Mr. Talbot, the secretary of the embassy, to take the packet himself at nine o'clock at night, when I thought M. de Talleyrand would be at home, to his house at Meudon." The ex-bishop was, however, as invisible to Mr. Talbot as he had been to Mr. Mandeville—he was not at home—he was gone to St. Cloud—it must be very late before he would return! The secretary of embassy therefore merely left a private note, with his name, and brought back the packet containing the written ultimatum, which every French functionary seemed to avoid or reject. At length, at about one o'clock in the morning, Lord Whitworth received a note from Talleyrand, appointing a meeting at twelve o'clock the next day at the foreign office. Some apologies being made when they met, they at once entered upon business. After reading Lord Hawkesbury's letter, Talleyrand asked whether his lordship was authorised to conclude with him a convention, framed on the basis of his own project, or, indeed, extending that basis, since the first article of it might be the perpetual possession of Malta to England, *in return for a consideration*. Whitworth told him that he most certainly was not authorised to enter

into any engagement of such a nature, which would make the negotiation one of exchange and barter, instead of a demand of satisfaction and security. But, argued Talleyrand, was not Malta the satisfaction and security which England required?—if it were possible to make the draft of a convention, giving England that island in perpetuity, palatable to the First Consul, who never must be considered as yielding to coercion, did his lordship think himself justifiable in refusing to enter into that engagement?—surely his lordship would not refuse a fair discussion to this counter-project? But Lord Whitworth urged that his instructions bade him avoid everything which could protract the negotiation, and urged him repeatedly to explain more clearly the nature of the consideration, or equivalent, which the First Consul intended to ask for Malta. As Talleyrand could not or would not explain himself, the ambassador, on the assurance that some proposal should be given to him in writing, agreed to wait a few hours longer. These hours passed—no proposal came—the next day, the 12th of May, his lordship, by an official note sent in the morning by Mr. Mandeville, demanded his passports, in order that he might quit Paris that evening—at two o'clock in the afternoon the demand was renewed—at five o'clock the passports were received, and with the first post-horses he had been able to procure our ambassador started for London. He left behind him, in the hands of Mr. Talbot, the secretary of embassy, who was to remain at Paris a few days longer, the project of a convention which England would take as the basis of a definitive and amicable arrangement. The articles of this project (which had already been shown by Lord Whitworth to Talleyrand, and by Talleyrand to Bonaparte) were simply these:—"I. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedusa to his majesty by the King of the Two Sicilies. II. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedusa, his majesty shall remain in possession of the island of Malta, until such arrangements shall be made by him as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedusa as a naval station; after which period the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state. III. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within two months after the conclusion of a convention, founded on the principles of this project. IV. The King of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty. V. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces. VI. A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the King of Sardinia, in Italy.—Secret Article. His majesty shall not be required by the French government to evacuate Malta until after the expiration of ten years. Articles IV., V., and VI. may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted." A report was spread by certain people in England that Bonaparte relented when he found that Lord Whitworth was gone, and that he sent his own private secretary after him as far as Breteuil, with a conciliatory letter, to which his lordship returned no answer. There was nothing of the kind: what Bonaparte did after his lordship's departure was to order that Mr. Talbot should be detained as a prisoner of war. Such is the history of the long, but, in itself, not altogether unamusing farce which preceded the tragedy which lasted twelve years, and had Europe for its stage: such were the negotiations which terminated in the rupture of an unwise, bad, and hollow peace; and we have given them with the more detail, because they are more dramatic and exciting than many campaigns, and, still more, because, in common with the diplomacy which went before the first breaking out of the revolutionary war, they have been grossly misrepresented, and indolently slurred over, so as to convey, in most instances, a very inadequate notion of the causes and circumstances which rendered the renewal of the war an inevitable necessity on the part of England.

Notwithstanding the time which had been gained by Bonaparte, the order of council for granting reprisals and letters of marque and the proclamation for an embargo, which were issued two days after Lord Whitworth's return, led to the immediate detention or capture of about 200 French and Dutch vessels, containing property broadly and perhaps incorrectly estimated at three millions sterling. To retaliate for this customary procedure, the First Consul had recourse to a most novel and unprecedented outrage: by a decree dated the 22nd of May he ordered that all the English, of whatsoever condition, found on the territory of France, should be detained prisoners of war, on the pretence that many of them belonged to the militia. Nothing could exceed the harshness or the brutality with which this order was executed in Paris; where there was still a vast number of travellers, many of whom were merely passing through that capital on their way homeward from Italy, Switzerland, and other countries:—whole families were seized together, as if the wives and daughters of the English aristocracy and gentry were militia officers; in the first instance the men were sent to the Temple or the Conciergerie, and the women, exposed to every insult, to Fontainebleau: even children and infirm old men were condemned to captivity, although according to the letter of the decree only such as were between the ages of eighteen and sixty were to be detained. Even the character and ancient acknowledged rights of ambassadors were set at nought: Mr. Liston, our ambassador at the Hague; Lord Elgin, who was at Paris on his way to London; and other diplomatic persons, were made prisoners, and in most cases their letters and papers were seized. These sweeping arrests were not confined to the English that were actually on the territory of France; they were extended to Italy and every neighbouring country where the French had an armed force, or

where they could domineer and give the law. As no distinction had been made as to sex, so none was made as to condition, profession, or pursuits. Clergymen, men of letters or science, artists, all were captured. Joseph Forsyth, the learned, acute, and ingenious author of the 'Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters, during an excursion in Italy,' who had been collecting the materials of his admirable little book, was seized by the police at Turin on the 25th of May, while on his return home through Switzerland, and with no intention whatever of entering France; was carried across the Alps; was soon afterwards, for having attempted to escape from a most irregular and unjust imprisonment, in the depth of a severe winter, marched six hundred miles from one extremity of France to the other, to the execrable dungeon, Fort de Bitché, where he was confined for two years, and where his weakly constitution contracted or received aggravations of that disorder which carried him to a premature grave, almost immediately after the entrance of the allies into Paris in 1814 had allowed him to return to his native country. We mention this particular case because Forsyth was nothing but a quiet, humble, retiring man of letters—the sort of character which ought to have been sacred in the eyes of a civilised nation,—and because his character and his acquirements were made known to Bonaparte's government and to the leading members of the National Institute, to whom some of the most eminent literary men of England wrote in his favour; and all in vain: but there were innumerable other cases of equal hardship and cruelty. What made this odious seizure still more odious, was the fact that on the eve of its taking place Bonaparte made a renegade Englishman, whom he retained in his service to write a newspaper in the English language, insert in the columns of his journal that the English travellers on the Continent, in France, Belgium, Holland, or Italy, had nothing to fear; that their persons would be guaranteed under the protection of a government which protected the law of nations even while England was violating it.* About 10,000 British subjects, of nearly every class and condition, remained in Bonaparte's clutches. The whole measure excited a simultaneous and universal burst of indignation and disgust throughout the United Kingdom. "*If*," says Romilly, "it had been Bonaparte's object to give strength to the British ministry, and to make the war universally popular in England, he could not have devised a better expedient."* Several even of the First Consul's best friends silently grieved over the capricious violence of the measure. In common with many other things inseparably connected with a state of hostility, the seizure of ships, property, and persons antecedently to any formal declaration of war, scarcely admits of an easy explanation upon any abstract principle of right and wrong. But the practice had long been established and acted upon by England, who, as the great maritime power, found such obvious advantages in it; and after the lapse of ages and the acquiescence of innumerable treaties the practice had come to be considered as part and parcel of the European system of warfare. This Bonaparte himself acknowledged, and therefore it was that he took a stand upon the idle and ridiculous principle about the militia.

Before the English government began to seize the French and Dutch ships, a French army was collected on the frontiers of Holland to pounce upon the comparatively defenceless hereditary dominions of the king of England (and this practice, also a common and recognised one, of preparing and maturing the means of conquest previously to any declaration of war, was abstractedly neither better nor worse than our system of embargo reprisals and seizure—only, from her insular position, it was one which England could not often act upon); and, as soon as the declaration of war was issued, General Mortier advanced into the heart of the Electorate. The Duke of Cambridge, who was residing at Hanover, seeing that resistance was altogether hopeless, and that most of the larger towns were determined to treat with the French general, entered into a negotiation at the end of May, and engaged to surrender the territory upon condition that his army should be permitted to retire unbroken behind the Elbe, with the pledge on their part that they would not again serve in the field against the French during this war. Deputies from the principal towns treated separately with Mortier and agreed to conditions of surrender and submission on the 3rd of June. The English ministers advised the king not to ratify the treaty which his son had made. Upon this Mortier, who had entered and taken possession of the city of Hanover on the 5th of June, called upon the Hanoverian army to surrender, or abide the consequences of an attack by overwhelming forces behind the Elbe. The Duke of Cambridge had quitted the country, but Count Walmoden, the

* Capefigue, Le Consulat et l'Empire.—The First Consul's English journalist was the noted or notorious Lewis Goldsmith. This individual had once been the fiercest of Jacobin republicans, and the fastest-going of all the liberty-and-equality herd in England. He had written and published a variety of things in London, chiefly translations or imitations of the frowziest works of the French revolutionary school. The performance of his which had made the most noise was the translation of a cut-throat book entitled '*Crimes de tous les Cabinets*.' But this and other doings brought him into very bad odour and into not a little trouble; and so, cursing his country and figuratively shaking its slavish dust from the soles of his feet, he had transferred himself to the more free and gayer soil of France, where, after a while, and according to the example set him by so many natives of his own kidney, he threw his Jacobinism to the winds and sold himself to the Liberticide. The paper he wrote for Bonaparte was called the 'Argus.' Subsequently, he quarrelled and broke with the French government, hurried back to England, and made the land ring with loud-sounding, hollow, and worthless recantations, and with still louder abuse of the Corsican dynasty and all the men and women of name connected with it. Of the most revolting tales and coarsest libels which amused or astonished the lowest grades of English society for twelve years or more, this Lewis Goldsmith was the author or originator. He carried his rancour down to the last moment, and to that point when awful reverses and a climax of misfortune rendered his great adversary the object of sympathy and respect to better men. This perseverance in malice may be sufficiently explained by naming the title of a pamphlet which he published when the fallen emperor was a prisoner in the hands of the English; it was, 'An Appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe on the Necessity of bringing Napoleon Bonaparte to a Public Trial. By Lewis Goldsmith.'

* Letter to M. Dumont, in Memoirs of Sir Samuel Romilly, by his sons.

Electoral Palace, Hanover. From a Drawing in the Royal Collection, dated 1799.

commander-in-chief of that small but fine army, was compelled to agree to a convention on the 5th of July, and to dismount his cavalry, surrender his arms, and disband and dismiss the whole army. It was their strong and well-trained horses that the French most particularly wanted, and that the Germans most grieved to part with; the old troopers wept as they gave up their steeds to the enemy.* More than 500 pieces of artillery, a large quantity of ammunition and timber, and an immense number of horses fit to re-mount Bonaparte's ill-conditioned cavalry, fell into the hands of Mortier, who, besides, levied military contributions on the country, beginning with a call for great coats and other articles of dress for his army. Being in the immediate neighbourhood of the rich commercial Hanse Towns of Hamburg and Bremen, he levied considerable sums of money upon them also, without the least regard to their independence and neutrality; and other sums, very important to the First Consul, whose finances were in an embarrassed condition, were raised among the Jews and other capitalists of those Hanse Towns by way of loan. What was still worse as regarded England, the French, by their occupation of Hanover, were enabled to close the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser, and to prevent British merchant vessels from going up either to Hamburg or to Bremen. As the neighbouring German states made no attempt to prevent the conquest or occupation of Hanover, a country which, though the hereditary possession of the King of Great Britain, was still an integral part of the German empire, with indefeasible claims to the protection of the whole Germanic League, and as the English were prevented from ascending the rivers, it was determined that neither German nor any other ships should descend them or enter them; and the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser were soon strictly blockaded by British squadrons. With their trade thus completely cut off, with the French armies in their close neighbourhood, perpetually threatening them with military violence and exaction, the two great Hanse Towns were reduced to a deplorable situation. In the extremity of their distress they called upon the King of Prussia as guarantee and protector of the neutrality of the North of Germany; but the shuffling and selfish court of Berlin, whose self-seeking was to end in self-destruction, had entered into the views of Bonaparte, in the hope and expectation of annexing Hanover to Prussia; and accordingly that cabinet refused to interfere, thus virtually abandoning not only Hamburg and Bremen, with their industrious and lately thriving dependencies, but all the smaller states of the North of Germany to the rapacity and lawlessness of the French invaders.

* Mortier himself was affected by this scene; and he mentioned it with some tenderness in a boastful letter to the First Consul. "It was only from generosity to an enemy imploring clemency that he granted these terms; General Walmoden signed the capitulation with an afflicted heart, and it was difficult to paint the sad situation of the fine regiment of guards at dismounting."

In reflecting on the power, the decision, and the undoubted military genius of Bonaparte, people have left too much out of consideration the miserable folly and wickedness of the continental governments who made up his game for him and played into his hands—who put the knife into his grasp, nor complained nor attempted to wrest it from him until they found it at their own throats.

Nor was it only in the North of Europe that the First Consul had matured his means of attack before the declaration of war, and that he now made that attack with a contempt for other treaties which were affected by neither the observance nor the breach of the peace of Amiens, and in spite of guaranteed neutrality and the fundamental principles of the law of nations. His Sicilian majesty was no party to the treaty of Amiens; the integrity of his dominions and the withdrawal from them of all French troops whatsoever were stipulated for in a previous and separate treaty with the French government, and had been paid for, in various ways, at an enormous price. But the court of Naples was the old friend and ally of Great Britain; the country, ravaged and despoiled by successive revolutions and invasions as it had been, was still rich; its ports, on the Mediterranean and on the Adriatic, offered admirable points of departure for expeditions to various countries which Bonaparte coveted: from Brindisi, near the mouth of the Adriatic, to Corfu and the other Ionian islands, of which he had determined to possess himself, was but a few hours' sail; and for these and other special and weighty reasons, inclusive of the plan of excluding British commerce from the Continent, he poured his troops once more into the devoted kingdom of Naples, occupying not only Brindisi, but also Tarento and other commanding seaports, quartering troops along the shores of Apulia and Abruzzi, and threatening every day the tottering, staggering Bourbon throne in the capital. The Emperor of Russia, who had mediated for this Bourbon court, and who was bound, if not by the letter of it, at least by its spirit, to guarantee the treaty which secured the independence of that country, was called upon in vain for present assistance.

But it was nearer at home that the consequences of Bonaparte's manœuvres and preparations during the peace were most shamefully exhibited, or most seriously felt by England. As soon as the mask began to fall off, he called to Paris all the fugitive or disaffected Irish on the Continent; he re-organised the Irish brigade, giving it the name of the Irish Legion; and by means of his so-called commercial agents, and of Irish clubbists in Dublin, Cork, and other towns, he carried on that active correspondence to which we have already and repeatedly alluded, and matured the plots for an insurrection, which at one time he confidently hoped would extend to a universal civil war. One of his most active emissaries was one Quigley, or O'Quigley, who had been outlawed in 1798, and who since that period had resided in France. This man came over secretly, and apparently with a well-filled purse. He perambulated Kildare, his native county, proselytising and making converts with cash and whiskey. But far above Quigley, and the real head of the conspiracy, was Mr. Robert Emmett, the son of Dr. Emmett, the court or castle physician of Dublin, whose recent death had put him in possession of 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* (a sum he proposed to employ in the subversion of the British government), and brother to that Emmett who had been mercifully let off with banishment for the overt acts of treason he had committed in 1798.* This young man—he was only in his 22nd or 23rd year—had gone crazy with a revolutionary and republican enthusiasm, and had neither been cured nor made more moderate by that wretched exhibition, the termination of republicanism in France. He was the less excusable, or his malady was the more incurable, as he had had a near view of that exhibition, and of the destruction of all liberty by the sword of Bonaparte, not only in France, but also in the neighbouring countries. He had been himself so far committed with his elder brother Thomas, and with the plots of the United Irishmen, that he had deemed it expedient to go over to France and travel on the Continent, until the expiring of the bill suspending the Habeas Corpus. During his stay in Paris he had many conferences with some of his countrymen who wore the uniform and served in the army of the First Consul, and particularly with MacShea, who had been aide-de-camp to General Hoche, the unlucky commander of the Irish invasion army in 1798, and who now held the command of the Irish Legion. It is said too that Robert Emmett, who returned to Dublin about Christmas in 1802, had been admitted to the presence and to the secret consultations of the great Consul himself. As Emmett spent his money freely, he proselytised with some effect in Dublin; but it cannot be said that his proselytes were of a very elevated condition: the chief and very highest of them were one Dowdall, who, before the Union, had held some inferior office about the Irish House of Commons; one Redmond, who called himself a merchant, and who appears to have been little more than a huckster; and one Allen, a bankrupt woollen-manufacturer. While Emmett worked in Dublin and its neighbourhood, an individual of more mature age, and who laboured under the influences of a different or a more complicated insanity—religious enthusiasm being, in his case, mixed with the political—preached and laboured at Belfast, and in other towns of the north of Ireland. This was Thomas Russel, an old half-pay officer in the king's service, who had fought against the Americans at Bunker's Hill, and who since his retirement had turned a weak brain by the study of polemical divinity and the attempt to understand and apply the prophecies of the Old Testament and the mysteries of the Apocalypse. These few words will be sufficient to explain that Russel was a self-deluded, honest enthusiast; but it remains to be

* Vol. iii. pp. 532, 533.

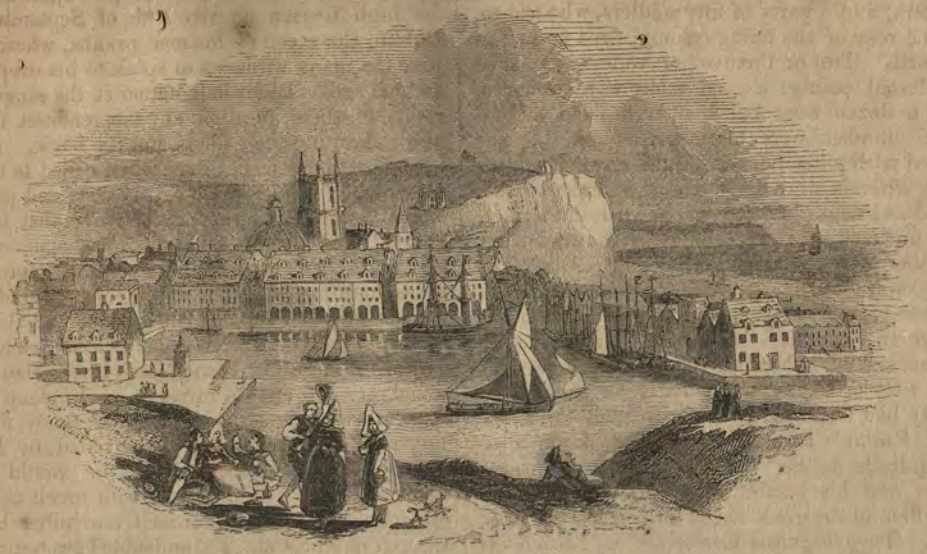
added that he was an affectionate and tender-hearted man, who shrunk from acts of vengeance, retaliation, and massacre, which sundry of the conspirators contemplated with rapture. Other chiefs of less name or note were scattered over Ireland; and material assistance was expected from one Dwyer—a fellow of infinite cunning and activity, who seems to have been born to be a captain of banditti, or a guerilla chief—who had been "out" in the rebellion of 1798, and who, at the head of a formidable band of outlaws, had maintained himself ever since among the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains. Dwyer was ready for anything, and believed to be fit for everything;—his lawless band, and the semi-barbarous Wicklow peasantry, over whom he exercised a wide control or influence, were fully prepared to commit every atrocity. It appears to have been fully proved that Emmett made overtures to this Dwyer—to this leader of a ferocious horde; but it is not quite so certain that the devout Russel corresponded with him. Dwyer, who knew that he was strong only among his mountains and bogs, would not engage to quit them, until a successful blow had been struck by others, replying to the leaders of the plot that he would not commit his brave men upon the faith of the good conduct of the rabble of Dublin; but that when, from his secure heights, he should see the green flag flying over the tower of Dublin Castle, then he would be at hand to second the enterprise. Oaths of secrecy were administered in the most solemn manner by the propagandists; but the unusual bustle that prevailed betrayed the secret that some mischief was in the wind; and it appears quite certain that some of the initiated broke the conditions of the oath, regularly reporting to the secret agents of the police the progress of the conspiracy; and that as early as the beginning of February the king and his cabinet were acquainted with the plot. The inferior agents were not, however, admitted into all the secrets of the plan (these were reserved for the members of the central committee at Dublin, over which Emmett presided); and the plan itself was so frequently changed, that when the critical moment came the lord-lieutenant and the Irish government were taken by surprise. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the French revolution, these authorities, and all the quiet, respectable, or prosperous citizens of Dublin, conceived some alarm at the bonfires that were made, and at the numerous rabble that collected to dance, drink, sing, and roar round them. A day or two after this further alarm was excited by an explosion of gunpowder, which took place in a house which Emmett had hired for manufacturing or storing that article. Although the conspirators had the ability or the luck to make the police believe that this accident was not connected with any treasonable design, they felt that concealment would not long be possible. Besides, just at this time the neighbouring country was full of wild Irish peasantry who had come down to crop the hay, and to wait for the other harvest; and it was upon the inclination of these people to mischief, riot, and plunder, that these patriots, who pretended to be seeking the honour and independence and happiness of old Ireland, mainly and most confidently relied. They therefore determined to strike the great blow, and to begin with seizing the arsenals and the Castle of Dublin. It excites a grim smile to find the hair-brained Emmett proposing at this moment the most philanthropic principles, the most delicate regard for the safety of the lives and property of his countrymen and townsmen, and duping himself into the belief that these would be respected by the Dublin rabble and the wilder rabble from the country, and that he, with no previously acquired ascendency, name, or reputation, with no genius, faculty, or person for command, could check the tumultuous movements of these desperadoes, and tell them, in the first and greatest vehemency of this fury, thus far shall ye go, and no farther! The presumptuous boy turned a deaf ear to the secret agents of the French government, who probably cared little for the massacres and other crimes likely to be committed, but who (knowing more of the art of revolution-making than he knew) wished him not to begin until there was a better prospect of success before him. Emmett impetuously represented that the militia was about to be embodied, that the country would be placed every day in a better posture of defence, that the blow must be struck now or never! Other circumstances, besides, pointed out the 23rd of July, as the best day of all the year for beginning; it fell this year on a Saturday, when the working people of the capital received their wages and got drunk, and when the ordinary resort of country-people to the market would, by itself, cover and let pass a somewhat extraordinary meeting; but the 23rd was, moreover, the eve of the festival of St. James, on which occasion, according to an ancient custom, the common people congregated in great multitudes in one of the suburbs for the purpose of repairing to the church *dedicated* to St. James, and there strewing fresh leaves and flowers over the graves of their relatives and friends. Emmett's resolution was therefore confirmed, that "the rising" should be on St. James's eve. He is represented as lying, in the interval, in his depôt, on a mattress on the floor, surrounded by pikes, daggers, and gunpowder, and dreaming of the blissful "Hibernian republic"—though not without countervisions of the gallows and the block, of murder, plunder, rape, proscription, and a far bloodier retaliation than that of '98. Some rhapsodical papers were found in a desk which he had used in this forlorn residence. The following passage shows pretty clearly the temper of mind he was in, and the imbecility of those who would venture their lives and fortunes with so hairbrained a conspirator:—"I have a little time to look at the thousand difficulties which still lie between me and the completion of my wishes: that these difficulties will disappear I have ardent

hopes; but, if it is not to be the case, I thank God for having gifted me with a *sanguine disposition.* To that disposition I *run from reflection;* and, if my hopes are without foundation—if a precipice is open under my feet, from which duty will not suffer me to run back,—I am grateful for that sanguine disposition which leads me to the brink, and throws me down, *while my eyes are still raised to the vision of happiness that my fancy formed in the heavens!*" Russel, it appears, engaged to attempt a rising at Belfast at the same moment; Quigley had been so successful in Kildare, that all the able-bodied peasantry flocked down towards Dublin, leaving only women and children and the sick and aged at home; but Dwyer, whose peculiar genius might have made him very dangerous to government, still kept aloof, being steady to his purpose of not moving from his fastnesses until after a successful blow had been struck. Emmett's plot had the capital defect of being devoid of any appeal to the religion or superstition of the common people, who knew and cared nothing about republics or national independence. With the exception of some members of his central committee hardly any of the men that engaged to follow him held any other objects in view than plunder and revenge—revenge for the friends they had lost in the last fatal rebellion, by musket, bayonet, or the gibbet, and for the miseries they had themselves suffered when the country was given up to martial law and a most vindictive militia. Towards evening on the appointed 23rd of July the rabble of Dublin and the peasantry began to collect in vast numbers in St. James's-street and its neighbourhood. The gathering, however, excited little observation until some men of a more respectable appearance came among them, and began to distribute pikes. At this sight all the respectable inhabitants of the street were panic-stricken, and made haste to bar their doors and close their windows. The Castle was within a mile, and the barracks, containing 2000 or 3000 soldiers, were within half a mile of the spot; but not a soldier, not an officer either civil or military, made his appearance. About dusk the concerted signal that all was ready was given by some men who were mounted on horseback, and who rode furiously through the principal streets of the capital. A Mr. Clarke, an opulent manufacturer who employed a great number of hands, made a bold attempt to reason with the furious mob, and, finding his efforts ineffectual, he galloped to the Castle and warned the lord-lieutenant. As he was returning, a blunderbuss was fired at him by one of his own workmen, and he fell desperately, though not mortally, wounded. This was the first blood that was shed, but it was soon followed by more. Just as Clarke fell, some of the insurgents fired a small cannon, and sent up a sky-rocket, which was seen from every part of the city and neighbourhood; and immediately after this signal Emmett sallied forth from his depôt, at the head of his central committee, and, drawing his sword, incited the mob to action. They all rushed along the street as if intending to attack the Castle. Before they got to the end of the street Colonel Brown, a meritorious officer, who was hastening to his post, was deliberately shot dead by a blunderbuss, said to have been fired by "a confidential member of the party." Disgusted at these cold-blooded murders, at the savage cries that were raised for vengeance and plunder, at the backwardness of his rabble-rout to press on to the Castle or to any point where they were likely to meet the soldiery, and at their alacrity in breaking open houses and calling for whiskey, Emmett and his staff, after some fruitless attempts to manage and direct the foul hurricane they had raised, disappeared from the scene, stole out of the town or hid themselves in it, leaving the tempest to rage as it might. Emmett's mob-generalship scarcely lasted half an hour. His patriots, as soon as he had quitted them, rushed to the debtors' prison and butchered the corporal of the ordinary guard there stationed. The ten or twelve soldiers got within the building and loaded their muskets; the very debtors called for arms in order that they might assist in resisting the rabble; and presently the cowards ran away. They had, however, heart enough to shoot a solitary dragoon who was carrying a message, and to attack an outpost, where a few men of the infantry were taken by surprise, surrounded, and massacred. The head of the advancing column never approached the Castle nearer than Francis-street, which is distant about half a mile. A sort of leader was heard calling out to his party to advance, to which his party responded with terrible oaths, and with the logical negative, "We won't! You are no captain of ours; we never ate or drank with you!" Unfortunately, at about ten o'clock at night, Lord Kilwarden, the lord chief justice of Ireland, passed in the rear of the mob, flying in his carriage by another line of streets towards the Castle. This judge had been attorney-general at the time of the last rebellion, and it had been his office to deal rather largely with the vengeance of the law. The ruffians wheeled round and presently fell upon him. He was accompanied in the same carriage by his daughter and a nephew. They were all three dragged out of the coach; the savages spared the lady, but they murdered her aged father and her cousin before her eyes, contending and even fighting with one another for the distinction of thrusting their pikes into the bodies of their prostrate and defenceless victims.* The bereaved daughter ran on foot and in a state of frenzy to the Castle, and was the first to announce there the bloody tragedy. But by this time some of the troops were under arms and ready to march. When about 150 men, headed by two subaltern officers, reached the top of Francis-street, the disordered rabble, many thousands strong, set up a scream of terror, and all that were sober enough to run ran off at the

* According to some accounts Emmett did not disappear until these horrible murders were perpetrated.

top of their speed. But many fell and were made prisoners, and a party of fifty soldiers, who had got into the rear of the flying column, fired upon it as it passed. Two or three other volleys were fired at different points: a good many were wounded, about a dozen were killed outright, and an immense number were taken prisoners. A lane strewed with pikes pointed out the way to Emmett's depôt, wherein were found a large quantity of ball-cartridges, hand-grenades, gunpowder, more pikes, some military uniforms, and a proclamation, wet from the press, of persons styling themselves "The provisional government," and containing a sketch of the constitution they had proposed giving to the Hibernian Republic. A hot pursuit was instantly commenced after these legislators, who showed as much folly or fatuity, when flying for their lives, as they had displayed in all the rest of the business: Emmett and twelve others took the road which leads to the Wicklow mountains, where Dwyer and his banditti were vainly waiting the apparition of the green flag of Erin over the Castle walls. They disguised themselves as French officers, overlooking the circumstance that, through the conduct of the French troops who had landed with General Humbert in 1798, and through the lessons of their priests and friars, the Irish peasantry now regarded the French with detestation, as an impious people, the foes and plunderers of the Holy Father, the sworn enemies of the Holy Faith. [This popular feeling alone was quite enough to defeat any extensive attempt at revolution in connection with the French, and to baffle all Bonaparte's Irish schemes.] Emmett and his friends reached the mountains, but only to find that they were shunned like men that had the plague, and that none would raise a finger for them, or give them food and a hiding-place. Emmett, quitting his companions, returned to Dublin, but only to be tracked by the police, to be seized, and committed to the prison which was already crowded by the miserable wretches he had armed. O'Quigley, and another principal named Stafford, lay hid in the interior of the country, and were not apprehended until after Emmett's execution. Dowdall and Allen escaped out of the island, but Redmond was arrested at one of the ports as he was about to take his passage for America. In the meanwhile Russel had utterly failed in his attempts at a rising in the North; and, after issuing a proclamation, in which he styled himself the General of the Northern District, he had disappeared. After the arrest of Emmett, Russel stole into Dublin with the view, it is said, of rescuing his friend by means of another popular insurrection. The numerous and expensive Dublin police, though not particularly distinguished by their zeal or ability in anticipating and preventing mischief, were always remarkably active in hunting down the mischief-makers: two or three days after his arrival in Dublin, Russel was discovered and seized. He was sent for trial to that Northern District of which he had intended to be the revolutionary general. Emmett was put upon his trial for high treason on the 19th of September, in Dublin, the scene of his mad pranks, where there were too many witnesses to speak to his overt acts, and too universal an indignation at the sanguinary result of them, to allow any the remotest chance of his escaping the gallows and the block. He set up no sort of defence; but, when called to receive sentence, he delivered a long, flowery, and pathetic speech, endeavouring chiefly to prove that he was entitled to a higher designation than that of an emissary and tool of France; which last he represented to his countrymen as one of the most degrading of characters. His veracity has been defended by the assumption that he, Russel, and others had bargained for no other French assistance than what would arise from an invasion of England: but could these infatuated men really fancy that, if England were conquered or invaded by Bonaparte, their Hibernian Republic would have been respected? Emmett died with much courage or composure, declaring himself a member of the Church of England. The undoubted Protestantism of him, of Russel, and others, totally disqualified them from heading a popular insurrection in Ireland. If government had not had a court of law or a file of soldiers in the country, the priests and monks would have brought these conspirators to a worse doom than they met with. Redmond (one of the central committee) and two working men (one of whom confessed to the murder of Colonel Brown) were tried and executed in the same town. Russel was tried at Carrickfergus on the 20th of October. He quoted the prophecies and the Apocalypse, pleaded that his religious conscience had compelled him to endeavour to overthrow the existing government, and gave ample indications of a disordered mind; but he was nevertheless executed at Downpatrick, his prayer being rejected for a few days' reprieve, in order to put the finishing touches to a demonstrative Essay on the near approach of the Millennium. Some short time after these executions O'Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the county of Galloway; but Government, who displayed throughout this unhappy affair an uncommon degree of leniency, were satisfied with the examples which had been made; and the lives of these two chiefs, and of a host of inferior and untried prisoners, were spared on their making a full disclosure of all the circumstances of their treason.

Ireland was safe, and England could not be invaded, for her fleets swept the Channel and the French coast in all its extent, blockading the principal ports, and occasionally bombarding a sea-port town or two. Ships and gun-boats were gallantly cut out of Hâvre, St. Vallery, and many other ports and roadsteads; the batteries that protected the town of Dieppe were knocked to pieces; many vessels, both national and mercantile, were burnt on the stocks, and the important town of Granville was bombarded and burned under the eyes of Bonaparte's generals,



DIEPPE.

and almost in his own presence. With nearly six hundred ships of war at sea, England, besides holding the Channel, and defending her own coasts, could dispatch fleets and squadrons to every quarter of the globe, and prosecute extensive schemes of conquest. As early as the 22nd of June the island of St. Lucie was recaptured by Commodore Hood and General Grinfield. The French refused to capitulate; but the British soldiers and sailors stormed the fort of Morne Fortunée, and carried it in half an hour. Eight days after this the French garrison in Tobago capitulated without provoking a storm or attempting any resistance. On the same day that Tobago fell the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland, were taken by an English man-of-war. In rapid succession the colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were reduced. The fate of St. Domingo has been already mentioned; but it remains to be added that eight thousand Frenchmen, civil and military, and of every class and condition, became prisoners of war to the British, at or off that island, or on their voyage homeward. The governor of Guadaloupe, who had a strong French garrison and some good defensive works, maintained himself for a while longer, and even dispatched some troops and thirteen armed schooners, to destroy

GRANVILLE.

the port and dockyard in English Harbour, Antigua —an attempt which completely failed.

In the East Indies war was carried on by land on an immense scale, and with signal success. The power of Mysore had been annihilated by the capture of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo. But a new and formidable enemy to the English had started up in the Mahratta confederacy; and a clever Frenchman was lending the aid of his military knowledge and genius to these Hindoos. M. Perron had first come to the country as a petty officer of a ship with Admiral Suffrein, in the year 1782, when the government of Louis XVI. were making a desperate struggle with the genius and resources of Warren Hastings for the supremacy in Hindostan. After a variety of adventures he became quartermaster-serjeant to a corps containing some Frenchmen in the service of Scindiah. He fought for this chief in more than one great battle, and was gradually raised to the rank of a general, and to the command in chief of Scindiah's forces, the best and select portion of which owed to him the good discipline it had attained. A wide territory in the Jumna region was assigned to him by his thankful employer; he displayed much of the pomp and exercised much of the sovereignty of an Oriental potentate; and when, in 1793, that flitting phantom the Mogul emperor, Schah Alum, became the prisoner of Scindiah, it was to this once poor and lowly Frenchman—this ci-devant petty officer in Suffrein's squadron—that the custody of his person was confided. His honours, his wealth, and his authority excited the envy and malice of many of the Mahratta chiefs. In 1802, when Scindiah made war upon the Peishwa, or Mahratta sovereign of Poonah, and expelled him from his dominions, Perron lent his valuable assistance. The dispossessed Peishwa applied for assistance to the English, who had long conceived apprehensions of the turbulent spirit, the ambition, and power of Scindiah; and on the 31st of December, 1802, a subsidiary treaty was concluded at Bassein. The Nizam of the Deccan joined with the English and the Peishwa; while the Rajah of Berar united his forces to those of Scindiah. The governor-general, Lord Wellesley, had two great objects in view—to restore the Peishwa, and to destroy or dissipate the formidable disciplined forces which Perron had raised, and which contained several other European officers. If the First Consul could have put himself in communication with that adventurer, and could have forwarded him some encouragement and support, Perron had abilities, and occupied a position, which might have proved very dangerous to the British power in India; although it does not appear that Perron had either much regard for Bonaparte or much nationality. It was thought that his leading passion was a love of money; and Lord Wellesley seems to have calculated on that passion as affording the means of detaching him from his old Indian master, and bringing him into the pay of the Company. When General Lake took the field with an army of 10,500 men, to co-operate with which force 3500 men were assembled near Allahabad and about 2000 at Mirzapoor, the governor-general, who had in-

GENERAL LAKE.

structed him to make every possible effort to destroy and scatter or win over Perron's brigades, wrote to him—"It would be highly desirable to detach M. Perron from Scindiah's service, by *pacific negotiation*. M. Perron's inclination certainly is to dispose of his power to a French purchaser; but I should not be surprised if he were to be found ready to enter into terms with us; *provided he could obtain sufficient security for his personal interests*. I empower your excellency to conclude any agreement for the security of M. Perron's personal interests and property, accompanied by any *reasonable remuneration* from the British government, which shall induce him *to deliver up the whole of his military resources and power, together with his territorial possessions and the person of the Mogul, and of the heir-apparent, into your excellency's hands*. The same principle applies generally to M. Perron's European officers. And the proclamations with which I have furnished your excellency will enable you to avail yourself of the first opportunity of offering propositions to those officers, or to the several corps under M. Perron's command."* It appeared, however, that these ingenious proclamations and the correspondence opened did not produce the expected effect. That adventurer took the field with 16,000 or 17,000 infantry disciplined in the European manner, a large body of irregular infantry, from 15,000 to 20,000 Mahratta horse, and a numerous and well-appointed train of artillery. But in the meantime the younger brother of the governor-general, now Major-General Wellesley, had made a dash upon Poonah, had balked and driven out the Mahratta troops of Holkar, had saved, by a most rapid and brilliant movement, that capital of the Peishwa from being burned by Holkar's people, and had reinstated that prince in his dominions. The Peishwa re-entered his capital early in the month of May. Holkar, who fled before

* Letter from Lord Wellesley to General Lake, as quoted in Mill's Hist. Brit. Ind.

General Wellesley without fighting, joined Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar. This confederacy

HOLKAR.

seemed the more dangerous as Scindiah possessed several convenient sea-ports through which he could receive assistance, if any should be sent him, from France, and as, conformably to the treaty of Amiens, the French had then just recovered their Indian possessions. While General Lake marched towards Delhi, taking by storm, as he passed it, the important fortress of Alli Ghur, General Wellesley kept the chief command of all the British and allied troops serving in the territories of the Peishwa and the Nizam of the Deccan, having full powers to direct all the political affairs of the British government in those countries.* After some fruitless negotiations with Scindiah, Wellesley marched from Poonah to the north, and, after sustaining a great loss in carriage-cattle, he reached Ahmednughur, a strong place garrisoned by Scindiah's troops, which he forthwith took by escalade. On the 24th of August he crossed the Godavery river, and on the 29th of that month he entered Aurungabad. On the same day that he crossed the Godavery, Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, having avoided a corps under Colonel Stevenson, rushed with an immense army of cavalry, and of cavalry alone, into the Nizam's territory, by the Adjuntee ghaut or pass, intending to plunder and ravage, to cross the Godavery, and to march upon Hyderabad. "I hope," said Wellesley on the 30th, "to be able to strike a blow against their myriads of horse in a few days, if I should not be so unlucky as to have the Godavery become fordable about six weeks sooner than usual." He accordingly returned to that river and moved eastward along its northern bank to intercept the enemy and place himself between them and the very important city of Hyderabad. Scindiah and the Rajah immediately altered their course, striking away in the direction of Julnapoor; but Colonel Stevenson got there before them with the Nizam's auxiliary force, and made sure of that town. On the 12th of September, General Wellesley was encamped about 20 miles to the north of the Godavery, Colonel Stevenson being at some distance from him. From the rapidity of their movement it was no easy matter to come up with the Mahratta cavalry, who were committing terrible depredations; but Stevenson once or twice beat up their camp by making night marches. About the middle of September, Wellesley received information that Scindiah had

* Dispatches of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, compiled from authentic documents by Lieutenant-Colonel Gurwood.

FORTRESS OF ALLI GHUR.

been reinforced by sixteen battalions of infantry, commanded by French officers, and a large train of artillery; and that the whole of his and the Rajah's forces were now assembled near the banks of the Kaitna. On the 21st he drew nearer to Colonel Stevenson's corps and held a conference with that distinguished officer, in which a general plan of attack was concerted. On the 22nd Colonel Stevenson took the western route, and Wellesley the eastern, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jaulna. They expected to join forces and attack the enemy early on the morning of the 24th. But on the 23rd the general received a report that Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar had moved off that morning with their myriads of horse, and that their infantry were about to follow, but were as yet in camp at the distance of about six miles from him. General Wellesley therefore determined to march upon the infantry and engage it at once. He sent a messenger to Colonel Stevenson, who was at the moment about eight miles off on his left, to acquaint him with his intention and to direct his advance with all possible rapidity; he then moved forward with the 19th light dragoons and three regiments of native cavalry to reconnoitre. His infantry, consisting of only two British and five sepoy battalions, followed with all their speed. After he had ridden about four miles Wellesley from an elevated plain saw not only the infantry but the whole Mahratta force, consisting of about 50,000 men, encamped on the north side of the Kaitna, where the banks of that river were very steep. Their right, consisting of cavalry, extended to Bokerdon; their left, consisting of infantry with 90 pieces of artillery, lay near the village of Assaye, which has given its name to the memorable battle. No thought of retreat was entertained. Wellesley resolved to attack the infantry on its left and rear, and for that purpose he moved his little army to a ford beyond the enemy's left, leaving the Mysore and other irregular cavalry to watch the Mahratta cavalry, and crossing the river only with his regular horse and infantry. He passed the ford, ascended the steep bank, and formed his men in three lines, two of infantry and the third of horse. This was effected under a brisk cannonade from the enemy's artillery. Scindiah, or the European officer who directed his movements, promptly made a corresponding change in his line, giving a new front to his infantry, which was now made to rest its right on the river and its left upon the village of Assaye and the Juah stream, which flowed in a parallel direction with the Kaitna. Scindiah's numerous and well-served cannon did terrible execution among Wellesley's advancing lines, killing men and bullocks, and drowning the weak sound of his scanty artillery. At one moment such a gap was made by cannon-ball in the English right, that some of the Mahratta cavalry attempted to charge through it; but the British cavalry in the third line came up and drove the Mahrattas back with great slaughter. Finding his artillery of little or no use (the guns could not be brought up for lack of bullocks), General Wellesley gave orders to leave it in the rear, and bade the infantry charge with the bayonet. His steady resolute advance in the teeth of their guns had already awed the Mahrattas, who would not stand to meet the collision of the bright English steel: their infantry gave way, and abandoned their terrible guns. One body of them formed again, and presented a bold front; but Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell charged them with the British cavalry, broke and dispersed them, and was killed in the moment of victory. Wellesley's sepoys having proceeded too far in pursuit, many of Scindiah's artillerymen, who had thrown themselves down among the carriages of their guns as though they were dead, got to their feet again and turned their pieces against the rear of the advancing sepoys; and at the same time the Mahratta cavalry, which had been hovering round throughout the battle, were still near. But Maxwell's exploit speedily led to the silencing of this straggling artillery fire, and to the headlong flight of Scindiah's disciplined infantry, who went off and left 90 pieces of cannon, nearly all brass and of the proper calibres, in the hands of the conqueror. General Wellesley led the 78th British infantry in person against the village of Assaye, which was not cleared without a desperate combat. It was near dark night when the firing ceased. The splendid victory cost General Wellesley 22 officers and 386 men killed, and 57 officers and 1526 men wounded—excluding the irregular cavalry, which remained on the other side of the river and had not been engaged, the total number of killed and wounded amounted to nearly one-third of his force. The general himself had two horses killed under him, one shot and the other piked; every one of his staff officers had one or two horses killed, and his orderly's head was knocked off by a cannon-ball as he rode close by his side. The enemy, who fled towards the Adjuntee Ghaut, through which they had poured into the Deccan, left 1200 dead, and a great number badly wounded, on the field of battle.*

Colonel Stevenson, who had encountered some unexpected obstacles, arrived at Assaye on the 24th, and was immediately dispatched after the flying enemy, whose infantry was as usual left behind and abandoned by the cavalry. While these things were doing in the south, General Lake continued both his advance upon Delhi and his correspondence with Perron. This Frenchman now found great difficulty in keeping his army together and in preserving any discipline; a large portion of his cavalry left his camp and turned their horses' heads homewards, declaring their inability to oppose the English; and, what was still more fatal, his own French officers began to intrigue and plot against him. After making a spiritless demonstration near Alli Ghur, he retreated without fighting, and with about 15,000 men, on the 29th of

* General Wellesley's own Dispatches and Letters, as printed Colonel Gurwood's invaluable work.

August. The town of Coel threw open its gates at Lake's approach; but the garrison of Alli Ghur, the ordinary residence of Perron, and his principal military depôt, made a desperate resistance. On the 4th of September storming-parties, headed by Colonel Monson and Major Macleod, carried the place: 2000 of the garrison perished, the rest surrendered or fled out of the fort. On the very same day, however, five companies of Lake's Sepoys, who had been left with only one gun to occupy a detached position commanding the road through which provisions must be brought up, found themselves under the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. They had been attacked on the 2nd by a cloud of cavalry commanded by a Frenchman of the name of Fleury. This time the sepoys beat off their numerous assailants; but on the 4th the Frenchman led the Mahrattas back to the attack, and the Sepoys, having consumed nearly all their ammunition, were compelled to capitulate. Before the reinforcements sent by General Lake could reach the spot, Fleury and his flying-horse had disappeared in the wide country behind the Jumna. Some days before the capture of Alli Ghur and his depôt, Perron wrote to Lake, expressing a desire to effect some arrangement which might preclude the necessity of any actual contest between the English and the troops he commanded; and, even previously to this, he had applied for leave to pass through the Company's territories, intending, he said, to quit the service of Scindiah and return to Europe. These applications were followed up by the Frenchman sending a confidential agent to the English camp. This agent had a long private interview with General Lake, and is generally believed to have returned to his principal with a large sum of money in specie or in drafts upon the treasury at Calcutta. On the 7th of September (three days after the storming of Alli Ghur), Lake received a letter from Perron, stating that he had quitted the service of Scindiah, and now requested permission to pass with his family, his effects, and the officers of his suite, through the Company's dominions to Lucknow. He stated as reasons for his retiring, that he had received intelligence that his successor had been appointed, and was already on his way to take his command from him; and that the treachery and ingratitude of his European officers had convinced him that further resistance to the British arms was useless. The permission demanded was readily granted by General Lake, who, as well as the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, attached great importance to the withdrawing of the very able French adventurer. As Perron began his journey for Lucknow, General Lake, starting from Alli Ghur, resumed his march upon Delhi. On the 11th of September the English general received intelligence that the army which had belonged to Perron, and which was now commanded by another Frenchman, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi, under cover of the night, with the intention of fighting a battle for the defence of the ancient capital of the Great Moguls, but which was now the prison of the feeble representative of Timour. His troops were fatigued with a long march, and oppressed by the heat of the day, when they reached their ground of encampment, about six miles from Delhi; and they had scarcely pitched their tents before their outposts were attacked by some of the Frenchman's squadrons. This officer, named Louis Bourquien, had 19,000 men under his command; and he had posted his main body on a rising ground, with swamps on either flank, so that it was only their front that could be attacked, and that front was defended by a line of entrenchments, and a great number of cannon—almost as many as were turned against General Wellesley at Assaye. Lake had only 4500 men; but there was some admirable British infantry among them. By some ingenious movements, he tempted the enemy from their heights and entrenchments down to the plain; and, when they thought he was about to fly from the field, he turned upon them with one short volley, and then with the bayonet. They could not stand the charge—they ran towards their guns, which they had brought down to the plain, and which opened a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot. But another volley and another bayonet charge drove them from their now exposed pieces; a charge of Lake's cavalry, and some rounds from his flying artillery, completed the *débâcle*; and the enemy fled to the banks of the Jumna, and beyond that river, leaving behind them 3000 or 4000 of their number killed, wounded, or prisoners, sixty-eight cannon—the whole of their artillery—a great quantity of ammunition, and their military chest. While it lasted, the affair had been very hot: General Lake had his horse shot under him, and three or four hundred of his people were laid low by the grape and chain shot. On the following morning Lake encamped opposite to the city of Delhi, which, together with the fort, was evacuated by those who had held the Mogul in thraldom. On the 14th of September, Louis Bourquien and four other French officers who had fought in the late action, surrendered as prisoners of war in the British camp; on the 16th General Lake paid a visit to Shah Alum, who had long before expressed his anxious wish to avail himself of the protection of the British government, and this visit was accompanied with processions and pomps of an extraordinary kind. The Mogul, who was now old and blind, and miserably poor, received General Lake as a deliverer, and gave him—which was about all he could give—a series of sounding Oriental titles, as "The Sword of the State, The Hero of the Land, The Lord of the Age, and The Victorious in War." [The aged descendant of the great Timour had some reason to rejoice at being received into British protection; Scindiah had tyrannized over him in the most barbarous fashion, and, before Scindiah had gotten possession of his person and of his dominions, a chief named Gholaum Khadur had struck out one of his eyes with his own dag-

ger, had ordered a domestic of the palace to deprive the emperor of his remaining eye, and, meeting a refusal, had struck off the servant's head with one stroke of his scymitar.] Another of the French adventurers surrendered; and now no military man of any note or ability, of that nation, remained in this part of India. From Delhi General Lake proceeded to Agra, where he arrived on the 4th of October. The garrison in the fort returned no answer to his summons to surrender; but some outposts were easily carried, some of the defeated troops deserted to General Lake, and on the 17th, when breaching-batteries began to open their fire, the garrison capitulated.

So vast were the resources of Scindiah, that he had been enabled to send seventeen regular disciplined battalions, and from 4000 to 5000 horse, to endeavour to regain possession of Delhi, while General Lake was engaged in the siege of Agra. On the 27th of October, when he had garrisoned and secured his last conquest, Lake started in search of this new enemy. The rains were falling heavily, the roads were in a wretched state, and at some points they were inundated by the enemy, who had cut the embankments of reservoirs; but speed was necessary, and, leaving the rest of his forces behind him, Lake pushed forward with his cavalry alone, marching from midnight on the 31st of October till seven o'clock the next morning, when he found the enemy well posted, with their right upon a stream, their left on the village of Laswarree, and with their front provided with seventy-two pieces of artillery. Lake's foremost brigade came in contact with the Mahrattas' left, and drove it in and penetrated into the village of Laswarree, which has given its name to the battle;* but here they were exposed to a terrible fire of cannon and musketry; Colonel Vandeleur fell, and Lake thought it prudent to draw off the brigade. Other brigades who had attacked at other points were also obliged to fall back; but they carried away with them several of the enemy's guns. The infantry and artillery which Lake had left behind had started on their march at three o'clock, and had continued to march with such spirit, that they performed twenty-five miles in somewhat less than eight hours, and joined him and his cavalry a little before eleven o'clock. At their apparition the enemy offered upon certain conditions to surrender their guns and retire. Lake, anxious to stop the effusion of blood, granted the conditions proposed; but, seeing that they hesitated, he gave them one hour to decide whether they would accept the terms or fight him. The hour expired, and then the battle began. On the side of the British the brunt was borne by the King's 76th regiment, which, with a battalion and five companies of Sepoys, had to sustain a tremendous fire of canister-shot and a massive charge of cavalry. "This handful of heroes," as Lake called them, though thinned by the enemy's artillery, stood firm, and repulsed the horse. Then Major Griffiths was sent at the head of the 29th Dragoons to sweep away that numerous cavalry, a duty which he performed completely, though not without losing his own life, being struck by a cannon-ball. Then followed the terrible bayonet charge of the British infantry, the right wing of which was led by Major-General Ware, who was killed by another cannon-shot.* For a time the enemy seemed determined to defend their position to the last, disputing every point inch by inch, and only giving way when the bayonets were at their breast, and their own artillery turned against them. Even when their situation had become altogether desperate, they continued to manifest the same dogged courage: their left wing endeavoured to effect a retreat in good order; but this attempt was frustrated by a brilliant charge, made by the 27th regiment of Dragoons and a regiment of native cavalry. But presently the mass of the enemy either fled from the field, or cried for quarter, and surrendered; and all the artillery, all the baggage, and nearly everything belonging to them, fell into the hands of the victors. With the exception of 2000 who surrendered, the whole of their 17 battalions were destroyed. It was calculated that the dead alone on the field could hardly have been less than 7000. Though some of their cavalry were enabled, by the fleetness of their horses and local knowledge, to escape destruction, the rest, excepting those who had the good fortune to conceal themselves among the bazaar people, were numbered with the slain. The English loss amounted to 172 killed and 652 wounded. General Lake, who had personally led the charge of cavalry in the morning, who had afterwards led on the 76th, and who had conducted nearly every operation of the day, had two horses shot under him, and saw his son, who was acting as his aide-de-camp, badly wounded by his side. But the battle of Laswarree most honourably terminated the mission which had been entrusted to this active and gallant officer.† Lake had defeated, routed, annihilated that army of Perron which had caused the Governor-General such great and reasonable alarm, and had placed in the hands of the English all the extensive territory watered by the Jumna; and, between him and General Wellesley, the power of Scindiah and

* At first, this affair was called the Battle of Cassowly. *See Gurwood's Dispatches.*

* "Major-General Ware fell dead, his head being carried off by a cannon-shot. He was an excellent officer, and his loss was severely felt and deeply lamented by the whole army. After his death, the command of the column devolved upon Colonel Macdonald, who, though wounded, continued in the exercise of the important trust with the utmost activity, judgment, and intrepidity, till the close of the action."—*Memoirs of the War in India, conducted by General Lord Lake, Commander-in-Chief, and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), from its commencement in* 1803 *to its termination in* 1806, *on the banks of the Hyphasis, &c. By Major William Thorn, Captain 25th Light Dragoons.*

† "The 17 battalions annihilated at Laswarree were called the Deccan Invincibles, and were considered as the flower of Scindiah's army, which altogether had made immense and rapid strides towards the point of perfection of the best of European troops. Throughout this eventful Mahratta war, every conflict gave evidence of this improvement, which was attributable to the connexion of the natives with the French, whose energies, address, and abilities were exerted to the utmost in exasperating the chiefs against the English, and in forming their subjects into hardy and disciplined soldiers, with the view of thereby overthrowing our dominion in the East."—*Major Thorn, Memoir of the War in the India, &c.*

all the most perilous part of the Mahratta confederacy was utterly shattered before the end of the year. Scindiah asked for and obtained a truce from Wellesley at the beginning of November; but his ally the Rajah of Berar still kept the field; and when the English commander came up with this rajah in the plains of Argaum, about 20 miles north of the Poorna river, he found Scindiah's cavalry drawn up with him—no uncommon instance of the faith with which these Indian chiefs observed truces and treaties. On the 29th of November, Wellesley attacked and defeated the whole host, who fled in the greatest disorder, leaving 38 cannon and all their ammunition to the conquerors; whose cavalry moreover pursued them by bright moonlight for several miles, taking many elephants, camels, and much baggage.*

After the battle of Argaum, General Wellesley determined to lose no time in commencing the siege of Gawil-Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India, situated on a lofty rock, in a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee, and consisting of one complete inner fort fronting the south, where the rock is steepest, of an outer fort covering the inner one to the north-west and north, and of a third wall covering the approach to the rock from the north by the village of Labada. All the walls were strongly built, and fortified by ramparts and towers. The communications with the fort were through three gates. The ascent to the first gate was very long and steep, and practicable only for men; that to the second was by a road used by the garrison, but it wound round the west side of the fort, and was

GAWIL-GHUR.

exposed for a great distance to its fire; the road being at the same time very narrow, so as to render a regular approach impracticable, and the rock being scarped on each side; the road to the third or northern gate was broad, and over ground level with the fort, to which it led directly from the village of Labada; but to get at that village, it was necessary to take a road which ran thirty miles through the mountains, and it was obvious that the difficulty and labour of moving ordnance and stores to Labada would be very great.† This last road was, however, adopted. The management of the siege was entrusted to Colonel Stevenson, General Wellesley covering his operations with his own division and with all the cavalry, and intending if possible to assist by making attacks from the southward and westward, while the colonel attacked from the north. It took Stevenson from the 7th of December to the 12th to reach Labada; and during those five days the troops in his division went through a series of laborious services, such as nobody with the army had ever witnessed before, and that too with the utmost cheerfulness as well as perseverance. The heavy ordnance and stores were dragged by hand over mountains, and through ravines, for nearly the whole distance, by roads which it had been previously necessary for the soldiers to make for themselves. By the 12th at night, however, Colonel Stevenson had broken ground, and erected two batteries in front of the north face of the fort of Gawil-Ghur; and on

* "From unavoidable circumstances," says the general, "we did not begin the action till late in the day, and not more than twenty minutes' sun remained when I led on the British cavalry to the charge. But they made up for it by continuing the pursuit by moonlight; and all the troops were under arms till a very late hour in the night." *Private letter to the Hon. H. Wellesley, in Colonel Gurwood's Wellington Dispatches.*

† Dispatch from General Wellesley to the Governor-General, in Gurwood.

the same night General Wellesley's division constructed one battery on the mountain under the southern gate, with the view to breach the wall near that gate, or, at all events, to distract the enemy by drawing their attention to that quarter. The enemy's garrison was numerous: it consisted of Rajpoots, and of a great body of regular infantry, who had escaped from the battle of Argaum, and who were all well armed with English muskets and bayonets; but on the 15th, some breaches being made, and the outer walls carried by storm, the light infantry of the 94th regiment, headed by Captain Campbell, fixed their ladders against the inner fort, in which no breach whatever had been made, gallantly escaladed the high wall, and opened the gate for the storming-party, who, in a trice, were entire masters of every part of the fortress. Vast numbers of the garrison were killed, particularly at the different gateways; their general or commander, Beny Sing, and his killadar, were found buried, like Tippoo at Seringapatam, amidst a heap of slain near the gateway; and some of the Rajpoot chiefs, according to the custom of their country, had put their wives and daughters to death before going out to meet their own.* On the 17th of December, or two days after the fall of Gawil-Ghur, the Rajah of Berar signed the conditions of peace which Wellesley dictated, adding to the Company the important province of Cuttack, with the district of Balasore, and dismissing all the French or other European officers in his service. Before the Rajah ratified the treaty, General Wellesley had made three marches towards Nagpoor, "in order to keep alive the impression under which it was evident that the treaty had been concluded." As soon as Scindiah found that the Rajah had made peace, he began to be alarmed, and to implore to be allowed to negotiate; and on the 30th of December he signed a treaty of peace, by which he yielded to the Company all the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, besides numerous forts, territories, rights, and interests; engaging to conform to the treaties which the Company had made with the Peishwa, to recognise the right of the Peishwa to the territories which the Company had put him in possession of, and, in case of any difference afterwards between him and the Peishwa, to admit the mediation, arbitration, and final decision of the Company. Scindiah also agreed to dismiss such European officers as he yet had, and (as the Rajah of Berar had also done) "never to take or retain in his service any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power the government of which may be at war with the British government; or any British subject, whether European or native of India, without the consent of the British government."

In the course of these campaigns an immense extent of country had been traversed, separate co-operating corps had been moved with a rare regularity and intelligence, and had, when necessary, been brought to a junction with admirable precision as to time and place; the commissariat departments had been managed better than ever they had been before by an English army, whether in Europe, Asia, or America, since the days of the great Marlborough; the staff officers had surveyed the country with a much improved skill, the army made no blunders through that want of proper intelligence which had so often been felt elsewhere; the marches had been more rapid, as well as more certain; and, altogether, there was visible an immense improvement, which few or none will dispute was mainly due to the practice and example of Arthur Wellesley. In a private letter to one of his brothers, the great and accomplished soldier said at the time—"The operations of this war have afforded numerous instances of improvement in our means of communication, of obtaining intelligence, and, above all, of movement. Marches such as I have made in this war were never known or thought of before. In the last eight days of the month of October, I marched above 120 miles, and passed through two Ghauts with heavy guns and all the equipments of the troops, and this without injury to the efficiency of the army; and in the few days previous to this battle (Argaum), when I had determined to go into Berar, I never moved less than between seventeen and twenty miles, and I marched twenty-six miles on the day on which it was fought."* It was in this great field of India, where alone a British officer could now have the handling of great masses of men, that Arthur Wellesley prepared himself for the duties which he had afterwards to perform in Portugal and Spain, and that he laid the groundwork of the lofty and enduring edifice of the fame of the Duke of Wellington.

In the course of this same year the enterprising Governor-General of India had set in motion a third and a fourth army against the Mahratta confederacy, the existence of which, formidable in itself, might have become in the highest degree dangerous, if Bonaparte could have succeeded in throwing any considerable force into Hindostan. As elsewhere, the progress of British arms was favoured by intestine dissensions, disputed successions, and furious jealousies among the Mahratta chiefs. Colonel Powell, starting from Allahabad, with troops belonging to the Bengal establishment, overran the often-disputed province of Bundelcund, reducing the forts, and establishing the authority of the Company. Powell fought one pitched battle near Capsah, in which, as usual, the enemy made good use of their artillery, but were routed with loss. Fort Calpee, on the south-western side of the Jumna, and Gwalior, which commands an important pass and defends the frontiers of Gohud, were the most important of the fortresses taken. Gwalior, which had once been in our possession, but which had been ceded by treaty to a faithless ally, had ever been considered a military post of

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches, and Journal of Major-General Sir Jasper Nicholls, as quoted by Colonel Gurwood.

* Letter to the Hon. H. Wellesley, already cited.

the greatest importance: the fort in strength and situation resembled Gawil-Ghur, standing on a very steep hill, which was long and narrow at the top, and dipped almost perpendicularly at the sides. To block up some other passes through which the Mahrattas might make inroads, as soon as Powell had secured his footing in Bundelcund, Lieutenant-Colonel Broughton was detached to the eastern provinces of Berar, to seize the fortress of Sumbalpore, to drive out some freebooting bands, and to destroy or scatter the only Mahratta force which was left anywhere in the country between Bundelcund, Berar, and Cuttack. Cutting a road for his artillery across a deep and extensive forest, and overcoming every obstacle, Broughton executed every part of the task entrusted to him. Colonel Harcourt, with a division of the Madras army which had been stationed in the Northern Circars, marched from Gamjam on the 8th of September to drive the Mahratta chiefs out of Cuttack, a province which was actually in our possession before the Rajah of Berar formally ceded it by treaty. The Mahrattas on the frontier fled, the Bramins of Juggernaut placed their pagoda and idol under British protection, which in itself was a very important advantage; and, after some delay, occasioned by the rains, Harcourt continued his advance, entered the city of Cuttack, and laid siege to the fort, a place of considerable strength, having only one entrance by a narrow bridge, over a wet ditch of enormous dimensions. But a co-operating force, detached from the Bengal army, and which might be called a sixth army, or corps d'armée, had landed at Ballasore on the 21st of September, and, after getting possession of all the country on the coast, sent forward reinforcements to Cuttack to assist in the siege of the fortress. That place was stormed and taken on the 14th of October, and the fall of the fort left Harcourt undisputed master of the whole of the province. In Harcourt's operations, as in all the rest of this far-extending extraordinary campaign, there was a plan of co-operation and mutual assistance: as soon as he had captured the great fortress of Cuttack he detached Major Forbes to occupy the defile of Bermuth, which forms the only entrance into the province of Cuttack through the chain of mountains which separated it from the states of the Rajah of Berar. Forbes performed his duty admirably; several of the neighbouring rajahs flew from the tyranny of the great Rajah of Berar, and threw themselves under the protection of the British; the pass of Bermuth was secured; and in a few weeks Colonel Harcourt and the troops that had conquered Cuttack defiled through it, and co-operated with General Wellesley, distracting the attention of the enemy while he advanced and captured Gawil-Ghur. In all these combined movements of different corps, from such opposite points and over so extensive a range of country, scarcely one error of any consequence appears to have been committed, the different detachments meeting at the very time and place appointed, and, whether close together or far asunder, moving like different wheels of one great machine, set in motion by one master power.

The seat of war had extended nearly all over the continent of India, and had exhibited in the short space of four months four general and well-contested battles, and eight regular sieges and stormings of fortresses. British valour and military genius (for even the high word genius is applicable here) had triumphed over accumulated obstacles, the combination of truly formidable powers, and over every advantage arising to the enemy from local position, military means (especially in their immense and well-served trains of artillery), and numerical strength, which had been so improved by French training and discipline. The armies which Wellington had fought at Assaye and Argaum, and which Lake had fought at Delhi and Laswarree, were not what Indian armies had been in the days of Clive and Coote, but admirably officered, and capable of contending with most of the armies of Europe. And, should any attempt be made to diminish the reputation of our two commanders by quoting the native superiority of British and Irish-bred soldiers, it ought to be remembered that the number of Europeans either in Lake's or Wellesley's army was comparatively small; that the mass of their materials were of native growth, were Indians like those that were serving in the armies of Scindiah; and that the disparity of numbers was so great that, if every European under Lake or Wellesley, or in the separate corps operating with them, should be counted as worth three well-armed and disciplined natives, the British force would still be greatly inferior.*

The signal successes of the year 1803 gave to the British empire other advantages besides the acquisition of the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges: they secured, by the possession of Delhi, Agra, and Calpee, the mastery and free navigation of the Jumna, with an important tract of country along the right bank of that river; they gave us the greater part of the rich province of Bundelcund, the whole of Cuttack in Orissa, and the most valuable territory in Guzerat, with valuable ports which were before accessible to the enemy—our mortal enemy, France, —thereby securing the navigation along that immense coast, from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouth of the Indus; and, furthermore, they gave to the Company a stronger frontier in the Deccan, and to our allies, the Nizam and the Peishwa, an important accession of strength.† A metaphysician writing after the fact, and far removed from the danger, splitting fine straws in a quiet suburb of that great capital which has

* Major Thorn calculates the numerous Mahratta armies brought into the field in the whole course of the campaign, at 250,000 men; and the corps organised by their French auxiliaries at 40,000 more, at the least.

† Major Thorn's Memoir of the War in India.—In all, upwards of 1000 pieces of cannon had been captured by Lake, Wellesley, and their subordinates, together with ammunition, treasure, and stores in proportion.

not heard the sound of real war, nor in reality ever been exposed to the risk of hearing it, for so many ages, may undervalue the services performed by Lake and the two illustrious brothers, and may underrate and split, or shave down to nothing, the danger with which we were threatened by French intrigue and the Mahratta confederacy, emboldened by hopes of important succours from France, which were actually on their way before the *coup-de-grace* was struck (in Admiral Linois's ships), and which might, by the unsteady chances of wind and weather and the casualties of the ocean, have been allowed to reach their destination; but the British subjects who were living in India, whose lives or property, or both, were at stake, who knew the animus and the means of Scindiah and his allies, and who saw all the danger from a near point, certainly entertained notions very different from those of the not very national historian of British India. Some of these ideas were well and honestly expressed, at the termination of the war, in an address presented by the British inhabitants of Calcutta to the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley. These Englishmen stated that, at a moment when the renewal of war in Europe was certain, the menacing attitude of the armies assembled by the Mahratta princes and the uncontrolled authority exercised by French adventurers over the disciplined troops of Scindiah could not have been viewed without extreme anxiety, nor have been suffered to continue without endangering the whole of our Eastern empire; and, after a proper tribute paid to the army and its gallant and skilful commanders, they said that the British power in India had been raised to the proudest pre-eminence; that, "by this auspicious conclusion of a rapid and glorious war, the enemies of the British empire were humbled, French influence was annihilated, our allies were encouraged, our resources enlarged and solidly established, and the British dominions in India rendered at once more secure of enjoying the advantages of peace, and more capable of repelling the dangers of war." The British residing in the presidencies of Madras and Bombay were not behind those residing in Bengal in expressing their sense of the great danger they had been exposed to, and in testifying their gratitude for the services which had rescued the whole of our Eastern settlements from a state of jeopardy, and fixed them upon a basis of better and more permanent security.

Early in the spring of the following year (1804) General Wellesley crossed the Godavery to put down the independent freebooting parties, fragments of Scindiah's armies, and gangs of banditti from nearly all parts of India, who were plundering and devastating the whole of the Western Deccan. He offered terms to the chiefs of these freebooters, and allowed them five days to dismiss their troops and come into his camp. But, at the expiration of that time on the 4th of February, he endeavoured to cut them off by making forced marches over eighty miles of the roughest country, to the spot where they were encamped. His secret was betrayed by some of the natives following his own army, or he would have taken them by surprise in their camp. As they fled, he followed them with the British cavalry in one column acting upon the right of their rear, while the Mysore cavalry and the cavalry of the re-established Peishwa pursued the centre and left. The marauders, for the most part cavalry, were greatly superior in numbers to their pursuers, and were furnished with field-pieces. In one small affair the British cavalry and the Mysore cavalry killed a great number of them, and captured some of their guns. Wellesley then followed them with astonishing rapidity from hill to hill, nor ceased his pursuit until he had entirely destroyed or dispersed them, and captured all their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and bazaars.* The fatigue was excessive; not a few of Wellesley's horses and men died of it: he himself describes the marches made as being "terrible," and after the lapse of many years, and many other arduous services, he still spoke of this as the most laborious service in which he had ever been engaged.† There was more ignorance than insolence in the notion which suggested to Napoleon Bonaparte and his echoes the contemptuous expression of 'Sepoy General.'

As General Wellesley took little or no part in the war which followed with Holkar and a new but much weaker confederacy than that whose spear had been broken by himself and General Lake, and as this flying campaign beyond the Godavery concluded his important military services in India, we may briefly allude in this place to his equally important civil services. In the month of July (1804) having, in pursuance of orders from his brother the Governor-General, broken up the army in the Deccan, and returned to Seringapatam, General Wellesley received an address from the native inhabitants, which, in simple, unaffected, sincere, and truthful words, expressed the gratitude of the people of Mysore for the tranquillity and happiness they had enjoyed under his government.‡ The whole of the Mysore had been well administered under his vigilant

* "These numerous and formidable bands of freebooters, who were the terror of the country, were daily increasing in numbers, and had already defeated a body of the Soubah's troops, and had taken from them the guns which I have retaken."—*Letter to the Governor-General, in Gurwood's Wellington Dispatches.*

† Colonel Gurwood's Dispatches.—André Vieusseux's Military Life of the Duke of Wellington.—Major William Thorn, Memoirs of the War in India.

‡ The address, which was presented on the 6th of July, 1804, was to this effect:—

"We, the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, have reposed for five auspicious years under the shadow of your protection.

"We have felt, even during your absence, in the midst of battle and of victory, that your care for our prosperity had been extended to us in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied your mind.

"We are preparing to perform, in our several castes, the duties of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God, who has brought you back in safety; and we present ourselves in person to express our joy.

"As your labours have been crowned with victory, so may your repose be graced with honours. May you long continue personally to dispense to us that full stream of security and happiness, which we first received with wonder, and continue to enjoy with gratitude; and, when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all castes and all nations deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayers for your health, your glory, and your happiness."—*Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

superintendence; numerous abuses, on the part of the civil as well as the military servants of the Company, had been checked; and agriculture and trade had flourished, while the storm of war was raging in other parts of India. Deserted villages, of which the tigers, the jackals, and the wild dogs of the Ghauts had taken possession, were again occupied by industrious and thriving people; and, while there was a security for the great and the wealthy, such as had never been known under Hyder Ali or his son Tippoo, there was also protection and safety for the poorest. Against all who put in practice any foul money-getting trick, or assisted in any act of peculation, corruption, or oppression, the general was ruthless, driving such men, whatever might be their patronage or their connexions, from their rank, stations, and employment. During the five years of General Wellesley's government, the whole country had in fact acquired a higher degree of prosperity than could possibly have been expected in so short a time; and through this prosperity it had been enabled in some degree to repay, by the efficacy of its assistance in the hour of emergency, when Scindiah's confederacy and Perron's disciplined army showed their formidable front, the benefits which it had derived from British influence, protection, and power. And yet, during all this time, large sums had been annually appropriated to the construction or repair of tanks, watercourses, roads, bridges, and other works, which tended to the further improvement and increase of the agriculture, trade, and other resources of the country. The best attestation to the merits of the system is to be found in the fact that great numbers of strangers from other parts of Hindostan came and settled in Mysore, and materially aided in improving the agriculture and the entire aspect of the country. An admirable police was organised, and a military plan arranged, by which, between standing troops well disciplined and a sort of militia, Mysore could at any time, on a few days' notice, bring 40,000 men into the field, without confusion, without any great expense, and without oppression or violence of any kind; and with a force like this the Mysoreans could not only defend their own territories, but also spare troops to the Company for operations far beyond their own frontiers. The Mysore cavalry, which had been serving under Wellesley in the Scindiah campaign and in pursuit of the freebooters, had behaved admirably well.

In March, 1805, when he was on the point of leaving the East for ever, the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, Hindus and Mussulmans, presented another address to the Major-General, expressing again their gratitude for the tranquillity, security, and happiness they had enjoyed under his auspicious protection; their respect for the brilliant exploits he had achieved in the field of battle, and their reverence for his affability and benevolence; concluding with a prayer to God to grant him health and a safe and pleasant voyage to Europe, but with the expression of an earnest hope for his speedy return to the country, once more to extend and uphold that protection over them, which his extensive local knowledge of their customs and manners was so capable of affording.*

And in the Deccan and at Poonah the conduct of this great man was equally admirable, and equally productive of important advantages, whether we consider the natives, or the mere interests of the Company or of the British nation. In particular, he curbed the vindictive hand of the expelled Peishwa, whom our arms had restored, and who, like the generality of Indian princes, knew nothing of forgiveness, being, in Wellesley's own words, "callous to everything but money and revenge," and as treacherous as he was vindictive and rapacious. He interposed in many cases where the Peishwa would have deluged the country with blood; he saved many chiefs who would otherwise have been put to death or driven out of the country for the aid they had given Scindiah in expelling the Peishwa. He concluded one of his dispatches with these remarkable words: "The war will be eternal if nobody is ever to be forgiven; and I certainly think that the British government cannot intend to make the British troops the instruments of the Peishwa's revenge." He also found it necessary, on more than one occasion, to teach forgiveness, or calmness and moderation, to the civil government residing at Calcutta. "When," said he, "the power of the Company is so great, little dirty passions must not be suffered to guide its measures."†

For our home defence, the volunteer associations alone furnished in the course of the year 300,000 men, who were all well equipped, and who in the course of a few months more were well trained in the use of arms. The constant drilling and reviewing of these corps kept up the martial spirit, and at the same time put down the thought of any necessity for a levy *en masse*, even if a landing should be effected by Bonaparte—an event which seemed less and less probable, as his own coasts were insulted and blockaded or watched from the mouth of the Scheldt to the mouth of the Garonne, and as our fleets were riding triumphant in every sea. It was in vain that Bonaparte travelled in great state along all the north-western line of coast; that he tarried for a while at and repeatedly visited his camp at Boulogne, the finger-posts on the route to which were inscribed *Chemin*

* The European officers who had been serving under General Wellesley, in their address, presented on the same occasion, warmly expressed their admiration of his exalted talents and splendid achievements, of his consideration and justice in command, which had made obedience a pleasure, and of that frank condescension in the private intercourse of life, which it was their pride individually to acknowledge. They regretted his departure, they too hoped for his speedy return to India, and they ended with the words, "But in whatever quarter of the globe further honours and distinctions shall await you, our sincerest good wishes will constantly follow your career; and we now beg you to accept our most respectful, but most cordial, farewell." The good wishes of these officers in India were realised, and perhaps beyond the expectation even of those who were most sanguine, or who best knew all that was in him, in the Peninsular war, and on the field of Waterloo.

† Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

Review of Volunteers by George III. at Hounslow.

*de Londres* (Road to London);* that spirit-stirring addresses were delivered to the troops, and that recourse was had to omens and exciting historical recollections:—the far-resounding sea was there before them, and they could not hope to pass it in their flat-bottomed boats and their frail embarkations in the presence of our ships of war, that seemed omnipresent.

Parliament re-assembled on the 22nd of November. The speech from the throne, delivered by the king in person, dwelt upon those successes in the West Indies, to which perhaps too much importance was always attached, and upon the easy suppression of the Irish insurrection; alluding also to the conclusion of a friendly convention with Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting certain differences about maritime rights, arising out of an article in an old treaty concluded by our Charles II. Scarcely any opposition was offered to the addresses.† The Houses occupied themselves, down to the Christmas holidays, with passing acts to continue in Ireland the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the prolongation of martial law, and to grant certain exemptions in favour of the volunteers in Great Britain.

A.D. 1804. Parliament had scarcely re-assembled after the Christmas recess ere it was known that the king was suffering under an attack of his old malady. On the 14th of February it was publicly announced, by an official bulletin issued at the palace of St. James's, that his majesty was much indisposed; and a succession of similar notices, notwithstanding the customary obscurity of the language, left little doubt as to the serious nature of the complaint. The intelligence carried

* Pecchio, Vita di Ugo Foscolo.

† In the Commons, Mr. Fox, declaring that he did not wish to dispute the statements of the mover and the seconder, or to disturb the unanimity which seemed so much to be desired, adverted to two points, one of which was omitted, and the other particularly alluded to in the king's speech. The first was the mediation of Russia, respecting which he thought the House was entitled to some information. In the last session the noble secretary for foreign affairs had stated that ministers were disposed to accept the mediation of Russia —to hear the ideas of the court of St. Petersburg, and to state their own opinion of the means most likely to bring about a good understanding between this country and France. After ministers had been so pledged, and after so much time had elapsed, he had expected some intimation in the speech from the throne of the success of those negotiations. His other point was Ireland and her troubles. He could not allow that the late insurrection had been brought about (as implied in the king's speech) *entirely* by French influence, since the leaders of it expressly disavowed such notions, and disclaimed any connexion with France. He thought that our own misgovernment of Ireland was sufficient to account for what had happened; that it was vain to look for tranquillity in that country until the political system was ameliorated; and that the House ought not to give too much confidence to the general assertions that were so frequently made, and that had been made in the last session, even up to the day of the breaking out of the insurrection, respecting the loyalty of the Irish people.

Addington concisely replied. The fact was, that Russia had offered its mediation, which his majesty's ministers had accepted with readiness and gratitude. Discussions had been accordingly commenced, but he was sorry to say that in their progress they did not assume such a shape as to afford the least probability of bringing about an amicable arrangement with France. As to Fox's other point, respecting Ireland, he was perfectly convinced that, however some few of the leaders of the late insurrection might have disclaimed French influence and alliance, yet many of them did most certainly look to a French invasion as the means of carrying their purposes into effect. He insisted, not only that the loyalty of the great body of the Irish people was great, but also that it was owing to the conduct of his majesty's present government in Ireland, which had conciliated all ranks and descriptions of persons in that country.

grief, not altogether unmixed with dismay, throughout the country, for, to the great bulk of the people, George III. was still the "good old king;" his popularity had increased with his years and his misfortunes, and with the costly exertions made in this war; and, from the popular faith in his high English spirit, in his fortitude and decision, it was felt that he was in a manner necessary to the defence and safety of the country, which was still threatened with invasion, and could see from her own coasts the mighty preparations that Bonaparte continued to make. The dismay was the greater from the very general conviction that the Addington administration was inadequate to the crisis. Perhaps a similar conviction in the king's own mind had mainly contributed to his present attack. He had hitherto clung to Addington, not because he considered his spirit and abilities comparable with those of Pitt, but because he knew him to be averse to the granting of that Catholic Emancipation which always alarmed his own conscience, and presented itself to his excited mind as a monstrous concession which would be equally perilous to the temporal and spiritual welfare of his line and of his country. If he threw off Addington, he must take back Pitt—and Pitt, who had resigned on account of the great Catholic question, and who had ever been so stern, unbending, and uncompromising, did not seem likely to return without insisting on immediate or gradual and progressive emancipation as a cabinet measure; and this, in the old king's eyes, was an incomparably greater evil than any that could arise out of the weaknesses or defects of the present administration. But this administration could not be kept in office if it lost its parliamentary majorities, and it was losing them fast in both Houses; and three distinct oppositions, under Pitt, Fox, and Lord Grenville, though not disposed to try the dangerous experiment of a coalition, seemed determined to agree in the one point that Addington must retire. As for the illustrious rival of Pitt, the king's rooted dislike to him, which had been aggravated by his proposing at a public meeting the toast of "The Sovereignty of the People," and which had not been mitigated by the reports spread concerning the visit to Paris and the friendly intercourse with the First Consul and the Irish refugees, was an insuperable bar to his admission into the cabinet; and, besides, Fox entertained the extremest notions about religious liberty, and was more deeply pledged than Pitt himself to the principle of Catholic emancipation. Lord Grenville too, though disagreeing with Fox on so many other points, fully agreed with him on this last; and without Fox and Grenville—unless he took back Pitt—there was not a possibility of making any ministry. To these state and *religious* anxieties were added numerous inquietudes of a domestic nature, and other uneasinesses—in which, however, despondency as to the spirit and resources of the country, or fear of the French legions that were collected on the opposite side of the Channel, most assuredly had no place. There was not a man in Great Britain more insensible of fear than George III., or that looked with a more constant assurance to the triumph of his countrymen, if an invading force should, by some unforeseen chance, be enabled to land, and to the eventual and not distant downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte. His religious convictions, which were even stronger than his patriotic sentiments, ever kept uppermost in his mind that a system which had arisen out of atheism and immorality, and which had been established by violence and injustice, must soon fall and disappear. But his other anxieties were numerous and acute; and perhaps none of them affected him more than the unhappy separation of his eldest son and his niece and daughter-in-law the Princess of Wales, attended, as it was, with perennial scandals and perpetual public comment. Whatever may have been the causes of it, the king could not but see, nor could the country now avoid seeing, that Pitt had taken some mortal offence at the man who had once been considered as his place-keeper. One ground for ill-will was indeed obvious enough: in the preceding year Addington had taken by the hand Mr. George Tierney (who had not only quarrelled, but had even fought a duel, with Pitt*), had formed a close connexion with that rising man, had acted as though he intended to pit him as a financier against Pitt, and had brought him into the administration as treasurer of the navy and a privy councillor.†

On the 27th of February, twelve days after the first public notification of the king's illness, a bulletin appeared announcing that his majesty was much better, and seemed to be gradually advancing towards entire recovery. On the 29th, Addington announced that there was "no necessary suspension of the royal functions." The bulletins assumed day by day a more decided tone; and on the 14th of March the lord chancellor declared that "the king was in such a state as to warrant the lords commissioners in giving the royal assent to several bills." No formal communication was made to parliament of his majesty's recovery, as on the occasion of his first illness. Consequently there were no addresses of congratulation; and a form of prayer for the restoration of the king's health, and expressing only the *hope* and *prospect* of his recovery, continued in use many weeks after the king was declared, in parliament, competent to the exercise of his royal functions; nor was this prayer changed until after Addington had been driven from office. On the 9th and 10th of May,

* This duel, which arose out of some hot words in the House, had been fought as far back as 1798, when Pitt was premier. They met on Sunday the 27th of May, on Putney Heath. After two shots, Pitt fired in the air, and the affair ended without any bodily harm to either. But the mutual rancour was not mitigated by the encounter.

† "I need not tell you," writes Wilberforce to Lord Muncaster just at this moment, "that I have endeavoured to keep them in amity, but each has been surrounded with enemies to the other. Dear Muncaster, Pitt and Addington were intimate friends—I reflect with thankfulness to Heaven that I have friends who deserve that honourable appellation; who are bound to me by ties which no political differences can ever loosen. Indeed I fear that 'never can true reconcilement grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep.' It is really sad work."—*Wilberforce, Life, by his Sons.*

and again on the 11th of May, the day before Pitt's re-appointment as premier, his majesty showed himself to the inhabitants of the metropolis, driving through the principal streets of London and Westminster, accompanied by the queen and the princesses. If he could derive comfort and consolation from the loud and hearty congratulations of the people, materials for it were not wanting. The eyes of his daughters were seen streaming with happy tears. It was not, however, until several months after this that the king resumed his ordinary habits of life, nor was it until the 14th of November that it was deemed prudent to submit to him the death-warrants of prisoners who had been capitally condemned, and whose number had greatly accumulated in the long interval.* Under all the circumstances it was not difficult to raise the doubt whether the king was perfectly sane when he turned out Addington and took back Pitt.

It was now reported as certain, that Fox and the Grenvilles, after much hesitation, had coalesced. Pitt assured his confidential friends that he was resolved not to hamper himself with engagements, or go into a systematic opposition to Addington; and, in effect, with neither Fox nor Grenville, whose adherents were called, respectively, the *old* and *new* opposition, did Pitt ally himself. He left to others the task of attacking Tierney, who was considered by the old opposition as a sort of renegade; and, when Addington lost his temper, Pitt kept his. But in debate, Chatham's proud son could not help betraying his contempt for his late protégé; and, as the navy department, to which Tierney belonged, had been guilty of sundry absurdities, he could not do less than attack it.

The Honourable Charles Yorke, the secretary-at-war, brought forward, soon after the Christmas recess, a bill for consolidating and explaining all the existing laws respecting the volunteers. Very various opinions were expressed concerning the merits of the volunteer system, and the good sense of depending upon it for the defence of the country. Some thought that the system was good and sufficient, and some that it was defective and insufficient. Sir William Young, regardless of that rigid sabbatarianism which had been growing and increasing through the greater part of the present reign, wished to see the revival of the good old system, by which the flower of the English youth were to be seen on the Sunday exercising themselves in military evolutions and the use of arms. In the debate on the second reading of Yorke's bill (on the 27th of February), Sir Robert Lawley said, that for thirteen days the House, in common with the public, had been in possession of the melancholy information that his majesty was confined by a dangerous and doubtful illness; that no explicit communication had been made to parliament, and that, therefore, he felt it his duty to move an adjournment. Addington insisted that such a proceeding was unnecessary, indecent, unprecedented, and unwarrantable. Fox thought that the House ought to receive fuller communications, or adjourn. He could not see that any just delicacy could be an obstacle to a fair and liberal discussion. He knew nothing, and the constitution knew nothing, of any body of men calling themselves the confidential servants of the king. He knew of persons employed in the executive offices of government, but he did not know who these confidential servants were. He knew no distinction superior to that of the privy council. While the sovereign was in health, he consulted more with his ministers than with any other privy councillors, but when, from illness or from any other cause, he was unable to discharge the functions of royalty, then ministers, or persons calling themselves confidential servants of the crown, were no more than ordinary privy councillors. Did the chancellor of the exchequer know his majesty's present state of health, or the probability of his speedy recovery? The House had no information of this kind before it; but it seemed clear, from the reports that were published, that the speedy recovery of his majesty was not expected, and that it was not probable that he would be soon able to resume his functions. An invasion of the country appeared not improbable, and, in such an event, would not its situation be deplorable, if the executive power were suspended, and there should be nobody to exercise the regal functions? When the royal power ceased to act, there was an end of that constitutional control over the legislature, which was intended to watch over it, and which could dissolve a parliament at the shortest notice. Fox's arguments went the full length of proving the immediate necessity of appointing a regent. He said that, in the present extreme dangers of the country, and the suspension of the functions of royalty, it would be but a poor consolation to tell the people that ministers acted on their own responsibility, and that if they ruined the country they might be punished for their errors or their crimes. Addington replied that ministers had no wish to conceal from the House any information which they could with propriety bring forward; that he was aware ministers subjected themselves to great responsibility; but that he firmly believed the opinion and feelings of the great majority of the House to be against a particular communication, under *the present circumstances*. He stated, on the authority of the physicians who signed the bulletins, that, on comparing the symptoms of his majesty's present indisposition with those of his former ones, he had reason to *think* the present disorder would be but of *short duration*. In the event of an invasion, his majesty's sign-manual was not necessary for calling out the volunteers, &c. He could assure the House, however, that if any extraordinary necessity should occur for the exercise of the royal functions, no obstruction *now* existed. Pitt warmly disapproved of the motion

* On the 14th of November the king arrived at Buckingham House from Windsor, disposed of two vacant red ribands, and then signed the death-warrants of two horse-stealers and one forger; but the number of convicts respited during pleasure was unusually great.

for adjournment. He did not think that a *mere apprehension* that the *personal* exercise of the royal authority had been suspended would be sufficient to justify parliament in suspending their legislative functions. He felt the very arduous responsibility which ministers were under, as to the *precise time* in which they might *think proper* to make *a full communication* on the delicate subject. He hoped, however, that ministers would not push those sentiments of delicacy and reverence which they must feel for his majesty so far as to endanger that which was always the dearest consideration to him—the safety of the people whose welfare was committed to his charge. But, for his own part, he would not believe that ministers would ever push to a dangerous and criminal excess that responsibility under which they were now acting. He could see no reason why the ordinary business of parliament should be delayed. Windham, on the contrary, warmly supported the motion for adjournment. Ministers, he said, were calling for a greater degree of confidence than any ministers—including the wisest, honestest, and best—were ever entitled to! They were insisting that it was *their* province to judge when parliament *ought* to interfere. The chancellor of the exchequer had differed from his majesty's medical attendants, and had contradicted their bulletins. He would hope that the physicians might have been mistaken; but still their report was the only authority on which the House could rely. Ministers, who were now in such a hurry to drive on this bill about laws for the volunteers, had actually been suspending all public business for a fortnight, *on account of his majesty's health!* The chancellor of the exchequer had spoken of the 'indecency' of these discussions, of these demands for precise information as to the state of the king; but he trusted that, not only in constitutional, but in *personal* attachment and respect for his sovereign, he was not to be outdone by any of those who *now* called themselves his "confidential servants;" and it appeared to him *indecent* for ministers to insinuate that any measure intended for the benefit of the country and the security of the monarchy could be hurtful to the royal feelings. Addington repeated, that he could confidently assert, upon the authority of the physicians, "that there was *no necessary suspension* of such royal functions as it might be necessary for his majesty to discharge at the present moment." Mr. Canning said that the honourable baronet (Sir Robert Lawley) deserved the thanks of the House, and of the country, for provoking this discussion; —the effect of his motion had been to obtain such information as would not otherwise have been given;—but, as the chancellor of the exchequer had so clearly explained himself, it would be better to proceed with the business of the day. After a few words from Mr. Grey, and another declaration from the premier that the king was able to perform any function which might be necessary to be done, Sir Robert withdrew his motion for adjournment.

The Volunteer Laws bill was then read a second time, though not without considerable opposition, which was principally based on the notion that the volunteer force was not, and could not be made, effective. In the course of this debate, Pitt let fly a few shafts at the Admiralty Board. Yorke's bill occupied a very considerable part of the session, but it was eventually passed by both Houses, and received the royal assent.

On the 15th of March, Pitt further displayed his hostility by moving for an inquiry into the state of the navy. Though one of our most distinguished naval officers, Admiral Earl St. Vincent, was first lord of the Admiralty, that board, through mistaken notions of economy and other wrong calculations, had materially injured the efficiency of our fleets, and were thought altogether to have managed the navy in a manner very inferior to that in which it had often been managed when a mere civilian had presided over the board, and especially inferior to the style and spirit in which the business had been conducted in the latter years of the late Pitt administration, when Earl Spencer was first lord.* That able and honest veteran,

* Many disputes have been maintained on the question whether the first lord of the Admiralty should or should not of necessity be a sailor. Sir John Barrow has discussed the matter candidly, and with an official and perfect acquaintance with the whole subject in debate. He says:—"It has been a subject of discussion among naval men whether, as the army has always had a military officer for its commander-in-chief, the first lord of the Admiralty ought not also to be a professional—that is, a naval man. The cases are not parallel:—the king reserves to himself the command of the military forces—he delegates his power over the navy to a lord high admiral, or lords commissioners. It is, however, one of those questions on which 'much may be said on both sides.' Naval officers in general would naturally enough ask, who is the description of person most likely and best qualified to do justice to those who have had the labouring oar in fighting the battles of the country, in the issue of which is involved all that we hold dear? And the answer would as naturally be, 'a naval first lord;' and yet they will find that, on taking a retrospect, many bitter complaints have been made from their own corps against a purely naval administration, on the score of partiality. How indeed can it be expected that a professional man should be able to divest himself of prejudice in favour of *those individuals* with whom he has associated, sometimes almost exclusively, for years, in a confined and uninterrupted intercourse? How can it be expected he should cast aside the best feelings of human nature, and disregard those early and ancient friendships, from the moment he takes his seat at the head of the Admiralty Board?—that he should turn aside from those companions of his early days, who gained laurels by his side, who shared with him the dangers 'of the battle and the breeze,' and participated in his pleasures? Such are the officers, whether most fit or not, who will expect to share, and who will share, largely in a naval lord's patronage. Besides, the education of a seaman is not exactly such as is suited to fill an important place in the ministerial cabinet. The time that is taken up in acquiring that degree of professional skill, and eminence of character, which could alone justify the appointment to such a situation, almost precludes the acquisition of that general knowledge, and of those broad and comprehensive views, inseparable from the character of a great statesman. Take the list of admirals, as it now stands, and let any one ask himself, how many flag-officers there are upon it whom, he conceives, the minister would deem qualified to fill the office of first lord of the Admiralty? Then, if distinguished success against the enemy be allowed to furnish a criterion of good management, as it regards good ships and good officers, it will be found that the proudest triumphs, the most brilliant victories, have been achieved by fleets and squadrons prepared and distributed under the direction and management of landsmen as first lords. Thus the battle of Rodney with Don Juan de Langara, and his splendid victory of the 12th of April, 1782, the defeat of the French fleet on the 1st of June, 1794, the victories of Cape St. Vincent and of Camperdown in 1797; of the Nile in 1798; the battle of Copenhagen in 1801; and the total defeat of the combined fleets of France and Spain before Trafalgar, were all obtained by fleets prepared and commanded by officers appointed by first lords who were landsmen. Though Lord St. Vincent actually sat at the board when the battle of Copenhagen was fought, the preparations were made under Lord Spencer's superintendence. It was also a naval lord who presided on the 12th of April, 1782, yet the arrangements and disposition were actually made by his able predecessor Lord Sandwich. It was on this occasion that Lord North, addressing himself to the new ministry in the House of Commons, observed, 'It is true you have triumphed, but you fought with Philip's troops.' It must be admitted however

Admiral Sir Charles Middleton, who was nothing of a party man, and other officers of professional celebrity, were of opinion that the exertions of the Navy Board had not been adequate; that our ships were wearing away with unprecedented rapidity from various circumstances, and that no sufficient efforts had been made to bring forward new ships to supply the places of the old ones. Pitt in his speech stated that only twenty-three gun-boats had been built since the month of January, 1803; that the navy altogether was in a condition much inferior to that in which he left it on his going out of office in 1801; and that, although the present ministry must have foreseen the inevitable renewal of war, and were bound to make every possible exertion in augmenting and repairing our national ships, they had been languid and indolent. He accused Lord Castlereagh, who on a previous night had spoken on the subject, of dealing in vague generalities, little suited to so vital a subject; and he ridiculed the easy confidence of a city baronet (Sir William Curtis, whose heavy meals were known to produce heavy slumbers) for saying that he could go home at night and lay down his head on his pillow and go to sleep without being disturbed by any apprehensions. "There is," said he, "a dangerous and alarming confidence—a confidence which benumbs the senses, and lulls us to sleep while the enemy is at our gate;—a confidence which cannot fail to excite the most lively emotions in the minds of men of serious reflection, when contrasting the terrible activity of the enemy with the alarming supineness of our government." Tierney, on a previous occasion, had risen, when Pitt's back was turned and he had quitted the house, to declare rather petulantly that he (Pitt) had made out no case on which to found the present application for an inquiry. "This," said Pitt, "was not treating me with that candour I had a right to expect from that right honourable gentleman. A case opened, and a case proved, are two very different things; the opening must precede the proving, but I should be very much surprised if the case, even as it now stands, should, by any gentleman in this House, be considered as feeble or insufficient." Wilberforce, too, appears to have lost some temper at what he himself calls "Tierney's *low* attack," to which he replied in a warm speech. Tierney, in the present debate, had sneered at the ex-premier in various ways: once, he said, that gentleman had thought most highly of Earl St. Vincent, having himself recommended him as the only person fit for the situation of first lord of the Admiralty, and yet his present motion went to declare Earl St. Vincent utterly incapable of performing the duties of that office. Pitt, since his retirement, had been very busy at Walmer Castle among the militia and volunteers of the Kentish coasts and the Cinque Ports, and upon this Tierney had raised another sneer, saying that no doubt the country was much indebted to the right honourable gentleman for his exertions as a *volunteer*, but he could not help thinking that the land-service was quite enough for him, and that he might very well leave the sea-service to abler hands. For this, and for other expressions of a contemptuous kind, Wilberforce took Tierney to task, and then voted with his friend Pitt for the inquiry. Fox and his party voted on the same side; but Sheridan, who was now considered by them as little better than another renegade, said that this was the first time he had ever opposed an inquiry, but that he would oppose this from his firm conviction that there existed no necessity for it. As the Prince of Wales disliked Addington somewhat less than he disliked Pitt, and as Sheridan was known to receive all his political impulses from Carlton House, it has been assumed that he had fallen away from his party, and lent his eloquence to this discredited and falling administration, merely to gratify the prince; but it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that there was at the same time some self-seeking in this extravagant, needy, and now almost desperate man. Pitt, in his reply, excited much mirth by comparing Sheridan to a wandering light; a meteor, that was sometimes seen on one side of the House, and sometimes on the other; which just now concentrated its rays against him; but in whose blazing face he could look without any awe or terror. The naval men sitting in the House offered very opposite opinions as to the merits or demerits of Earl St. Vincent's management. Some other members attacked Pitt rather rudely for this his first act of direct opposition to the government: it was proved pretty satisfactorily that, counting sloops and other smaller vessels, block-ships, the flotillas of gun-boats, &c., 1536 vessels had been equipped by the present Admiralty, and were now fit for service, while other ships were building in the king's yards; and, upon a division, Pitt's motion was negatived by 201 against 130. But, though lost, the motion did great good; the Admiralty immediately beginning to exert themselves with double activity. "And yet," says Wilberforce, "this step exposed Mr. Pitt to unusual reproach: everybody blames him as factious for his motion about the navy. He is conceived to have had little ground for it, and rather to have lost himself, as they phrase it. . . . . How sad are the effects of party spirit and party principle in this country! Even where they do not prevail, the idea of their prevalence is so general that all is ascribed to that tainted source."* But a little, a very little later, this partial and very warm friend appears to have thought himself bound to attribute even some of Pitt's actions to that tainted source.

that, without the assistance of two or three able, honest, and judicious naval coadjutors, no landsman, whatever his talents might be, could attempt to carry on the numerous duties of this important office. On the other hand, a naval first lord may not always be disposed to seek for such assistance."—*Life of Earl Howe.*

* He adds—and the words may be repeated for all times—"It is not, in fact, talents in which we are chiefly wanting; but resolute integrity, which would correct abuses, and *select proper men for important stations*. Alas! my friend, I have lived long enough to see that real integrity is a rare quality, and at the same time the most valuable of all!"—*Letters to Lord Muncaster, in Life of Wilberforce by his Sons.*

On March the 26th, a message was delivered in the king's name, acquainting parliament with a voluntary offer made by the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of several regiments of the militia of Ireland, to serve in Great Britain during the war; and recommending the adoption by parliament of such regulations as might enable his majesty to accept this offer. The proposal was warmly discussed, and encountered in both Houses considerable opposition; but in the end a bill was carried for accepting the services of 10,000 of the Irish militia; and this was followed by another bill consequent upon it, for augmenting the number of the militia of Ireland. On the 29th of March the Houses adjourned for the Easter holidays.

This recess suspended for a short time the rising strife of parties; but when parliament met again, on the 5th of April, things at once assumed a most hostile aspect. Wilberforce found Pitt disposed to go more decidedly into opposition than he was a few weeks ago. As he saw the matter, Pitt was "surrounded by men of party spirit without his integrity, and of strong passions."—"How changed," adds he, "from a few weeks ago! Pitt is ready now to vote out Addington, though he has not bound himself to Fox." Though so warm a friend of Chatham's great son, Wilberforce had a great regard for Addington, whose tone and manner bore some resemblance to his own; yet he could not help regretting that Addington's temperance and conciliation should not be connected with more vigour. The devout man was greatly embarrassed about the path of duty in these political battles, and prayed for guidance and direction. He then thought that it would be possible, and very profitable to the king and country, to induce Pitt to take office under, or at least with, Addington.

On the 23rd of April, Fox, in pursuance of a notice he had previously given, moved "That it be referred to a committee of the whole House to revise the several bills for the defence of the country, and to consider of such further measures as may be necessary to make that defence more complete and permanent." The eloquent mover, who was, however, not thought to be on this occasion so eloquent as usual, but on the contrary to be rather feeble, began by observing that the extraordinary zeal with which all ranks were animated in support of the war was no proof that the people approved either the principles upon which the war had been undertaken, or the manner in which it was conducted. He himself was as zealous as any man for the defence of the country, yet he certainly never did approve either of the mode of commencing the war, or of the mode of carrying it on. Ever since the declaration of hostilities there had been an incessant cry of immediate invasion, and therefore it was no wonder that the people should be ardent and active. But, if it should be attempted to infer from this that the people approved the conduct of ministers, then the inference would be, that whatever administration brought the country into the greatest danger would be the most popular, and excite the greatest zeal. Addington resisted the motion. He said, and truly, that ministers had been sanctioned in declaring war by the almost unanimous vote of that House; that ministers had never pledged themselves for the duration of the peace of Amiens; and that it was because they thought the ambition of France might make it necessary to renew the war that they had kept up so large a peace establishment. He insisted that there was no precedent for the House of Commons resolving itself into a military committee; and that such a novel step would be extremely dangerous. Government, he said, had raised for the defence of the country the greatest force that ever was collected in so short a time; and he felt confident, that, in opposing the motion, he should be supported by a large majority of the House. Pitt rose to answer the tottering premier, and he spoke very strongly or violently. He could not, he said, agree with the right honourable gentleman who had just spoken, as to the character of the motion now before the House. In his view it was a motion which was neither calculated to embrace opinions hostile to government, or to any particular minister, nor to embrace opinions which might have been entertained on small or minute points, and thereby produce a general concurrence against ministers; but it was a motion calculated to unite all those who considered that the measures adopted for the defence of the country were not equal to the crisis. As for precedents and records of parliament, the chancellor of the exchequer ought to remember that, when circumstances are extraordinary and unprecedented, the measures to provide for them must also be extraordinary. He denied that enough had been done for the military condition of the country, which ought to look to something more than a mere defence of its own coasts. It was true we had 184,000 regulars and militia, and 400,000 volunteers; but, when the spirit of the people was so high, and the resources of the country so immense, it formed an additional ground of censure against ministers, that our system of defence was not better than it was. He descended to minute criticisms on the management of the land forces, proving thereby that in his leisure hours at Walmer Castle he had not been an idle or unsuccessful student of military matters. The secretary-at-war (Yorke) and the attorney-general (Spencer Perceval) took up the defence of Addington. Perceval, who spoke with much warmth of feeling, said that it was quite evident that, if the motion should be carried upon the principles advanced by Pitt, ministers must immediately resign, although no direct charge had been made against them. Members, he said, had been brought to the House this night from the most distant parts of the country with singular industry and management. There was a most extraordinary coalition against ministers. A right honourable gentleman (Fox) had approved of the peace of Amiens as the best that the country had a

right to expect: another right honourable gentleman (Windham) had perpetually abused that peace: how these two gentlemen could ever vote together, or reconcile their opposite opinions at a council-board, was beyond his comprehension. Would it not be rash and imprudent to dismiss the present ministers without considering who were likely to be their successors? One (Fox) would probably propose immediately a peace with France; but could this be agreed to by his right honourable ally? (Windham). Was it possible that he (Fox) who had so often and so solemnly arraigned Mr. Pitt's government as unconstitutional and tyrannical, should now cordially acquiesce with that gentleman in forming a new administration? How could they ever meet at the same council-table without practising a degree of dissimulation which would be degrading to both of them? He conjured Windham, by the memory of his departed friend the great Burke—by the memory of his *departed self*—to pause a moment ere he signed and sealed his inconsistency by joining the apologists of the French revolutionists, the advocates of French principles. Let the present ministry be what it might, he was quite sure that the adoption of Fox's motion would introduce a worse! Windham, who assuredly had no thought of joining any coalition of which Fox was a member, was very facetious.* He gave the last speaker credit for singing the funeral dirge of the administration, in melodious strains,—

> "He sang Darius great and good,
> By too severe a fate
> Fall'n, fall'n, fall'n, fall'n,
> Fall'n from his high estate."

Fox, whose coalition with Lord North had been so fatal to him, rated Perceval for using personalities and ribaldry in lieu of arguments; said that there were circumstances in which coalitions might be made honourably, but denied that there was any sort of coalition between him and Pitt. Nothing had passed between them which might not be published at Charing Cross. Both he and Pitt thought that the present ministers were incompetent, and, therefore, they agreed in wishing them turned out; but, as to the question of who should be their successors, they left it to be decided by the prerogative of the crown. Upon a division his motion was rejected; but Addington's majority had now dwindled down to a bare *fifty-two*, the numbers being 256 against 204. It was noticed during this debate that the attorney-general extended none of the bitterness with which he had spoken of Fox and even of Windham to Pitt, and that, with reference to the ex-premier, the tone of Tierney was completely changed. "One feature of the debate," says an attentive auditor, "I must not forget; the fulsome adulation paid by Tierney and the attorney-general to Pitt; the latter of whom said, that no event would be more agreeable to the country than his return to power—a very strange expression to use in such circumstances. After such a division nobody conceives that the Doctor can any longer remain at the head."*

Immediately after this debate Wilberforce, who still deceived himself with the hope of seeing Pitt reconciled and acting with Addington, waited upon the first of these two gentlemen, and endeavoured to bring this junction about. Pitt had previously assured him that he "would take no decisive steps until after having written to the king, and waited till he was well again;" and he now left him with the hope that there was still room for mediation between him and Addington. Wilberforce visited Addington also, and had "a long talk" with him. During this talk, Lord Chancellor Eldon came in, and said he had lately told Pitt "how much he wished to see him and Addington united—that he could not conceive that any man, in such times as these, had a right to think of anything but the country, and my poor old master there" (pointing to Buckingham House, where the king then was). Wilberforce was satisfied that it was the wish of everybody in London, "except the immediate connexions of the present ministry, that Pitt should be in office; but that all, *except Fox's party*, deprecated the idea of union with him." And he also believed "that, if the king would press Pitt to come into power with Addington, in an office not touching him close, he would accede to it from his veneration and affection for the king." "Otherwise," he adds, "the consequence will either be that the king's head will give way, and the Prince of Wales be established regent, or a coalition ministry will be formed between the Grenvillites and the Foxites, which would injure Pitt in the public estimation." With these views Wilberforce wrote to desire a private conference with Lord Eldon, to whom he had said two or three days before that he (Eldon) could *do more* good than any other man in England. The chancellor, who appears to have been as desirous as Wilberforce of Pitt's immediate return to office, readily granted the request, and in a long interview impressed Wilberforce with the idea that he was acting in an open, cordial, and generous manner. He in the main concurred with Wilberforce in wishes and opinions as to what was best both for the country and for Pitt himself. Both grieved to see the long and most intimate friendship of Pitt and Addington succeeded by that sad degree of hostility which had taken possession of both their bosoms, and chiefly of his, who, having the stronger character of the two, was likely to make his animosity partake of that strength;—both were alarmed "at the fatal consequences which might follow from the king's being, in his present state, compelled to receive into his cabinet an administration consisting entirely of men who had forced themselves against his will into his service, and containing

* "Windham," says Horner, "repelled the personality chiefly by the contrast of his own manner; with great fire, but perfect temper, a very polite contempt, and exquisite wit; he spoke not more than ten minutes, but he refreshed one's mind from all the bad feelings that Perceval had given us. Fox treated him after a different regimen; condemning, with much vehemence and indignation, the faction and ribaldry which he had introduced into the debate; and defending his own political conduct and connexions with all the manliness and simplicity of his best manner."—*Memoirs and Correspondence.*

* Horner.

some persons who were naturally the objects of his extreme aversion;"—both apprehended that Pitt's character would suffer greatly from any coalition, and that the scheme would thus produce irreparable mischief.* Both were anxious to save the feelings of the king, and to gratify him by retaining Addington in the ministry. In the mean time Addington's majority in the Commons had grown still thinner, for, on a division upon the Army of Reserve Suspension Bill, Pitt having moved an amendment against ministers, the numbers were 240 against 203. This was on the 25th of April; and, on the same day, Pitt wrote to the king, telling him of the open and decisive part he felt it his duty to take; but assuring him, at the same time, that he would never force Mr. Fox upon him. On the 30th of April Pitt received an intimation that he would be sent for by his majesty, or negotiated with through the chancellor. Fox was left in the dark as to these proceedings. On that same day, the order of the day having been read in the House of Lords for a motion of which notice had been given by the Marquess of Stafford, and which was the counterpart of the motion which Fox had made and which Pitt had supported in the Commons—that the House should resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the state of the defence of the country—Lord Hawkesbury rose in considerable agitation and intreated the marquess to postpone his motion. He was ready, he said, to pledge his personal character, both as a minister and as a lord of parliament, that the reasons which induced him to make this application were of such a nature as, if known to the noble marquess, would gain his ready acquiescence; but they were of that delicate nature that he could not consistently with his duty now mention them. Everybody understood that his lordship alluded to negotiations that were pending for a new or re-constructed cabinet; but Fox and his friends were not yet aware of the progress which Pitt had made. The Marquess of Stafford, the warm partisan of Pitt, readily consented to postpone his motion; but Lord Grenville thought that a more distinct communication should be made of the important and delicate reasons which Lord Hawkesbury had hinted at. If they regarded the administration of the country, he thought the House of Lords ought to have been made acquainted with them;—he would acquiesce in the delay proposed, but, under the present circumstances, he thought the House should adjourn to the day to be appointed for the Marquess of Stafford's motion being brought on. The Earl of Carlisle said that the resignation of the present ministers would be an event which must give the fullest satisfaction to the House—that no other reason ought to induce the House to postpone the Marquess of Stafford's motion. Pitt's stanch colleague Dundas, who was now sitting in the Upper House as Lord Viscount Melville, urged that no subject connected with the defence of the country should be brought before the House before the marquess's motion; and Lord Grenville joined him in urging that the marquess's motion ought to have the priority over any other question connected with the defence of the country. Lord Hawkesbury declared that he would enter into no such engagement; but, if the House wished to bring on the discussion now, he was quite ready to meet it; although he must say that this was the first time that ever a request, such as he had made, and accompanied by the solemn declaration he had given, was treated in such a manner in either House of Parliament. It appeared to be a *faction* that pressed forward a motion which it was not necessary to hurry in that manner. Lord Mulgrave and Earl Spencer severely condemned the application of the term faction "to such a number of most respectable noblemen." The Marquess of Abercorn, the only nobleman who supported the noble secretary for foreign affairs, said that the Marquess of Stafford had agreed to postpone his motion; and that the marquess had certainly a right to do so, without asking the leave of the noble baron (Grenville), who had objected to it with that degree of inflexibility to which he was so prone. In the end it was agreed that the motion should be postponed. While this was passing in the Lords, Addington was opening his budget for the year in the Commons; and dwelling upon the advantages of the system of finance which he said he had introduced, of raising within the year a great part of the war expenses. When he had done, Fox, who is said to have shown that he knew nothing of what was passing at court, asked whether ministers wished him to postpone a motion of which he had given notice. Addington replied that he certainly wished it; and he added that, in the meantime, ministers would not bring forward any measures likely to provoke considerable difference of opinion. On the 2nd of May, Pitt, through Lord Chancellor Eldon, submitted to the king, by letter, a plan of administration, embracing the chiefs of the great parties; and in this plan the name of his great rival Fox appears to have been mentioned with that of Lord Grenville. On the morrow, the 3rd of May, the Marquess of Stafford asked Lord Hawkesbury in the House whether the same weighty and delicate reasons still existed for postponing his motion of inquiry. He was answered in the affirmative; upon which Lord Grenville said, that their lordships would agree only to a postponement of a few days longer, unless some information were given to the House. On the 7th Pitt saw the king for the first time; and his friend George Rose then gave out that his majesty had authorized Pitt to give in a plan of administration. Wilberforce thought that herein Rose was guilty of an indiscretion—"for, though no contract, direct or indirect, exists between Pitt and Fox, yet Fox's friends will abuse Pitt grossly if Fox does not come in and he does." Two days

* "For my own part," adds Wilberforce, "I confess *Fox* is not so obnoxious to me as some of Pitt's own connexions; but I fear the country in general would misconstrue their being united in an administration formed, as this would be, from the effects of their joint opposition."

later Wilberforce called on Pitt, and heard from him the state of the negotiation, and the manner in which he had been received at court. According to this account, the interview had lasted for more than three hours, during which the king "treated him (Pitt) with great cordiality, and even affection, and talked with as much *rationality* and *propriety* as at any former period of his life." At the king's desire, Pitt drew up a more regular scheme of the sort of administration which he conceived it would be best to form in the present conjuncture: namely, an administration composed of the leaders of all the several great political parties. Pitt grounded this opinion of a mixed administration on the probability of a long war, and the advantages of a *strong* government, at home, abroad, and in Ireland; and a day or two afterwards he saw his majesty again, and (according to Wilberforce) explained and enforced the same ideas as far as he properly, or decorously, could enforce them. "The king," adds the same informant, whose information proceeded direct from the lips of Pitt, and the truth of which is to be judged of by the estimate formed of Pitt's general character, "objected a good deal at first to the Grenvilles, but at length gave way very handsomely, but indicated such a decided determination against Fox, that it would have been wrong in Pitt to press it further." Wilberforce here repeats that Pitt "had most clearly explained from the first, that Fox and Co. were not to consider him bound in any degree, directly or indirectly, to press their admission into office, and that they were therefore not to shape their conduct on any such supposition." Twenty long years before this date, one of Pitt's warmest friends* had conjured him never—never upon any account—to suffer anything to lead him into a coalition with his great rival in politics; and a determination to this effect seems certainly to have been as deep-rooted and unalterable in Pitt's mind, as was, in the king's mind, the old aversion and antipathy to Fox.† But on the other hand, Pitt's relatives, the Grenvilles, stood pledged to Fox and his friends; and it was Lord Grenville who had all along been insisting on the very questionable advantages to be derived from an heterogeneous cabinet, composed of parties the most opposite, of habits and tempers the most incompatible, of views so divergent, that scarcely two members of such a cabinet, if it could have been formed (and formed it never could have been without a universal sacrifice of character — without effects such as had followed Fox's former experiment with Lord North), would have agreed on any one important point. Such a government must have been weak, and not strong. When Pitt communicated to Lord Grenville what had passed with the king, and invited his lordship and friends to form a principal part of the administration to be established, he received for answer that they would not join him if Fox were excluded. "No consideration of personal ease or comfort," said Lord Grenville to Pitt, "no apprehension of responsibility, no reluctance to meet the real situation into which the country has been brought, have any weight in this decision; nor are we fettered by any engagement on the subject, either expressed or implied; we rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to a system of government, which is to be formed, at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion."* This reply left no doubt in the mind of Pitt that his new ministry must encounter the united opposition of the Grenville and Foxite parties, and that this cabinet could only be constructed by bringing in his own personal friends, and retaining some members of the Addington administration, several of whom might indeed be considered as his personal friends.

On the 11th of May the Marquess of Stafford said, in the Lords, that, as he had been informed that a new administration had been appointed, which, though not formed on the broad and extensive basis he could have wished, yet included a right honourable gentleman (Pitt) who had turned his great mind to the consideration of the best means of national defence, he should withdraw his motion for inquiry, &c. On the 12th of May it was publicly announced that Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Pitt had been appointed to succeed him. Of the Addington ministry Pitt retained the Duke of Portland, president of the council; Lord Eldon, chancellor; the Earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal; the Earl of Chatham (his own brother), master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Castlereagh, now president of the board of control. He brought

* Lord Muncaster.

† Lord Brougham, who seems to consider that a coalition between Pitt and Fox would have been advantageous both to themselves and to the country, tells the following anecdote "as a singular instance of the great effects of trivial circumstances:"—"During the co-operation of all parties against Mr. Addington's government, in the spring of 1804, Mr. Pitt and Mr. E. Long were one night passing the door of Brooke's club-house, on their way from the House of Commons, when Mr. Pitt, who had not been there since the coalition of 1784, said he had a great mind to go in and sup. His wary friend said, 'I think you had better not,' and turned aside the well-conceived intention. When we reflect on the high favour Mr. Pitt was then in with the Whigs, and consider the nature of Mr. Fox, as well as his own, we can have little doubt of the cordial friendship which such a night would have cemented, and that the union of the two parties would have been complete."—*Statesmen of the Time of George III.*

This anecdote may be amusing, but we doubt entirely what Lord Brougham has so little doubt of;—we doubt whether William Pitt and Charles Fox might not have supped and drunk wine in the Whig club-house, not merely once, but fifty times, without any such cordial friendship, or such a completion of the union of parties. There were high and generous feelings in both these statesmen; but still there was, all through life, an incompatibility in their natures, which would have kept them asunder, even if there had been no such decided rivalry and no such weighty political reasons for enforcing in Pitt an aversion to a union. All that we know of Pitt's life, character, and manners, in which there was so little that was spontaneous, enthusiastic, or of sudden impulse, is opposed to Lord Brougham's notion.

* "It is unnecessary," said his lordship, "to dwell on the mischiefs which have already resulted from placing the great offices of government in weak and incapable hands. We see no hope of any effectual remedy for these mischiefs, but by uniting in the public service '*as large a proportion as possible of the weight, talents, and character to be found in public men of all descriptions, and without any exception.*' This opinion I have already had occasion to express to you in the same words, and we have, for some time past, been publicly acting in conformity to it; nor can we, while we remain impressed with that persuasion, concur in defeating an object for which the circumstances of the times afford at once so strong an inducement and so favourable an occasion.'

in with him Lords Melville, Harrowby, and Camden; Melville taking the post of first lord of the admiralty, in lieu of Earl St. Vincent; Harrowby that of secretary for foreign affairs, in lieu of Lord Hawkesbury; and Camden that of secretary for the colonies, in lieu of Lord Hobart. He made Lord Mulgrave chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet, instead of Lord Pelham. But Mr. Canning, the ablest and most eloquent of all his adherents, was left to the inferior situation of treasurer of the navy, which had been occupied by Tierney, and which did not give a seat in the cabinet.* The government of Ireland was left unchanged under the lord lieutenantcy of Lord Hardwick, excepting only that Mr. Wickham, chief secretary, retired on account of ill-health, and was succeeded by Sir Evan Nepean. No changes were made in the law departments of either country. On the whole, a majority of the late cabinet ministers were retained, and formed a majority also of the present administration. Very few changes were made in the household offices, the most important being the appointment of the Marquess of Hertford to be master of the horse.

Very different opinions were entertained at the time, and have been expressed since, not only by party men, but also by quiet speculative men who never belonged to any party, as to Pitt's conduct on this occasion, as to the qualities of the administration thus formed, and as to his ability or inability, under all the circumstances of the time—in which the king's malady, and the dread of bringing on a relapse, must not be overlooked—to form a better one. Some have held, and still hold, that, if he had really exerted himself to his utmost in enforcing on the king the idea of composing an administration of the heads of all the several great parties, he might have succeeded; and that in case of failure he ought not to have accepted office himself. Others maintain that the king would have jeoparded the country by keeping Addington at the head of affairs, or by having recourse to some extreme measure rather than agree to the admission of Fox; and that Pitt, knowing that, the Grenvilles being excluded as well as Fox, he was the only man that could make or keep together a government of any strength, was bound as a patriot to take the lead, to sacrifice many minor considerations, and to do the best he could by conciliating the sundry objections or prejudices of the sovereign; and they ask, if Pitt had refused, because the king would on no account admit Fox, what sort of cabinet could there have been formed at this moment, when, right or wrong, the vast majority of the country were most decidedly of opinion that William Pitt was the only man equal to the emergency—the only pilot that could weather the storm? This last was the political faith of the great body of the English people, and there is no building up a government against a national faith in a country like England. A little later, when circumstances were materially altered, and when the compulsion was greater, George III. admitted Fox to his councils, and to the head of his government; but for our own part, when we reflect upon all that had happened since the early part of his reign, when Fox's political principles were as different from those he now professed as black is from white, and attentively review the whole of Fox's conduct, we cannot agree to call the strong feeling of the king, which operated to his so long exclusion, "the capricious, the despicable antipathy of that narrow-minded and vindictive prince against the most illustrious of his subjects." *

At the time when Pitt returned to office any the shortest interruption to the activity of the executive might have proved very fatal to the country; and at the same time any prolonged exciting discussion might have reduced the king to a worse state than that he had so recently been in. Patriotism, therefore, as well as common humanity, might well prevent Pitt from urging any stipulations in favour of the Catholics, or from bargaining with the king for that Catholic emancipation, the refusal of which he had assigned as the cause of his resignation in 1801. When we shall find "all the talents" in office, we shall *not* find the affairs of government to be managed much better. As to the weight, talents, and character of public men of all descriptions, of which Lord Grenville spoke in his letter of refusal to Pitt, he could hardly, constituted as parties were, employ or obtain the services of any of these men, who belonged to the Grenville and Fox sections, when their leaders were excluded; and, after all, the opinion which Canning had expressed in the preceding session of parliament (no new opinion, but a most ancient thing in practice as well as in theory, and almost admitted as a principle of human nature), that in times of extreme difficulty the powers of government are best entrusted to one great commanding spirit, carried much weight at the time, and is entitled to some respect now. "Look at France," Canning had exclaimed, "and see what we have to cope with! Consider what has made her what she is. A *man!* You will tell me that she was great, and powerful, and formidable before the date of Bonaparte's government; that he found in her great physical and moral resources; that he had but to turn them to account. True, and he did so. Compare the situation in which he found France with that to which he has raised her. I am no panegyrist of Bonaparte; but I cannot shut my eyes to the superiority of his talents, to the amazing ascendant of his genius. Tell me not of his measures and his policy. It is his genius, his character, that keeps the world in awe. To meet, to check, to curb, to stand up against him, we want arms of the same kind. I am far from objecting to the large military establishments which are proposed; I vote for them with all my heart: but, for the purpose of coping with Bonaparte, one great com-

* George Rose and Lord Charles Somerset became joint-paymasters of the forces, instead of Steele and Hiley Addington; W. Dundas (Melville's brother), secretary-at-war; Duke of Montrose, postmaster-general, *vice* Lord Auckland: W. Huskisson and W. Sturges Bourne, secretaries to the treasury, *vice* Vansittart and Sargent.

* Lord Brougham Statesmen

manding spirit is worth them all!" It was easy to say that this new administration was composed of *William* and *Pitt*;* but it is difficult to see how the case could have been otherwise even if Pitt had not been possessed of that native pride and unbendingness which we have frequently noticed in his character, and which seems to have made it impossible for him to act with any colleagues who would not be his subordinates. Even by those who, for personal and public reasons, regretted that a more comprehensive administration had not been formed, a preference was warmly expressed for Pitt's present cabinet over that of Addington.† A year before the change Romilly had said, "An administration whose talents were generally thought so meanly of, or, I may say, who were so universally despised (as this of Addington), was never before at the head of a great country!"‡ Wilberforce, though not quite pleased, as his mediation between Pitt and Addington had failed, was not sure that the present arrangement was not the very best it was possible to make, for he thought that the Grenvilles were wrong-headed, and too violent, and that they were very wrong indeed in uniting themselves with people to whose political opinions their own were decidedly opposite in almost all important particulars.

On the 18th of May, Pitt took his old seat as chancellor of the exchequer, having been re-elected since his acceptance of office by the university of Cambridge. On the 30th of the same month, Wilberforce, who had been labouring in his vocation session after session, and without making any material progress for a good many years past—that is, in parliament, for in the country he had obtained many converts—moved for the appointment of a committee to consider the propriety of introducing a bill for the abolition of the Slave Trade after a time to be limited. Addington considered that it would be utterly impracticable to carry into execution any bill founded upon such views as Wilberforce had adopted, and therefore opposed the motion. But both Pitt and Fox voted for Wilberforce; Pitt declaring that if the question were for immediate abolition it should have his support, and Fox expressing his surprise that, so many years after resolutions had been passed by the House that the inhuman traffic should be abolished, they should be still arguing whether it were practicable to abolish it or not. All the Irish members present voted on the same side. The anti-abolitionists made no stand in speaking; and upon a division Wilberforce's motion was carried by 75 against 49. A bill framed for the abolition was brought into the House, and was read a second time on the 7th of June, after a long discussion. On this occasion, Pitt denied that an immediate emancipation of the negroes was the necessary consequence of abolishing the slave trade. Wilberforce's majority was now much increased, the number voting for the second reading being 100 against 42. From this hour he began to believe that the assiduous labour of long years was about to be rewarded—that the great object of his life was about to be accomplished. Through the pressure of other business, and the lateness of the season, the bill, after the motion for its being committed had been carried by 79 against 20, was however postponed to the next session.*

On the 5th of June, the day after the king's birth-day, which had been observed even with rather more than the usual loyalty and rejoicing, Pitt brought forward his plan for the military defence of the country. He expressed the pleasure he felt in finding that the House was almost unanimously agreed as to the present and paramount necessity of considering the means of providing not only for our internal security, but also for the increasing our regular army, whereby to gain such a disposable force as would enable us to interfere with effect, *in case any favourable opportunity should occur on the continent of Europe.* The essential part of his plan was to increase the permanent strength of the regular army. To this end he proposed limiting the number of the militia to its usual amount of 40,000 for England and 8000 for Scotland; and removing the difficulties which now stood in the way of recruiting for the regular army, by destroying the competition which existed between those who recruited for limited service and those who recruited for general service. He did not dispute the policy of the army of reserve, as a temporary measure, but he wished to preserve the advantages of it as a permanent means of recruiting the army; and, besides, the disadvantages of the Army of Reserve Act at present were, that its penalties induced such high bounties to be given for substitutes, as interfered materially with the increase of the regular army. It was his wish therefore to make the ballot for the army of reserve less burdensome on individuals, and to encourage or oblige the parishes to find the number of men assigned as their proportions. If the parishes failed, he wished to impose on them a fixed but moderate fine, which should go into the general recruiting fund. He would propose that the army of reserve should be raised for five years, and not to be called out for foreign service, but yet to serve both as an auxiliary force to the regular army and as a stock from which that army might be recruited:—he wished it to be joined to the regular army in the way of second battalions; and he considered that from so close a connexion a considerable number of the reserve might be induced to volunteer for the regular army. He con-

* Letter from Sir James Mackintosh, who was by this time enjoying in India the situation of Recorder of Bombay, which had been given to him by the Addington administration through the recommendations of Spencer Perceval, Canning, and W. Adam.

† Id.

‡ Letter to M. Dumont, in Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, by his Sons

* In one of the debates, Fox "gave Pitt a hard knock about his not being in earnest about abolition;" and Wilberforce confesses that he himself "never was so dissatisfied with Pitt as at this time." He tells us, however, that, when the case was again argued before the House, Pitt grew more warm in the cause, moved a resolution against hearing over again counsel and evidence for the planters, &c., and carried it without a division. But Addington, he says, continued "most vexatious."

cluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the creation of an additional force, &c. Addington strongly objected to the plan, as being of too compulsory a nature, and unfit for a country that had a free constitution; Windham, though insisting on the necessity of increasing the regular army, and on the superiority of this plan over its predecessors, considered that there was in it an injudicious mixture of the voluntary and the compulsory; Fox disapproved of the principle of creating a limited force for the purpose of creating a general one, and feared that recourse would be had to artifices in order to entice men who had enlisted for limited service to enter into the regular army: but, without any division, leave was given, and the bill was brought in and read a first time. It encountered considerable opposition in its later stages (the premier now finding arrayed against him his relative Lord Temple and most of the Grenville party); and the second reading was carried only by a majority of 40, the numbers being 221 against 181; but after some amendments the third reading was allowed without any division, and the bill became law by the end of the session, though not without considerable opposition in the Lords, which proceeded principally from those members of the Addington administration who had quitted office with him, and from Lord Grenville and his party. During the discussions upon it in the Commons, Sheridan, who was in a long paroxysm of fury at the, by him, unexpected construction of the present ministry, and who was prophesying at all times and places that it would not stand three months, panegyrized the virtues and constitutionalism of Addington. He said that that gentleman's entering into office was a sacrifice, and his retirement a triumph; that the manner of his quitting office did him much honour;—when he found himself opposed by a very formidable minority, he had quitted the helm, and he wished the present minister would act in the same manner, *now that he found his own majorities still smaller than those of his predecessor.* Sheridan was at the same time exceedingly abusive against Pitt's plan of military defence, calling it a little, puny, rickety bantling, which must be sent to the parish nurse, instead of being the armed Minerva which was expected to have come forth from the head of this great political Jupiter! Pitt had replied: "As to the *hint*, which had been so kindly given him, to resign, it was not *broad* enough for him to take it. Even if the present bill were lost, he should not, for that, consider it his duty to resign. His Majesty had, undoubtedly, the prerogative of choosing his own servants; and it was now too evident that the wish for another change of ministers had a great effect in the opposition to the present measure. Yet he was a little surprised at meeting such decided opposition from many with whom he had been in the habit of cordially uniting for such a length of time! He was surprised that a noble lord (Temple) and his friends, who once were so partial to him as to say, 'that if he were once admitted into administration, their fears for the public safety would be considerably abated,' should now consider it their duty to withhold their services from the public, on account of the exclusion of a gentleman (Fox) with whom they had been so little in the habit of coinciding." Mr. T. Grenville, who was not in the house when this passed, had thought it proper to take up the subject on the following day. He was anxious, he said, to vindicate himself, and those with whom he was most closely connected, from the imputation of inconsistency which had been cast upon them by his right honourable relation (Pitt). He and his political friends had never taken such a view of the situation of the country as to suppose that the accession of any one individual, whatever his abilities, would be sufficient to work out the salvation of the country. They had thought, and they continued to think, that, in the present critical times, a broad and comprehensive administration ought to have been formed; and, for his part, however high his respect for the talents of his right honourable relation, it was with pain and regret he saw him in the situation he now held. Lord Temple, too, emphatically denied that he had ever used the expression which Pitt had attributed to him—denied that, with all his respect for ability, he ever could have conceived that the accession of one individual could make a good administration of that which he had so long opposed. The truth was—as Windham observed—that Temple had used the words, but there are different modes of construction adopted in different cases. Another truth was, that the Grenvilles, who knew that no strong ministry could be made *without Pitt*, were determined to prove that no strong ministry could be made *without them.* And their opposition being thrown into the common lot, with the passionate resistance of Fox, and the quieter cavillings of Addington, proved in the end too weighty a burthen for the son of Chatham to bear.

But little other business of any importance was transacted in parliament during the short remainder of this session. The budget had been discussed before Pitt's reinstatement. The total supplies granted were—for the navy 12,350,606*l.*—for the army 12,993,625*l.*—for the militia and fencible corps 6,159,114*l.*—for the ordnance 3,737,091*l.*—for miscellaneous services 4,217,295*l.*—for *extra* miscellaneous services (relating solely to Ireland) 2,500,000*l.*—for discharging arrears and debts on the civil list 591,842*l.*—for an additional yearly sum, out of the consolidated fund, for the better support of his Majesty's household 60,000*l.*—or a grand whole of 53,609,574*l.*! To raise this money recourse was had to new taxes and duties, to loans and annuities, and to three lotteries. The King was well enough to go down to the House of Lords and prorogue parliament in person on the 31st of July. The Speaker, in presenting some bills for the royal assent, delivered an address, in which, after mentioning the magnitude of the grants made by the Commons, and their proud satisfaction to

see that the permanent debt of the nation *was rapidly diminishing*, at the same time that the growing prosperity of the country was strengthening and multiplying all its resources, he said, "Contemplating the war in which we are engaged, the character and the means of our enemy, and the possible duration of the contest, although we are fearless of its issue, we have nevertheless deemed it our indispensable duty to deliberate with unremitting solicitude upon the best system for our military defence; and the voluntary spirit of your people, seconding the views of parliament, has, at the same time, animated all ranks of men with an active desire of attaining to such a state of discipline in arms as may enable them successfully to co-operate with your Majesty's regular and veteran forces. Thus formidably armed and powerfully sustained, we trust that, with the blessing of God, we shall victoriously maintain your majesty's throne, and transmit, unimpaired, to our descendants, the most perfect form of government which the world has ever experienced for the practical happiness of mankind; firmly persuaded that this empire will long outlast the storms which have overwhelmed the continent of Europe; and earnestly hoping that other nations, now fallen, may witness the destruction of a tyranny founded on fraud and violence, and cemented with innocent blood, and again recover their ancient power and independence, as the best guarantees for the future welfare and tranquillity of the civilized world." The king's speech contained still plainer allusions to the new coalition which was in course of formation on the Continent, but which, in the end, was precipitated without any proper concert among the sovereigns, and without any high principles in any of the contracting powers, and which, therefore, terminated in fresh loss, humiliation, and disgrace. The speech said, too, that Bonaparte was daily augmenting his vast preparations for invading this country, and that the attempt appeared to have been delayed only with the view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution. But at the same time the utmost confidence was expressed in the skill, valour, and discipline of the naval and military forces, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of the people, which, his majesty doubted not, would, under the blessing of Providence, not only repel the danger of the moment, but succeed in establishing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the security of this country on a basis never to be shaken. The speech concluded with these words—"In addition to this first and great object, I entertain the animating hope that the benefits to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves; but that, by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced; and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandisement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the Continent."

The invasion, as we know, came to nothing, nor was the continental coalition completed this year. But the coasts of France, both on the Mediterranean and on the ocean and its channel, were again insulted and disturbed by British fleets and squadrons, while, in the more remote seas, other colonies belonging to her, or to her dependency the Batavian Republic, were captured. The important though unhealthy colony of Surinam was taken, at the beginning of May, by the forces under Major-General Sir Charles Green and Commodore Hood, which had been collected at Barbadoes for the expedition, some short time after the reduction of Demerara, Essequibo, and the other old Dutch colonies in 1803. Goree, on the coast of Africa, was lost and won again. On the 18th of January, a small French force, which was hugging the coast, in order to escape the quick sight of the English cruisers, compelled Colonel Frazer, and a garrison of *twenty-five* white men, to capitulate. But on the 7th of March, Captain Dixon, of the 'Inconstant' frigate, retook the island, and made the French captors captives.

The French admiral Linois, who had reached Pondicherry, and who had been enabled to escape from that roadstead, finding he could do no good in the Mahratta war, hoped to do some mischief to the English by picking up a few of their stray Indiamen. He had captured several of these ships, and had plundered the English factory at Bencoolen, when, on the 14th of February, he fell in with a rich fleet of East-Indiamen and country ships that were coming from China, and on the point of entering the straits of Malacca. As Linois had with him a ship of the line, three frigates, and a brig, and as our merchant vessels had no men-of-war to convoy them, he made quite sure of an easy swoop and of an immense prize. But, by this time, the Company's ships were generally armed and well officered; and Captain (afterwards, by grace of this action) Sir N. Dance, who was acting as commodore to the fleet of traders, was both an able and a brave sailor. At sunset, Linois was close up with the English rear, and Dance was in momentary expectation of an attack; but the French hauled to windward; and the India ships lay-to in line of battle all night, the men being at their quarters and ready to engage at any moment. At day-break of the 15th, Dance saw his enemy lying-to, about three miles to windward; and, at the sight, he gallantly hoisted his colours, and offered him battle, if he chose to come down. Linois's ship of the line and his three frigates showed French colours, the brig Dutch colours. At nine o'clock, finding that the French would not come down, Dance formed in order of sailing, and steered his course under an easy sail. Linois then filled his sails and edged towards him. At one P.M., Dance, finding that the enemy were proposing to cut off his rear, made the signal to tack, and bear down on them, and engage in succession. This ma-

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nœuvre was correctly performed by three of the Indiamen; and the rest stood towards Linois under a press of sail. The French then formed in very close line, and opened their fire on Dance's headmost ships, which did not return their fire until they got to closer quarters. The 'Royal George' bore the brunt of the action, getting very near the enemy, engaging for about forty minutes, and firing eight or nine broadsides. She was ably seconded, as they came up, by the 'Ganges,' 'Earl Camden,' 'Warley,' and 'Alfred;' the 'Ganges' being in action about thirty-five minutes, and firing seven or eight broadsides; the 'Earl Camden' being in action about twenty-five minutes, and the two other named ships about a quarter of an hour. Before any more of the Indiamen could come up and engage, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward, under all the sail they could set. At two P.M., Dance made the signal for a general chace, and pursued Linois until four P.M.; when, considering the immense property at stake, and fearing that a longer pursuit would carry him too far from the mouth of the Straits of Malacca, the gallant commodore of this well-conducted merchant fleet made the signal to tack; and, the signal being well obeyed, by eight in the evening they all anchored safely in a situation to enter the Strait the next morning. Nothing more was seen of Linois, who, according to his own account, had run away through fear of being surrounded. The 'Royal George' had one man killed, and another wounded, many shot in her hull, and more in her sails. Not a man was hurt in any of the other ships: only a few shots touched the 'Ganges' and 'Earl Camden;' for the fire of the enemy seemed to be but ill directed, his shot either falling short or passing over head. Dance rendered a proper tribute to the captains and crews, who had not been trained to fight, and whose ships, after all, were indifferently armed, and, like all merchant vessels, in very imperfect fighting order.* "Captain Timms," said Dance, in his letter to the Court of Directors, "carried the 'Royal George' into action in the most gallant manner. In justice to my brother commanders, I must state, that every ship was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almost all of them during the two days we were in presence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined resolution to defend the valuable property entrusted to their charge to the last extremity, with a full conviction of the successful event of

* Of the French men-of-war, Linois's ship carried 84 guns, the 'Belle Poule' and 'Sémillante' were heavy frigates, the 'Berceau' carried 22 long eights, and two English twelve-pounder carronades, and the large Dutch brig had 18 guns; but a still greater advantage on this side was the perfect war-trim of the ships. Of the Indiamen and country ships (the latter being inferior to the former) there were sixteen drawn up in the line of battle, and they carried from 30 to 36 guns each. Some of them carried upon the main-deck 26 medium eighteen pounders, or "carronades," weighing about 28 cwt., and of very little use: guns of this description, indeed, have long since been exploded. Ten 18-pounder carronades on the quarter-deck made up the 36 guns. Others of the ships, and those among the largest, mounted long 12 and 6 pounders. No one of the crews, we believe, exceeded 140 men, and that number included Chinese, Lascars, &c. Moreover, in fitting the ships, so much more attention had been paid to stowage than to the means of attack and defence, that one and sometimes two butts of water were lashed between the guns, and the decks in general greatly lumbered.—*James.*

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their exertions; and this spirit was fully seconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers and ships' companies." According to the calmest, the most correct, and best of our naval historians, "the promptitude and firmness of Commodore Dance and his brave associates undoubtedly saved from capture a rich and valuable fleet. The slightest indecision in him or them would have encouraged the French admiral to persevere in his attack; and, had he done so, no efforts, however gallant and judicious, could have prevented a part of the fleet at least from falling into his hands."* In this case merit was properly rewarded, and thereby an incentive was given to other seamen not in the national service. The commanders, officers, and crews were liberally rewarded by the East India Company; Dance received the honour of knighthood from the king; and among the sums of money voted to him were 5000*l.* by the Bombay Insurance Company. Other liberal sums were given to him and to the officers and crews by the committee of the "Patriotic Fund." This most useful institution, which in many respects merited its name, and which gave an admirable impulse to sailors in the merchant service, who, in case of wounds and loss of limbs, could not look to government for rewards or pensions, originated at a meeting of the subscribers to Lloyd's Coffee-house, held on the 20th of July, 1803, Brook Watson, Esq. in the chair. The object of the institution was well, and even eloquently, explained in the second and third resolutions:—II. "That, to give more effect and energy to the measures adopted by government for the defence of our liberties, our lives, and property—to add weight to those personal exertions we are all readily disposed to contribute, it behoves us to hold out every encouragement to our fellow-subjects who may be, *in any way*, instrumental in repelling or annoying our implacable foe, and to prove to them that we are ready to drain both our purses and our veins in the great cause which imperiously calls on us to unite the duties of loyalty and patriotism with the strongest efforts of zealous exertion.—III. That, to animate the efforts of our defenders, by sea and land, it is expedient to raise, by the patriotism of the community at large, a suitable fund for their comfort and relief—for the purpose of assuaging their wounds, or palliating, in some degree, the more weighty misfortune of the loss of limbs—of alleviating the distresses of the widow and orphan—of smoothing the brow of sorrow for the fall of their dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpless age—and of granting pecuniary rewards, or honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit." The large funds that were presently raised were not left idle for want of merit to recompense. The seamen in our privateers and common trading vessels began, whenever a suitable opportunity offered, to vie with the heroes of the national navy; and, during the remainder of this long war, the heart and hope of many a brave man was kept up in the hour of danger by the Patriotic Fund, and by the reflection that, if he were maimed or crippled for life, he would not be left to beg his bread, or if he were killed, and had a wife and children, they would not be left in utter destitution.

In the autumn, after various attempts to destroy the French flotillas in their own harbours had failed, Admiral Lord Keith was commanded to make an experiment with the absurd and not very honourable invention, the catamaran flotilla. This invention, or reproduction (for the plan was not altogether new),* had been submitted to the Ad-

* James, Naval History of Great Britain.

* During the American revolutionary war, when the Americans were so very weak in shipping, one Bushnell had invented a similar machine, and had made several unsuccessful attempts to catamaranise our men-of-war. After his time the idea had been taken up by Robert Fulton, an American engineer and projector, who pretended a philanthropic anxiety to put an end by this means to the horrors of maritime war, and to the tyranny exercised over the seas by British ships, but who in reality was only anxious to make money by it, by communicating the secret to the highest bidder. The merits which Fulton afterwards displayed in applying the power of steam to navigation have nothing to do with the question of his philanthropy, or honour, or disinterestedness; nor do his scientific merits ever appear to have included any new principle, or even one original idea: they consisted merely in a business-like perseverance. In the first instance Fulton offered his catamaran or torpedo to the French Directory, those virtuous, philanthropic, and war-hating statesmen; but they refused it: he then went from Paris into Holland, and offered it, "for a consideration," to the Dutch government; but they would have nothing to say to him. When Bonaparte became First Consul, and was trampling out with his iron heel the little life that was left in the French republic, this American republican did not hesitate to offer his submarine infernal machine to him. Bonaparte, who afterwards put into manifestoes and Moniteurs a vast deal of virtuous declamation against England for employing so murderous and so dishonourable a means of war, caught at the projector's idea at once, and appointed citizens Volney, Monge, and Laplace to examine the plan. The report of the philosophes was favourable, and Fulton was sent to Brest under a promise of destroying the English blockading squadron. But Fulton did nothing, and he was very soon told that the French government had no further occasion for his services. He says, or his worthy friend, fellow-citizen, and biographer, Cadwallader Colden, of New York, says for him, that his failure at Brest was owing to the perversity of the English ships in not coming near enough or standing still enough. "Through the whole season of 1801," says Cadwallader Colden, "did Mr. Fulton watch the English ships off Brest; but, though some of them daily approached, yet none came so near as to be exposed to the effect of his attempts. In one instance he came near a British 74, but she changed her position just in time to save herself from being blown into the air." The wicked ships! as perverse were they as the sparrows that will not permit the juvenile experimentalist to put salt upon their tails! Before going to the great republican Goshen of France he had resided (chiefly in the house of his countryman Benjamin West, the historical painter) in England; he had lived for some time in Birmingham, had taken out patents for various pieces of machinery, had been allowed access to our manufactories and arsenals, and had been treated with as much, or probably with a great deal more, kindness than a native *homme-à-projets* would then have met with. Though these circumstances had not prevented his attempting to sell to France the secret which was to destroy us, upon finding his services dispensed with there, he set on foot negotiations for selling the same secret to the English government, in order that they might blow up the French. He had been acquainted with that hair-brained nobleman Earl Stanhope, who was even a greater experimentalist in physics than in politics, and over whom, as it has been well said, mystery and paradox never failed to throw a spell. Stanhope spoke with awful solemnity in the House of Lords about this grand and terrific plan; and at his invitation or encouragement the American Archimedes came over once more to London, and there succeeded in inoculating some of our statesmen with the great belief. On the failure of his first machine he invented another one, which appears to have been a sort of submarine boat with a self-moving power; but one experiment had brought derision enough upon our ministry. Fulton himself allows that Lord Melville had condemned the torpedo or catamaran without a moment's consideration. In the first letter he addressed to Melville he described Bonaparte, from whose service he had so recently been turned out, as a tyrant who had set himself above all law, as a wild beast unrestrained by any law, and that ought to be hunted down as the enemy of mankind. Yet six years after the date of this letter to the English minister, Fulton, who had returned to America, considering that his services were not sufficiently remunerated in his own country, and that France afforded the prospect of the best market, offered his "torpedo system," improved to "the tyrant" and "wild beast," and in a letter addressed to President Madison, who made himself an instrument to French ambition, he earnestly recommended that he, the said President of the United States, should recommend his improved machine to the Emperor of France, who would then have "a noble opportunity to display a *magnanimity of soul*, a *goodness of heart*, which would

dington administration, who had approved of it, and had left it to Pitt and Melville as an official legacy. Lord St. Vincent, the first lord of the admiralty under the Addington administration, appears, however, to have set his face against this inglorious mode of warfare; feeling, as every British officer ought to have felt, that, setting aside the intent, such devices were for the weak, and not for the strong. The parties who ranged themselves in opposition to Pitt's reconstructed ministry had urged on him the experiment. The invention or reproduction consisted of a coffer of about twenty-one feet long and three and a quarter broad, resembling in outward appearance a log of mahogany, except that its two extremities were cut into a wedge shape. Inside it was lined with lead, outside it had a coating of canvas payed over with hot pitch. It was stuffed full of gunpowder (about forty barrels being considered a proper stuffing), and in the midst of the loose powder there was a piece of machinery or clock-work, the mainspring of which, on the withdrawing of a peg, placed transversely on the lid of the infernal coffer or coffin, would, in from six to ten minutes, draw or strike the trigger of a lock, and explode the whole. As the weight of the gunpowder, clock-work, &c. would just keep the lid or deck of the coffer even with the water's edge, it was calculated that the combustion would take place under water, and that the catamaran, by being towed or driven (it had no mast or sail, and the weight of a single powder-monkey would have sunk it too low in the water) right under an enemy's ship, would cleave to it like a torpedo or a barnacle, until it blew into the air with every soul on board. In order that the embrace might be the surer and the closer, at one of the wedge ends there was a line with a sort of grappling-iron at its extremity, kept afloat by pieces of cork, and intended to hook itself to the cable of the ship to be destroyed, and swing the coffer close alongside.† It was in vain that the officers sneered at and the sailors damned at these ugly coffins: patriots and philosophers in both houses of parliament had mysteriously recommended the great experiment, and the orders of government for their use were peremptory. The appearance of about 150 French gunboats, prames, and floating-batteries, moored in a double line outside the pier of Boulogne, offered the best of opportunities for trying the effect of these boasted machines. And accordingly on the morning of the 1st of October Admiral Lord Keith made his preparations, anchoring near shore with three line-of-battle ships and several frigates, to cover or co-operate in the operations of the bomb-ships, fire-ships, and the catamarans, which last were to do the *opus magnum*. On the following day four large fire-ships were towed right among the French gunboats; they exploded with an awful noise, and created a great alarm not only in the French flotilla, but also in the shore batteries, and among vast bodies of troops that were stationed along the coast with numerous field-pieces; but the French were quit for the momentary fear, the four fire-ships only wounding some half-dozen of men, and blowing up nothing but themselves. But the catamarans, of which four or five were exploded, would have done still less than the fire-ships, if it had not been for an unexpected accident. An English boat, having just done towing a catamaran, was abandoned by her crew, but left with a sail up. A heavily-armed launch made a rush at the abandoned boat, and twenty-seven French soldiers and sailors presently leaped into it. But scarcely had these soldiers and sailors cleared off with their prize, ere their heavily-armed launch ran foul of the catamaran, and was instantly blown into the air, with the loss of her remaining crew, consisting of her commander and thirteen soldiers and sailors. In the whole affair, which lasted from nine o'clock in the evening of the 2nd of October till four o'clock in the morning, the French had only fourteen killed and seven wounded, and the English had not a single man hurt—so that, but for the gunpowder consumed, the absurdity of the experiment might have ended in a hearty laugh on our side. And, as it was, loud was the laugh and enduring was the derision elicited by this catamaran expedition! The Admiralty which had ordered

* James, Naval Hist

add lustre to his great actions, and secure to him the admiration of the civilised world." Both these documents are printed by his admiring, enthusiastic biographer. They are decisive as to the character of Robert Fulton, and the moral discrimination of Cadwallader Colden.—*Art. in Quart. Rev., Vol. XIX., on 'The Life of Robert Fulton. By his friend Cadwallader D. Colden, &c. New York*, 1817.

† It is said that Fulton, some time in the year 1801, when the first so-called army of England was collected on the French coast, and when the orators of the tribunate were wishing "only for a fair wind and thirty-six hours," presented himself to Bonaparte; told him that he could waft his army over the Channel in the teeth of any wind, and in spite of tide and storm; and, in short, laid before him the whole art and mystery of STEAM NAVIGATION; and it is added that Fulton's plan with details was submitted by the First Consul to a commission of his *savans*, who reported upon it that it was *visionary* and *impracticable*, and thus by their folly and conceit deprived Bonaparte of a certain means of invading and conquering this country. But the story is open to many doubts, and the conclusion drawn from it, though meant to be striking, is absurd. Five or six years after this period Fulton's perseverance led to the construction of a steam-boat at New York, in which the contrivances of a score of preceding experimentalists were resorted to, and in which there was little or nothing of his own invention; but it does not appear that he had seriously taken up the subject in 1801, which was the year he was employed watching the British ships off Brest; and in 1803, when he, in conjunction with Mr. Livingstone, made some experiments on the Seine, the result was very incomplete and unsatisfactory. It was therefore not very likely that Fulton had done in 1801 what he could not do in 1803. For the story to have any point at all, Fulton ought to have been the original inventor of the means of applying steam to navigation, or, if not the inventor, at least the sole depository of the secret. But all that he knew he had learned in Great Britain, where he had seen the experiments which Symington had commenced on the Forth and Clyde Canal. But long before Symington's time experiments had been made, not only in England, but even in France. In 1778 trials were made on a large scale at Baume-les-Dames by the Marquis de Jouffroi, who subsequently, in 1781, tried a steam-boat of considerable dimensions upon the river Saone at Lyons. This vessel had a single paddle-wheel on each side, and the machinery appears to have been constructed with much skill, although it was deficient in strength. The storms of the Revolution interrupted the Marquis's experiments, and drove him from his country. When the Marquis returned to France about 1796 he found that M. des Blancs, a watchmaker of Trevoux, had taken out a patent for a steam-vessel, which appears to have been nothing but a copy of the boat and machinery which he had himself tried years before on the Saone. The watchmaker, who continued making experiments for some years, was much more likely than Fulton to have presented, and at an earlier date than 1801, to the French government the steam-navigation plan, with the advantages to be derived from it when the plan should be perfected. But in fact the plan was not perfected and available until 1806, and in 1801 there were scores of English engineers, and many American and French engineers, who knew as much as Fulton could know; and any successful improvement in France would have been known in England in spite of the war, and for every ten steam-ships the British government would have been able to turn out a hundred.

Boulogne.

the experiment got the name of the "Catamaran Admiralty;" although, in strict fairness, the designation ought rather to have been applied to their predecessors.

In declaring war against France, the British government had included Holland, but had not included Spain, which country, although not actually occupied by French arms, was almost as much under French influence and dictation as was the so-styled Batavian Republic. Intelligence having been received in London that an armament was fitting out in the Spanish port of Ferrol, that a considerable Spanish force was already collected there, and that French troops were expected to join them, the Admiralty immediately dispatched a squadron to cruise off Cadiz, to intercept and capture four Spanish frigates known to be bound to that port from Monte Video, with an immense quantity of specie on board. The commodore of this squadron was Captain Graham Moore, the amiable and gallant brother of General Sir John Moore; he carried his flag in the 'Indefatigable,' 44-gun frigate, and was accompanied only by three other lighter frigates. On the 5th of October the four British frigates discovered near Cape Santa Maria the four expected Spanish frigates, which were under the command of Don José Bustamente, and which were carrying all sail to get into Cadiz Bay, now so near at hand. After ineffectually hailing the Spaniards to shorten sail, Captain Moore fired a shot across the fore-foot of the foremost frigate, which carried the rear-admiral's flag, and which then took in sail. A lieutenant was forthwith dispatched by Moore to inform the Spanish commander that his orders were to detain the squadron, and that his wish was to execute those orders without bloodshed. The boat with the lieutenant not returning so soon as was expected, Moore made a signal for her, and fired another shot a-head of Bustamente's frigate. The lieutenant having at length returned with an unsatisfactory answer, Moore fired a third shot a-head of the 'Medea,' and bore down close upon her weather-bow, being followed by his other frigate. As they drew near, the 'Mercedes' fired into the 'Amphion;' and a few seconds afterwards the 'Medea' opened her fire upon the 'Indefatigable.' Moore then made the signal for close battle; and it commenced on the English side with uncommon animation. In nine minutes the 'Mercedes' blew up with a tremendous explosion, close alongside her antagonist the 'Amphion.' In a minute or two afterwards 'La Fama' struck her colours; but, as soon as her antagonist, the 'Medusa,' ceased her fire, she re-hoisted them, and endeavoured to make off. The 'Medusa' followed her, firing heavily as she went, and they both fell away to leeward. The 'Amphion,' which had sent her opponent into the air, and the money she carried to the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, now ranged up on the starboard quarter of the 'Medea;' and upon this Don José, who had already sustained for seventeen minutes the terrible broadsides of the 'Indefatigable,' hauled down his colours and surrendered. Five minutes after this the 'Clara' struck to the 'Lively;' and then the 'Lively,' being an admirable sailer, joined in the pursuit of 'La Fama.' After a smart but short run, finding that the bow guns of the 'Lively' were reaching her, and that the 'Medusa' was closing upon her, 'La Fama' also struck. Out of the Spanish ship that blew up, only the second captain and about forty men were saved: the 'Medea' had two men killed and ten wounded;

the 'Clara,' seven killed and twenty wounded; 'La Fama,' eleven killed and fifty wounded. The loss on the side of the English did not exceed, altogether, two killed and seven wounded, and but a very trifling damage was sustained in hulls, masts, or rigging. The value of the cargoes captured netted very little short of a million sterling; and this was considered as so much kept from the exchequer of Bonaparte. A deep domestic tragedy cast an additional cloud over this very questionable proceeding. Captain Alvear had embarked in the 'Mercedes,' carrying with him his wife, four daughters, and five grown-up sons, and a fortune estimated at about 30,000*l.* sterling, the gradual savings of thirty years' toil in South America. Not many minutes before the battle began, Alvear and his eldest son went on board the Spanish admiral's frigate; and from its deck they witnessed the awful explosion of the 'Mercedes,' with the destruction not only of their fortune, but of all who were dearest to them. The British government restored to Captain Alvear, out of the proceeds of the three cargoes, the 30,000*l.* which he had lost, but they could not bid the ocean restore its dead. Those who concurred in the expediency doubted the right of detaining these ships; and even those who defended the legality of the act could not help casting severe censure on the English admiralty for not having sent—instead of a force very little more than equal to that of the Spaniards—such a formidable force as would have allowed Bustamente to submit at once, without an appeal to arms, and without an impeachment of his honour. The whole transaction could not but produce a moral effect very unfavourable to the government of Great Britain. It created a great stir at Madrid, where a party decidedly hostile to Bonaparte had previously been forming and gathering some strength. On the 27th of November an order was issued to make reprisals on English property; and on the 12th of December the King of Spain put forth his formal declaration of war against Great Britain. Thus a new excitement was produced which tended to make the Spaniards rather indifferent to the state crimes, and acts of injustice and tyranny, which the First Consul and Emperor of the French had accumulated during the present year.

In spite of the revelations, representations, and arguments of Fouché, Bonaparte continued to entertain a much greater hatred and dread of the Jacobins and Republicans than of the Bourbon Royalists. Fouché told him that the air was full of daggers, yet he persisted in believing that it was only the rabid Jacobin faction that would use these daggers against him. He knew he had converted nearly all the leaders of the Republican party by arguments addressed to their own interest and aggrandisement; he saw daily the men who had made Republican constitutions and declarations of the rights of man, and manifestoes of liberty and equality, and forms of oaths against all monarchic government, taking his pay, cringing at his feet, and writing his praise; but he felt that there were still some fanatics whom he could neither buy nor reach; and now and then, notwithstanding the slavery in which he held the press, a republican article would appear, and produce, in some of the corners and by-places of France, an impression and a sympathy which seemed to prove that the spirit of Jacobinism was not altogether extinct. Hence the journals were placed under still greater restrictions; and hence, in September, 1803, a Senatus Consultum had been issued, which, "in order," as it stated, "to secure the liberty of the press," forbade any bookseller to publish any book, pamphlet, or work whatever, until he had previously submitted a copy of it to the censors or commission of revision. The nocturnal arrests, and the mysterious deportations to lonely fortresses on the remote sea-coasts, or among the Jura mountains, the Pyrenees, and the Alps, had continued to increase all through the year 1803; but the Consular Reign of Terror, as it is called, was principally confined to the period which intervened between the month of October of that year and the month of April, 1804. The prisons of Paris, and particularly the Temple, were crammed with state or political prisoners; and the practice which had been so prevalent under the Jacobin Reign of Terror, namely, that of employing *moutons*, or spies, committed as prisoners, in order to worm themselves into the confidence of the real captives, was revived, and reinvigorated to a most monstrous extent. From time to time a victim was dragged from his prison before a military commission sitting in Paris, and whose sittings, like those of the Revolutionary Tribunal of 1793, were permanent; and on the following morning a short paragraph in the 'Moniteur' told the people of Paris that such or such an enemy to the country had been found guilty, and fusiladed in the plain of Grenelle. Before the military commission, at the moment when sentence of death was passed upon them, and at the more trying moment when that sentence was to be executed, when the gendarmes stood with their muskets loaded, and only waiting for the word to fire, these victims were urged to confess whatever they might know of plots and conspiracies against the Consular government, were beset by the cunning devilish agents of the secret police, who bore no sign nor appearance of their calling, and who tempted the wretched men with promises of pardon, with hopes of honour and reward, if they would but give evidence against their leaders or associates. It is true that many of these helpless victims knew of no plot, and had neither leaders nor accomplices; but it was to be expected from the love of life and the weakness of human nature that some would fabricate a plot, and denounce other men at hazard, or as the secret police might indirectly suggest, in order to escape the gendarmes' bullets: and this notoriously happened. The system, in short, had the same effect as the use of torture in judicial proceedings in the old times. But even this last accursed means of extorting confession and evidence was resorted to secretly, and

on not a few occasions—or confidence must be denied to the most weighty testimony, and to the universal conviction of the time. The only man in France that Bonaparte feared singly was Moreau, whose military reputation was second only to his own, who was warmly beloved by the soldiers who had served under him, and who had frankly shown a decided aversion to the despotic system of government which the First Consul was so rapidly building up. With Moreau once in his clutches, or with materials and charges wherewith to discredit him in the eyes of the soldiery and the people, he calculated that the throne he was erecting would be firm and safe. His secret police well knew these not secret thoughts, and they acted conformably. For a long time nothing could be vamped up or discovered about the hero of Hohenlinden except that he spoke disparagingly of the First Consul, and bitterly of his government; that he entertained at his elegant country-house in the neighbourhood of Paris many old republican officers who had not adapted their political sentiments to present circumstances; and that, when wine and good cheer had warmed the host and his guests, hints had been dropped at these banquets that the Corsican would not be allowed to put a royal or an imperial crown upon his head without having to fight a harder battle than that of Marengo.* But at last the police presented something more decisive. Five men from Britany, who had been thrown into the Temple as Chouans, were brought before the military commission. Two of them were acquitted, and three were condemned to be fusiladed. Picot and Lebourgeois went to the place of execution and died like sturdy, taciturn Breton peasants; but Querelle, the third of the condemned, and who is shrewdly suspected of having been all along nothing but an agent and *mouton* of the police, desired to speak in private with M. Réal, councillor of state and one of the managers of the secret police; and, after the close conference, which of course led to Querelle's enlargement, Réal reported to the First Consul that Georges-Cadoudal, the Chouan chief, and General Pichegru, who had escaped from Guiana to England, where he had devoted himself to the Bourbon princes, had secretly landed on the western coast of France, had conferred with Moreau, and were both at this very moment concealed in Paris. Forthwith General Savary was dispatched to the coast of Britany, to try and draw the Bourbon princes from England into a snare; and Réal and the police were put upon the alert in the capital, with instructions not to seize or interrupt Georges-Cadoudal and Pichegru until they could fully commit Moreau by proofs of his connexion with them and with other Bourbon royalists—proofs which would for ever ruin Moreau with the republican party, and so degrade him as to render him innocuous and helpless, another victim for the plain of Grenelle, if that finale should be found advisable. The Chouan chief and the conqueror of Holland were indeed in Paris; but it was Fouché who had brought them, and who had laid the whole plot for reconciling two men so opposite in character and in political sentiment as Pichegru and Moreau. All this the ex-priest and ex-Jacobin had done by a side-wind, and without the knowledge of Bonaparte or any of his government. And Fouché had his private or personal reasons for this line of conduct. Shrinking from the odour of his bad name, irritated at the notion that men believed he could not do without him, and moved by the representations of those who conceived the Consular court and cabinet to be disgraced by the presence of the foul blood-stained Conventionist, who had rivalled the cruelties of Carrier and Lebon, and who held that Fouché invented far more plots than he discovered, the First Consul had made him a senator, but had deprived him of his office of minister of police. This office Fouché wanted to regain; and he knew that the way back to it could be best opened by proving that the present managers of the police knew not how to do their work, and were so dull and blind as to allow a formidable conspiracy to be carried on under their very noses in Paris, without their knowing anything about it. The first proper instrument he found in Lajolais, an *intrigant* of the first water, who had been a general in the republican armies, who had aided Pichegru in 1794 in his intrigues and correspondence with the Bourbon princes, and who, in consequence of suspicions and of his close intimacy with that general, had been dismissed the service, had suffered a long imprisonment, had had a narrow escape from the guillotine, and was now living unemployed and almost penniless in Paris. He still passed among the Bourbonists, whether at home or in England and elsewhere, as an honest partisan; but Fouché knew him better, and gave him what he most wanted, money, and sent him to renew his acquaintance with his old commander-in-chief, to recommend a reconciliation with Moreau, and to tempt him to France by representing that a great part of the country was ripe for a counter-revolution, and that the Corsican must fall if the conqueror of Holland would but come over and unite heart and hand with the hero of Hohenlinden. War never interrupted the going and coming of smugglers and other daring adventurers; mysterious fast-sailing boats were incessantly gliding across the Channel; there was therefore no impracticability in Lajolais getting to the English shore, and when there his name, connexions, and supposed devoted-Bourbonist character, would facilitate his progress to the capital. He reached London, prevailed on Pichegru and his friends to return privately into France, and then set off to announce their coming, and arrange everything for their reception and destruction. Querelle, who made the disclosures to Réal, may possibly have been only a faint-hearted Chouan conspirator, but the greater probability is that he was retained by Fouché. The

* Fouché, who was at this moment out of the ministry, caused Moreau to be visited by men of his own old republican party; and these men were induced, perhaps unconsciously, by Fouché's art, to influence and irritate the general's mind.—*Bourrienne.*

ex-father of the Oratory had such a persuasive rhetoric; his multiplied villanies had given him a great command of money; and he was disposed to trade upon his capital in order to increase it and re-establish his power. "Fouché," says Bourrienne, "when out of office spent a great deal more money among the emissaries of the police than the minister of police who was in office." Besides, it is not for every man to attain perfection in such a science. Fouché had a natural genius for it, and his long experience and acquaintance with the scoundrelism of France was more perfect than any other functionary could hope to possess without years of practice. In an affair of such complex villany, wherein half of the conspirators were only sham conspirators, agents of the police, or desperate intriguers who took money at one and the same time from the Bourbon princes and the emigrant nobles as royalists, and from Fouché as anything that he might choose to call them; where the parties seriously engaged in the plot, or attempt at counter-revolution, entertained such opposite views and such conflicting principles (the Bourbonists wanting to make mere tools for the occasion of Moreau and the Republicans, and the Republicans wanting to make tools of Georges-Cadoudal and the Bourbonists); and above all, in a state of government and society where every mystification was practised, where evidence was twisted by power, and where facts were invented or suppressed, and all judicial proceedings were under the immediate influence of the First Consul, it may easily be imagined what a degree of obscurity or uncertainty rests on the real nature of the business. It appears, however, that Moreau saw Pichegru, whose treasons to the Republic he had himself denounced, more than once, and that one time at least he saw the Chouan chief Georges-Cadoudal. But it is very doubtful whether Moreau ever connived at Pichegru's plans, and whether, on discovering the decided Royalist tendency of them, and that Pichegru and the friends he had brought over with him were neither to be turned from their purpose, nor were possessed of means and faculties to work out any purpose, or give weight to any cause whatever, he did not break off all intercourse with them. "Moreau," says Bourrienne, "never for a moment desired the restoration of the Bourbons. I was too well acquainted with M. Carbonnet, his most intimate friend, to be ignorant of his private sentiments. It was, therefore, quite impossible that he could entertain the same views as Georges-Cadoudal, the Polignacs, Rivière, and others; and even *they* had no intention of committing any overt acts." There is no better testimony than Bourrienne's; and it is decidedly against the rather generally received impression that the Chouan chief at least contemplated the assassination of the First Consul. Other evidence to the same effect is to be found in the high heroic character of Georges-Cadoudal; in the fact that he had been admitted into the closest confidence of the Count d'Artois, the Duke de Derri, and the other emigrant princes residing in England, who had their faults, their follies, and their vices, but who do not appear ever to have been capable of employing an assassin; and, furthermore, in the character of his associates, the Polignacs and de Rivière, who had come over from London with him, who were hiding with him, and daily consulting with him in Paris, and without whom he took no step, and could hope for no success. "All these persons," says Bourrienne (that is to say, Georges-Cadoudal, the Polignacs, de Rivière, and the other Royalists who had come from England), "had come to the Continent solely to investigate the actual state of affairs, in order to inform the princes of the House of Bourbon, with certainty, how far they might depend on the foolish hopes constantly held out to them by paltry agents, who were always ready to advance their own interests at the expense of truth. These agents did indeed conspire, but it was against the treasury of London, to which they looked for pay." If the sincere and enthusiastic Royalists, who had put their lives in this peril, found that the disaffection at Paris to the government of Bonaparte was as great as had been reported, then the Count d'Artois, or the Duke de Berri, was to land on the coast of Britany, and raise the old white flag, which there at least, and in the neighbouring Vendée, was sure to attract numbers to it. If this version of the story is liable to doubt, it is certainly less so than the version given by the 'Moniteur,' and by the Bonapartist historians or memoir writers. The affair of the infernal machine had, however, been traced pretty clearly to some royalists of the lowest grade; and possibly some of the Bretons, who had followed their great chief Georges to Paris, may have contemplated vaguely, or even determinately, some *coup-de-main* on the First Consul without the privacy of their leader, or of any of the noblemen, gentlemen, or officers who were acting with him. These wild Bretons bore in very many respects a close resemblance to our wild Highlanders of a century ago: there were Callum Begs among them. Georges-Cadoudal, the Polignacs, and their companions had been for months in Paris before Querelle made his revelations to Réal, who was a protégé and creature of Fouché;—they had been for months in the city where Bonaparte was residing, and had done nothing, whereas, if their plan had been that desperate assassination which some conceive it to have been—a plan by which a few devoted men were to throw away their lives in taking that of the First Consul—they might have executed it on the first week or day of their arrival. At last, when Bonaparte had taken Fouché back to his favour, and had found that as much had been made of the conspiracy as could be made of it, and that there was no hope of involving Moreau more deeply in it, the 'Moniteur' struck the key-note, by announcing that England was again having recourse to assassination, to infernal machines, and to all those means most calculated to excite horror and indignation in the French people; and that a miserable wretch named Querelle had made reve-

lations of such a nature as clearly pointed out the authors and accomplices in this new conspiracy against the person and the power of the First Consul. And simultaneously with the striking of this note the barriers of Paris were closed as in the first Reign of Terror, the guard at the Tuileries was doubled, and all the streets were patrolled by the numerous and terrible gendarmerie. This being done, proclamations were made, and printed papers placarded, in which the principal conspirators were mentioned by name, and in which particular care was taken to link the name of Moreau with those of Georges-Cadoudal, the Polignacs, and the other well-known royalists. The most determined of the republican soldiery, the men most devoted to Moreau, had fallen before this time under the fire and sword of the negroes, or under the yellow fever of St. Domingo; but still many old companions in arms, men and officers who had made the German campaigns with him, and with him had threaded the Black Forest on the famed retreat, or had fought at Hohenlinden, were alive and in Paris; and it was feared that the fermentation of their spirits might lead to some desperate deed, or even to an extensive mutiny among the troops. Bonaparte therefore dictated, and Murat, now his brother-in-law and military governor of Paris, signed an order of the day, to depopularise Moreau by explaining more in detail his connexion with nobles, royalists, Chouans, and brigands. The superior degree of importance which was attached to the rival general was shown in the circumstance that Moreau was the first to be arrested. This occurred on the 15th of February. The rest were all seized shortly after, and almost at one and the same time. The almost simultaneous arrest of the conspirators proved clearly that the police knew perfectly well where they could lay their hands on them. Pichegru and Georges-Cadoudal made a desperate resistance; but all the others submitted to the police agents and gendarmes without any struggle. Pichegru, taken by surprise as he was lying on a bed in an obscure chamber, could not reach his sabre and pistol in time; but he wrestled with six men, and they did not succeed in binding him with chains and fetters until several of them had been thrown on the floor and trampled upon by the athletic general. Georges was stopped in the streets of Paris, driving in a cabriolet: he blew out the brains of one of the police agents, wounded another, and had nearly escaped on foot, when two butchers and a locksmith's apprentice threw themselves upon him, and clung to him till some gendarmes came up. In all about forty so-called conspirators were seized; but the nets of the police had caught a much greater number than this; for during several days, nearly every man that had a truculent countenance, or anything else about him that excited suspicion, was whisked away to prison just as the *suspects* had been in Robespierre's days. Most, even of Georges-Cadoudal's associates, were men of obscure name and condition; but there were also a few young men of noble birth, the chief of these being the two brothers Armand and Jules Polignac, the sons of the Duchess of Polignac, the devoted friend of Marie-Antoinette, and aides-de-camp of the Count d'Artois and the Marquis Charles de la Rivière, who had served in the Gardes-Françaises before the revolution, and who was now also in the service of the Count d'Artois. When Pichegru was required to sign his private examination, he refused, saying it was altogether unnecessary, and that, knowing, as he did, all the secret machinery of the police, he suspected that by some chemical process, they would obliterate all the writing except his signature, and afterwards fill up the paper with statements which he had never made. His refusal to sign this interrogatory, he added, would not prevent him from repeating in a public court of justice the unvarnished truths which he had stated in answer to the questions which had now been put to him. Georges said he was going into La Vendée when he was seized. The Polignacs and de Rivière declared that they had been deceived with regard to the state of France and the co-operation of Moreau; that they had become convinced of their error, and were about returning to England. They intimated that the deception had been put upon them, and that they had been lured to Paris, by the very agents of the police who now gave a false character to their proceedings and intentions. It appears that nothing could have been more clear than their avowal that Moreau had refused to have anything to do either with them or with Pichegru. They declared—and this was afterwards confirmed on the trial by other testimony than theirs—that they had soon discovered that Pichegru and Moreau did not understood each other; that everything was going wrong; that there was no present hope of the royalists doing anything in France; and that their best course would be to hasten back to the Count d'Artois and tell him so. It is affirmed that the most horrible threats were employed to extort evidence from several menials who had waited upon these gentlemen during their concealment in Paris; and that Picot, the servant of Georges-Cadoudal, was actually put to torture by the thumb-screw. Bouvet de Lozier, a member of the ancient noblesse, who had come over from London some short time after Georges and Pichegru, and who was now among the conspirators thrown into the Temple, attempted to hang himself with his cravat, and had nearly succeeded when a turnkey, by chance, entered his cell. He acknowledged that, though he had the courage to meet death, he felt he was unable to endure the interrogatories of a trial, and that he had determined to kill himself lest he might be forced to make some confession. Both before this time and long after it, Bouvet de Lozier displayed abundant active courage; but a brave man's head might be turned, and his heart taken out of him by the widespread reports of the horrors said to be committed in that state-prison, and by the dread that torture or long suffering, or the instinct of self-preservation at the moment of trial or execution, might

prompt disclosures fatal to his friends, and confessions of facts which had never happened. As it was, failing in hanging himself, and being thenceforward watched and beset, as one supposed to know most of the designs of his party, although he denied the intention of assassination, Bouvet de Lozier confessed, some time before the trial, that he had come into France in order to overthrow the Consular government and re-establish the Bourbons; and that Pichegru had had some communications with Moreau.

Monsieur, or Louis XVIII., was out of Bonaparte's reach, and living under the Emperor of Russia's protection at Warsaw; his brother, the Count d'Artois, his nephew, the Duke de Berri, and the other princes of his family, were safe in London, unless that invasion could be achieved of which there seemed no present probability. But close on the French frontiers, and within the grasp of a night-marching corps of gendarmes-à-cheval, was a young Bourbon prince, and the bravest and most interesting, if not the best, living member of that somewhat degenerate race. Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, who was born at Chantilly, in August, 1772, was the son of the Duke of Bourbon and grandson of the Prince of Condé; being a lateral branch of the then reigning family of France. He had served under his grandfather in the emigrant army that fought in the Netherlands and on the Rhine against the Jacobin republicans, and had displayed not only a high and romantic personal courage, but a degree of military knowledge and ability which made the royalists consider him a worthy descendant of the Condés—the favourite heroes of France until the revolution broke out. Gay, light-hearted, witty, gallant, and not over-scrupulous in pursuit of pleasure, he had all the qualities which the French most admired, and which constituted the *beau seigneur*, or fine gentleman in the old times. At the peace of Lunéville, in 1801, the emigrant corps being completely disbanded, the Duke d'Enghien fixed his residence at Ettenheim, a château on the German side of the Rhine, a few miles from that river, and in the territories of the Margrave of Baden. This choice of a residence was influenced by an attachment between him and the Princess Charlotte de Rohan, who resided at Ettenheim with her near relative the Cardinal de Rohan, whose vices or presumptuous follies had contributed to blacken the fair fame of the last queen of France, and perhaps even to precipitate the revolution. We trust, and we believe, there is evidence to show that d'Enghien, though not without his frivolities, was altogether a different cast of man from the notorious cardinal. His heroical death alone were proof enough. But, if d'Enghien had been the most vicious or contemptible of far-descended princes, "the deep damnation of his taking-off" would not be a whit the less. "That unfortunate prince," says Bourrienne, who only pretends to relate what he knew on the very best authority, "was at Ettenheim in consequence of a love affair, and had no communication whatever with those who had been concocting a plot in the interior of France."* Between love, hunting in the Black Forest, and cultivating with his own hands a small flower-garden, he passed his whole time. But, as there was the closest connexion between the two Polignacs, de Rivière, and others, and the French princes in England, who could not be reached, Bonaparte decided that d'Enghien, who could be reached, was in the plot also, and that his life must be sacrificed, if not to his security, to his vengeance. By one of those orders that flew like lightning from Paris to all the extremities of France, the officer commanding at Strasbourg was enjoined to send some troops across the Rhine by night and seize the duke in his château; and Caulaincourt, one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp, and soon afterwards called Duke of Vicenza, was sent by his master to the Rhine to superintend the operation. Caulaincourt gave the *delicate* commission to Colonel Ordenner, commandant of the gendarmerie-à-cheval, who, on the night of the 14th of March, crossed the river with some squadrons of gendarmes and other cavalry, entered the territory of Baden, as though it had been a French province, and advancing at the charging pace soon surrounded the château of Ettenheim. The duke, it is said, had been apprised a day or two before (according to Bourrienne it was Talleyrand who gave the merciful hint) that some design against him was on foot. But he could not believe it: he was living in a friendly country a peaceable and inoffensive life, under the protection of the laws both of nature and of nations; and in consequence of this security, those who came to kidnap him found that no kind of precaution had been taken against them. When the duke was roused from his midnight slumber by the tramp of their horses' feet and by the rattling of their arms, he sprang out of bed, and from the window perceived that the château was surrounded, and that a detachment of French cavalry was watching the neigh-

* Bourrienne, who had by this time ceased to be private secretary (chiefly because Bonaparte could not bear the familiarity of a man who had once been his college-companion and equal, and rather superior to him in the goods of fortune), adds—"Had I been in the First Consul's intimacy, I may aver, with as much confidence as pride, that the blood of the Duke d'Enghien would not have imprinted an indelible stain on the glory of Bonaparte. I feel a conviction that it would have been very possible for me to have dissuaded Bonaparte from his fatal design, inasmuch as I positively know that his object, after the termination of the peace, was merely to frighten the emigrants, in order to drive them from Ettenheim, where great numbers, like the Duke d'Enghien, had sought refuge. His anger was particularly directed against a Baroness Reith and a Baroness Ettengein, who had loudly vituperated him, and distributed numerous libels on the left bank of the Rhine. At that period Bonaparte had as little design against the Duke d'Enghien's life as against that of any other emigrant. I must, however, admit, that, when Bonaparte spoke to Rapp and Duroc of the emigrants on the other side of the Rhine, he expressed himself with much irritability; so much so, indeed, that M. de Talleyrand, dreading its effects for the Duke d'Enghien, warned that prince, through the medium of a lady to whom he was attached, of his danger, and advised him to proceed to a greater distance from the frontier. On receiving this notice the prince resolved to rejoin his grandfather, which he could not do but by passing through the Austrian territory. Should any doubt exist as to these facts, it may be added, that Sir Charles Stuart wrote to M. de Cobentzel to solicit a passport for the Duke d'Enghien; and it was solely owing to the delay of the Austrian Cabinet that time was afforded for the First Consul to order the arrest of the unfortunate prince, as soon as he had formed the horrible resolution of shedding the blood of a Bourbon."—*Memoirs*.

bouring town of Ettenheim, and blocking up the road which led from it to the castle. He nevertheless determined to fight for his liberty, and having thrown on some clothes, he and his faithful valet Joseph armed themselves with fowling-pieces. His officers and other persons of his limited establishment presently joined him, armed also with fowling-pieces, which, with their side-arms and a few pistols, were the only weapons in the château. The stairs of the castle were, however, straight and narrow, so that, from the first landing-place, an obstinate defence might have been made against the assailants. The duke preserved the most perfect coolness, and made the ablest dispositions for resistance;—his officers and servants were to load the fowling-pieces under cover, while he, at the head of the stairs, discharged them successively, as fast as they could load, and with an effect the more to be relied upon as he was a wonderful shot. The gendarmes soon broke the lower door, and seemed to be about to ascend the narrow stairs, where some of them must have received the proper reward of their conduct, when the duke's first gentleman, a Baron Grinstein, threw himself upon him, caught him in his arms, and dragged him into a room which opened upon the head of the staircase, exclaiming that all resistance was vain, and that care must be taken of the precious life of his royal highness. It has never, we believe, been ascertained whether the Baron acted upon a criminal or upon an honourable and humane motive; but we are inclined to believe that his motive was good, that he saw that the Bourbon prince must perish in such an unequal struggle, and that he could not conceive, if he submitted to captivity, that his enemies would ever proceed to the horrible extremity of taking his life. It has been well said that one cannot help wishing, on the first impression, that the Duke had had the satisfaction of dying amidst his dying enemies, with his arms in his hands; but that Heaven ordained for him a still nobler fate, and fraught with a nobler lesson. "Had he died in that midnight scuffle, the atrocity of Bonaparte might have been doubted; the cool heroic devotion of the young and gallant victim would not have been tried and proved; the deep and lasting indignation of Europe would not have been excited; and the retributive justice of Heaven, in the fate of Murat and Bonaparte, would have wanted its highest effect, its most exemplary vindication."* When the French gendarmes entered the room into which Grinstein had dragged the duke, their first question was, "Which of you is the Duke d'Enghien?" "If you are sent here to seize him," said the duke, "you ought to have a description of his person in your order." "Which of you is the man?" cried the soldiers, presenting their long pistols. No answer was returned. "Then," shouted the officer in command, "we must seize you all." And they were all seized and bound, being all, except Baron Grinstein, less than half-dressed. The kidnappers instantly marched the whole party out of the château and through the town of Ettenheim, for, though they had no resistance to apprehend, their conscience made cowards of them all; and they were nervously eager to recross the Rhine and get back within the strong walls of Strasbourg. By this time the quiet little town, which, like the château, had been buried in sleep, was all on foot and on tiptoe, in the most excited state of curiosity, astonishment, and consternation; and it is said that the Princess Charlotte de Rohan, who, alarmed at the noise, had risen from her bed and run to a window, saw, but it is supposed without recognising him, her lover the duke dragged past her house, with no other covering but loose trowsers, a waistcoat, and a pair of slippers. At a little distance from Ettenheim they halted at a mill where was the burgomaster of the town. Whether it was this German boor, or the duke's secretary, who was living in the town, and who now came running after his master imploring to be allowed to share his fate, that first pointed out which of the party was his royal highness, is not known, and is not very important; but it is certain that the duke was recognised at the mill. He then asked to be allowed to send his valet back to the château for linen, clothes, and some money. This was granted; and as soon as the servant returned the duke dressed himself, and the whole party proceeded rapidly to the Rhine. They crossed that river between Cappell and Reinau, and on the opposite bank found carriages waiting for them. The French wanted to place Baron Grinstein in the same carriage with the duke, but he refused to be so accompanied, and insisted upon taking with him, instead, his brave and faithful valet Joseph, who had endeavoured to assist him in defending the château. On their arrival at Strasbourg all the prisoners were confined in the citadel. Caulaincourt, who had directed and superintended the whole operation from Offenbourg, had not yet returned to Strasbourg, and appears to have been fully determined not to face his illustrious victim. During that day and the two following days the prince was respectfully treated, and none of the soldiery seem to have imagined that worse was intended him than close confinement in some state prison. But towards evening on the 18th Caulaincourt returned, and at the dead of night the wearied duke's bed was surrounded by gendarmes, who bade him rise and dress himself with all haste, *as he was about to go a journey*. He asked for the attendance of the faithful Joseph: he was told he would have no need of any valet where he was going. He asked to take some linen with him; and he was told that two shirts would be quite enough. All this might have convinced him that his journey was to a bloody grave. He distributed to his attendants who had now gathered round him all the money he had except one rouleau, and a few loose pieces of gold and silver; and after he had affectionately given them his last farewell they were thrust out of the apartment. But from the

* Quarterly Review, vol. xvii., article in answer to Mr. Warden.

corridor these afflicted servants heard the noise of preparation for departure, and the clanking of the chains with which his kidnappers had the needless barbarity to confine the prince's arms. The carriage which conveyed him only stopped to change horses and mounted escorts; he was never permitted to quit it, and was scarcely allowed the time and opportunity to procure any refreshments. It was the dusk of the evening of the 20th of March when, with doleful sound, it rolled over the drawbridge and through the arched gateway of the gloomy old fortress of Vincennes. At first no one there knew who he was; but the wife of the commandant—of the infamous Harrel, who had been promoted for the services he had rendered in the affair of the Ceracchi and Arena plot—was the daughter of the duke's nurse, and she recognised her royal foster-brother. His name was soon whispered through the gloomy edifice, and, as he complained of hunger and fatigue, all the inmates of it, and even the officers and men of the regiment in garrison there, vied with each other in showing him attentions. This alarmed the principal agents of the crime about to be finished: the regiment was immediately ordered under arms, and marched out to the heights of Belle-Ville, where it bivouacked for the night; and the castle was left to Savary's gendarmes, whose hearts, like their commander's, were less sensible of pity, and whose nerves were strong to do whatever the First Consul might command. Such was the unlimited, Oriental devotion of Savary to the military chief who had been the architect of his fortune, that he was reported to have said, "If the First Consul ordered me to kill my own father, I would kill him." The fact has been denied by some of those on whom the eternal infamy rests; but there appears little reason to doubt the positive assertion made by Bourrienne and others, that the duke's grave was dug within the fortress before he arrived.*

When it was reported at Malmaison, where the Consular Court was residing, that the Duke d'Enghien was safely lodged in the donjon, which is situated about a league east of Paris, it was expected that the First Consul would assemble his council; but he did nothing of the sort, determining that the whole responsibility should rest with himself, and those ever ready instruments of his will who had sold their souls to his fortunes and to their own aggrandisement. Josephine, who had a feeling and generous heart, and a constant aversion to tyranny and cruelty, which makes one forget and forgive her frivolities and her womanly weaknesses, was horror-stricken at the intelligence; and, throwing herself on her knees, she implored her husband to stop short in this foul crime, to save the life of the helpless trepanned prince, lest all the world should cry shame upon him, and Heaven avenge the deed on him and his. But the ruthless man would not be moved. He said, in his sternest manner, "Woman, mind your own business! These are not things for women to meddle with! Let me alone!" Before this he had said, and in a way which left no doubt of his fixed determination, "I will put an end to these conspiracies! If the emigrants will conspire, I will have them shot! I am told that there are some of them concealed in the house of the Austrian ambassador. I do not believe that; but if I did, I would have Cobentzel shot along with them. The Bourbons must be taught that they are not to sport with my life with impunity." Talleyrand was gone from Malmaison into Paris, and, like many other members of the government, appears to have known nothing of the last act of the tragedy until it was over. It seems doubtful whether even Fouché were not left in this ignorance. An order was written out to Murat, the military governor of Paris. It was to this effect:—"The government of the Republic decree as follows: Art. I.—The ci-devant Duke d'Enghien, accused of having borne arms against the Republic, and having been and still being in the pay of England, of being engaged in the plots set on foot by that power against the external and internal security of the Republic, shall be delivered over to a military commission, composed of seven members, named by the governor of Paris, who shall assemble at Vincennes. Art. II.—The grand judge, minister of war, and general-governor of Paris, are charged with the execution of the present decree." This order bore two signatures: first, that of Bonaparte, First Consul; and next, that of Maret, then secretary of the council of state, and subsequently Bonaparte's most favourite diplomatist and Duke of Bassano. Murat, who was certainly not the worst man of the school he belonged to, and who displayed on many occasions generosity and feeling, and a horror of cold-blooded executions, afterwards pleaded that he disapproved of the whole of this proceeding, and, together with his wife (certainly the best and ablest of Bonaparte's sisters), he implored the First Consul to forego his purpose; but, unfortunately, we have little more than Murat's own word, and a third-

* "About half-past twelve on the 22nd of March (that is, the day after the duke's execution) I was informed," says Bourrienne, "that some one wished to speak with me. It was Harrel. I will relate word for word what he communicated to me. Harrel probably thought that he was bound in gratitude to give me these details; but he owed me no gratitude, for it was much against my will that he had encouraged the Ceracchi conspiracy, and received the reward of his treachery [*see ante, pp.* 19, 20, *foot-note*]. The following is Harrel's statement: 'On the evening of the day before yesterday I was asked whether I had a vacant room to lodge a prisoner in. I replied No—that there was only my room besides the council-chamber. I was commanded to prepare instantly an apartment in which a prisoner could sleep, who was to arrive that evening. I was also desired to dig a pit in the court-yard. I replied that that could not be easily done, as the court-yard was paved. The moat was then fixed upon, *and there the pit was dug*. The prince arrived at seven o'clock in the evening; he was perishing with cold and hunger. He did not appear dispirited. He said he wanted something to eat, and to go to bed afterwards. His apartment not being yet sufficiently aired, I took him into my own, and sent into the village for some refreshments. The prince sat down to table, and invited me to eat with him. He then asked me a number of questions about Vincennes, as what was going on there and other particulars. He told me that he had been brought up in the neighbourhood of the castle, and spoke to me with great freedom and kindness. 'What do they want with me?' he said: 'what do they mean to do with me?' But these questions betrayed no uneasiness or anxiety. My wife, who was ill, was lying in the same room in an alcove, closed by a railing. She heard, without being perceived, all our conversation, and she was exceedingly agitated, for she recognised the prince, whose foster-sister she was, and from whose family she had enjoyed a pension before the revolution. The prince hastened to bed; but, before he could have fallen asleep, the judges sent to request his presence in the council-chamber.'"

hand report of his own dying declaration, for these facts; whereas, on the other hand, it is proved beyond the reach of a doubt or a quibble, that Murat named the military commission, countersigned the order which Bonaparte and Maret had signed, and issued an order of his own, directing the commission "to assemble *immediately* at the Château of Vincennes to take cognizance, without separating, of the accused, on the charges set forth in the decree of the government."* The very sentence which was published, stated that all the members of the military commission were "named by the general-in-chief (Murat), Governor of Paris." Neither the grand judge (Regnier), nor the minister of war (Berthier), though named in Bonaparte s order as well as Murat, had anything to do with the nomination of the commission, which Murat must have known was intended merely to pass a form of a sentence for that death which had been for many days predetermined in the mind of his brother-in-law. The very choice of the individuals pleads strongly against Murat's declarations; they were for the most part friends of Savary, and remorseless scoundrels all. They were (and their otherwise obscure names will live in a perpetuity of infamy), General Hulin, president, who is said to have had a sentence ready signed in his pocket, Colonels Bazancourt, Barrois, Guiton, Ravier, and Rabbe, and Captain Nolin, who acted as secretary; and to these seven was added d'Autancourt, a captain in the army, and military judge-advocate. It must have been notorious to Murat that not one of these men bore a good character, even in that army which had never been very scrupulous, and that Hulin, who was commandant of the grenadiers of Bonaparte's consular guard, would hesitate at no deed that the Consul expected from him.† If Murat had been so anxious to prevent the crime, would he have appointed as president a man so likely to perpetrate it? The part which Murat took in the business, however, was nothing to that played by Savary, the head of Bonaparte's *most* secret or household police, who had been employed for several weeks in investigating the Georges-Cadoudal and Pichegru conspiracy with which it was attempted to connect the Duke d'Enghien; and who had returned a day or two before from the coast, having failed in the attempt to decoy the Count d'Artois or the Duke de Berri into France. It was Savary that carried a sealed and private letter from Bonaparte to Murat; it was Savary that collected at Murat's house, in the Place Vendôme, the officers that were to compose the commission; it was Savary that, *at twelve o'clock at night*, ordered the judge-advocate to attend the governor of Paris (Murat), who immediately gave him orders to proceed to General Hulin, whom he would find at the castle of Vincennes, and from whom he was to take and receive ulterior orders; it was Savary that took the command of a brigade, that selected the troops most fit for the work in hand, and that sent picked men out of the *gendarmerie d'élite*, his own corps, into the castle to be ready to fusilade and bury the duke, even before his mock trial commenced; and what more Savary did will appear presently. From Murat's house to Vincennes was three or four miles, so that the judge-advocate, who was not summoned from his own residence till midnight, who had to traverse a good part of Paris to get to Murat's house, and who was detained there some time to receive his instructions, could not have reached the château or donjon of Vincennes before one or half-past one in the morning; and yet, as is stated in the body of the instrument itself, the sentence was passed at two o'clock in the morning—a pretty good proof that the trial and sentence had all been arranged beforehand. It had probably been conveyed by Savary to Hulin in the sealed and secret letter. The document which was published was so long, that it could not even have been written out by a quick pen in the time which intervened between the arrival of the judge-advocate and the passing of the sentence: and, as we shall see anon, there were actually two sentences, the second being as long the first. It was not until the judge-advocate arrived at the castle that he knew the business he had to perform. Then Hulin put into his hands a copy of that order which we have quoted, signed by Bonaparte and Maret, and countersigned by Murat. There was no time for him to examine any evidence, if evidence had existed; but none whatever was presented to him, the only thing put into his hand being the indictment, with the First Consul's order to proceed to judgment forthwith. A few minutes after the judge-advocate's arrival the steps of the *gendarmerie d'élite* were heard on the drawbridge, and Savary entered the donjon and the council-chamber, where Harrel had spread a green cloth over an ancient worm-eaten table, and had lighted a wood-fire on the capacious hearth, for that March night was very cold, and the apartment was gloomy, damp, and insalubrious. Hulin then said, "Let the prisoner be brought in." The duke, worn out with the fatigue of travelling over rough roads two days and nights in a close carriage, was falling into a profound sleep. The judge-advocate himself roused him, and led him to the council-chamber. "I am bound to say," said President Hulin, who, like nearly all concerned in the horrible butchery, wrote, many years after, when Bonaparte was himself a wretched prisoner at St. Helena, a pamphlet to exculpate himself by throwing a greater portion of the guilt on others, "I am bound to say that the prisoner presented himself before us with a noble assurance; he repelled with great force the charge (*which was not mentioned in the indictment*) of having conspired, directly or in-

* Dupin, Pièces Judiciaires et Historiques relatives au Procès du Duc d'Enghien. Paris, 1823.

† Hulin had been a waiter at a lemonade shop. Like so many other Jacobins, he had first distinguished himself at the taking of the Bastille; and he had received a medal, and the title of Vanqueur de la Bastille. He has been accused of having been one of the most active of the Septembrizers; but the evidence on this last point seems to be very defective. What is better known is the fact that Murat, himself the son of an innkeeper and postmaster, had patronised the *garçon limonadier*, and had promoted his advancement in the army.

directly, in any plot for assassinating the First Consul; but he owned that he had borne arms against France, insisting, with a degree of courage and pride (which even for his own sake we could not repress), that he had maintained the rights of his family,—that a Condé never could enter France but with arms in his hand. 'My birth, my feelings, my opinions,' he added, 'render me the eternal enemy of your government.'" While the judge-advocate interrogated the prisoner, Savary stood behind the president, with his back turned to the fire. To every question the prince replied in the clearest and most spirited manner. When asked his name, he told it. Hulin said afterwards, with atrocious *sang-froid*, "If the prince had not told us his name, we should have been prettily puzzled to know what to do, as there was not one of us who knew his person, or could identify him." He related when and how he had been compelled to leave France with his father and grandfather, and when and where he had fought for the king. When asked what was his place in the army of Condé, he said with pride, "I was always in the van." He stated that he had been living quietly for two years and a half at Ettenheim; that he first went there on the invitation of the Cardinal de Rohan, who was ex-bishop of Strasbourg, and still possessed of territories and of spiritual jurisdiction in that part of the country; and that after the death of the cardinal, which happened in the spring of 1802, he had officially applied to, and had received from the Elector Margrave of Baden, the sovereign of the country, permission to continue to reside there. "But," said he, "the reasons which had determined my residence at Ettenheim no longer subsisting, I was proposing to move farther off, to Fribourg in Brisgau, a much more agreeable town than Ettenheim, where I remained chiefly because the country abounds in game, and the elector had granted me permission to shoot and hunt in his woods; and I am very fond of that sport." He denied that he had ever been in England, or in the interior of France, since he had fled from it; but, when asked whether he was not in the pay of England, he replied that he received an annual allowance from that court, and that that was all he had to live upon. When reproached with having fought against his country, he replied that he had fought for his king; and that, considering his birth and situation, no other line of conduct could have been expected from him. When asked if he knew General Pichegru, and if he had any intercourse or correspondence with him, he answered that to the best of his knowledge he had never seen him; that he had never had any intercourse with him; that he knew indeed that Pichegru had wished to see him; but that he was happy at not having known him, if what they were saying was true about *the vile means he intended to employ*. He declared that he did not know, and had never seen, General Dumouriez, whom, according to some of the numerous and contradictory accounts, Bonaparte believed to have been concealed with him at Ettenheim. To the question, whether since the peace he had not kept up correspondences in the interior of France, he replied, that he had written occasionally to some private friends, who had served with him, and who were still attached to him, about their and his own private concerns; but that these correspondences were not of the nature which he supposed they alluded to. Here ended the interrogatory, and this was absolutely all the trial. Not a single witness of any kind was examined, nor was any evidence produced, except some insignificant papers which proved nothing, and which are stated in the sentence to have been read *secretly* by the commission, *before* the prisoner was brought in. No counsel was allowed, although, according to the existing law, counsel was assigned to every prisoner at the bar. Being called upon to sign the *procès-verbal*, the duke said, or it was said for him, in that document as published, "Before signing it I earnestly demand to have a private audience of the First Consul. My name, my rank, my manner of thinking, and the horror of my situation, make me hope that he will not refuse this my demand." According to some accounts, Hulin said they had nothing to do but to pass sentence; according to others it was Savary that said there was no use in losing time and troubling the Consul; and, according to others, who must be in error, as there was not time to allow the swiftest of messengers to go to and return from Malmaison, the report being sent to Bonaparte to know his further pleasure, the court received for answer their own letter, marked with the emphatic words, "Condemned to death." But, in fact, this condemnation had been inserted in the first of the two sentences, blanks being left to name the article of law applicable to the case. Having signed the *procès-verbal* (at least his signature was affixed to the thing they printed), the prince was ordered to withdraw; and such was his exhaustion, and so little did he expect immediate death, that he calmly lay down again on the bed which Harrel had prepared for him, and fell into a sound sleep. When he was gone, some doubt was expressed by these delicate assassins touching the legality of the first sentence with the blank, which, nevertheless, they had all signed; and then was produced the second draft of his sentence, which they must have brought with them; if, indeed, it was not concocted and arranged after the duke's execution. The originals of both these monstrous documents have been discovered, and examined by M. Dupin, an acute lawyer; and they seem to testify that the atrocious guilt of the proceedings had bewildered and stupified the intellect of the agents employed, and had rendered them incapable of glossing over their villany. We have President Hulin's confession that they all signed the first sentence—and that was the sentence (with a blank left for the law) that was carried into execution.*

* He says, "We tried *many* drafts of the sentence; among others, the first one; but, *after we had signed it*, we doubted whether *it was regular*, and we therefore made the greffier proceed to prepare a new

The two sentences differed in several important particulars:—both were the meanest mockeries of law; but of the two, the first really appears to have been the better one, or the one in which there was the less juggling. The first sentence set forth the evidence, which, as we have shown, began and ended with the duke's examination, but left in blank the law applicable to it. The second sentence set forth the law, but omitted the evidence altogether. This was a confession that they could not make the evidence tally with the law, and were therefore under the necessity of suppressing either the law or the evidence. In the original indictment there were three counts, but the duke was found guilty on six other and different charges, and condemned upon three other charges, different from all, and wholly unsupported by any kind of evidence. But the most extraordinary variation between the two sentences was this:—the first ordered *immediate execution*, which was directly contrary to the existing code of law, which, in all cases, allowed twenty-four hours for appeal; the second sentence said nothing about *execution*, but directed that copies of the sentence should be sent, *within the time prescribed by law*, to the grand judge, the minister-of-war, and the military governor of Paris. But before these copies of the sentence could be made out, and many hours before any one of them had reached its destination, the sentence had been executed.*

The six charges, on which the duke was found guilty "unanimously," were these:—1. Having borne arms against the French republic. 2. Having offered his services to the English government, the enemy of the French people. 3. Having received and accredited agents of the said English government, of having procured them means of intelligence in France, and of having conspired with them against the external and internal safety of the republic. 4. Having placed himself at the head of a large collection of French emigrants and others, formed on the frontiers of France, in the countries of Fribourg and Baden, paid by England. 5. Having had communications with the town of Strasbourg, tending to excite insurrection in the neighbouring departments, for the purpose of making a diversion in favour of England. 6. Being one of the favourers and accomplices of the plot carried on by the English against the life of the First Consul, and intending, in the event of the success of such conspiracy, to enter France. And to these six clauses was added, "Thereupon the president put the question as to the punishment to be inflicted, and, the voices being collected as before (beginning with the junior and ending with the president), the special military commission unanimously condemn Louis-Antoine Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, to death, for the crimes of espionage, correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and attempts against the external and internal safety of the republic." The reader will bear in mind that there was not only no evidence on oath, but no evidence at all; that there was not even a witness; that there was actually no examination whatever except of the prisoner himself; and that that examination contradicted almost every particle of the charge.* The prince had expressed his abhorrence of the *vile means* (assassination) imputed to Pichegru; he had stated distinctly, and in a tone which left no doubt of his entire veracity, that he had no correspondence with France except on private affairs; and, in admitting the fact that he received an allowance from the English court, he had coupled with the confession the touching avowal that he took that money *because he had nothing else to live upon.* Yet upon this interrogatory, which was taken down in writing, and submitted in that form to the court-martial or military commission, after they had heard it all *vivâ voce*, these eight scoundrels or cowards unanimously found him guilty of "Having received the agents of England, procured them the means of treasonable correspondence with the interior of France, and conspired with them," &c., there not being a syllable of the evidence before them which had the most remote relation to such a charge. Nor was there a tittle of evidence which bore the most remote relation to the charges of his having placed himself at the head of an assemblage of emigrants and others in English pay; and of his having held communications within the town of Strasbourg for the purpose of creating insurrections—the word Strasbourg never having been uttered in the whole course of the prince's examination, and being inserted in the sentence after he had quitted the room. Nor had there been a word said about any plots carried on by *the English* for the assassination of the Consul, the only allusion to any attempt on the life of the Consul being an imputation on Pichegru, *a Frenchman*, who denied the charge, and who could never be proved guilty of it. It seems pretty clear to us that Savary, who best knew the wishes and intentions of his master, and who stood behind the president's chair all the time, whispered in Hulin's

draft, grounded chiefly on a report of the privy councillor Réal, and the answers of the prince. This second draft was the true one, and ought alone to have been preserved."—*Explications offertes aux hommes impartiaux. Par M. le Comte Hulin.*

* It is said confidently by some, that the second sentence was written *after* the duke's execution, and at Malmaison, under the First Consul's own eye; and that, as the members of the military commission were not present to sign their names, other persons signed for them. The real signatures, however, were afterwards found affixed to the document.

General Hulin, as we have seen, regrets that the first sentence had not been destroyed; but Savary hoped, and no doubt believed, that both sentences, and all the papers connected with the horrible affair, had been burnt before the Restoration. He, indeed, asserts that the papers were destroyed. But, in 1823, when his audacious publication appeared, provoking Hulin and the rest to answer it, and when discussion and the press were free, M. Dupin found both the sentences, the original interrogatory, with the Duke d'Enghien's answers, and a heap of other papers—a damning heap of evidence which now can never be destroyed.

* Nineteen years after the horrible catastrophe, when Savary was an outcast from his country, and a wanderer on the face of the earth like another Cain, with an indelible mark upon him, he was fain to confess that "there were neither documents and proofs nor witnesses against the prince; and in his declaration he emphatically denied the accusations brought against him."—"His connexions with England, in the rank in which he was born," adds Savary, "his correspondence with his grandfather, the Prince of Condé, could not be considered as evidence of any conspiracy. And, even if it had been otherwise, what judge is so ignorant as not to know the admissions of the party accused are never sufficient to condemn him, if unsupported by other testimony?—*Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Mémoires.*

ear that the English must be blackened as well as the Duke; that the murder of the Bourbon would be made palatable to the French people by connecting him with the plots and crimes of their ancient enemies; that it would not be enough to dispatch the Duke, but that, with the same blow, they must assassinate the reputation of the British court and government. There was, indeed, nothing new in this latter proceeding. When Bonaparte found he could not fix the crime of the infernal machine on the Jacobins, he cast the odium of it upon England. The other illegalities in this most iniquitous of trials are too obvious and glaring to call for much remark. The violation of the neutral and friendly territory of Baden was the beginning of the odious irregularities, and in itself vitiated all the proceedings which followed. The decrees of the Convention and Directory against such Frenchmen as bore arms against the Republic, savage as they were, applied only to emigrants taken in France, or in an enemy's country; and Baden was neither the one nor the other. Again, these laws against the emigrants did not apply to the Bourbon princes, who were a class apart, and were for ever banished from the French territory. By the existing code, the court-martial or military commission was incompetent to try plots undertaken against the republic; and the whole proceedings in the donjon of Vincennes were *de plus illegal*, as having been carried on in the dead of night, precipitately, with closed doors,* without defender or counsel for the prisoner, without witnesses, without documents.

Hulin subsequently pleaded the only (though a base) argument that could at all avail him, and the seven officers who acted with him. "*Appointed to be judges*," said he, "*we were obliged to act as judges at the risk of being judged ourselves.*" We are disposed to give credit to his assertions—especially as they are flatly contradicted only by Savary—that he and his colleagues finished their share in the work of iniquity by writing out and signing the two sentences; that the immediate execution was not authorized by them; and that they were expecting that the four-and-twenty hours prescribed by law would be allowed, when they heard an explosion, a crash of musketry in the moat, which told them that Savary had terminated the affair.† Savary himself says, "The court deliberated a long time; it was not till two hours after the room was cleared that the sentence was known. The officer who commanded the infantry of my regiment came with deep emotion to tell me that a party was required to execute the sentence—I answered, 'GIVE IT.' 'Where shall the party of execution be placed?' asked the officer—'Where,' I answered, 'you can hurt nobody;' for already the inhabitants of the populous neighbourhood of Paris were proceeding along the roads to the several markets." This tender-heartedness and anxiety about not hurting some innocent market-gardener, or other passer by, contrasts dramatically with the ferocious laconism "GIVE IT;" but, unfortunately for Savary's pretence, no road passed within a mile of the front of the castle; and, still more unfortunately, the place of execution had been fixed by the digging of the grave on the preceding evening—had been fixed in the ditch of the fortress, about fourteen feet below the level of the ground, on a spot where, even if there had been roads passing close by the castle or running all round it, Savary's *gendarmes d'élite* might have fusiladed the whole race of the Bourbons, and all the crowned or royal princes of Europe to boot, without the slightest risk of hitting any passer by.

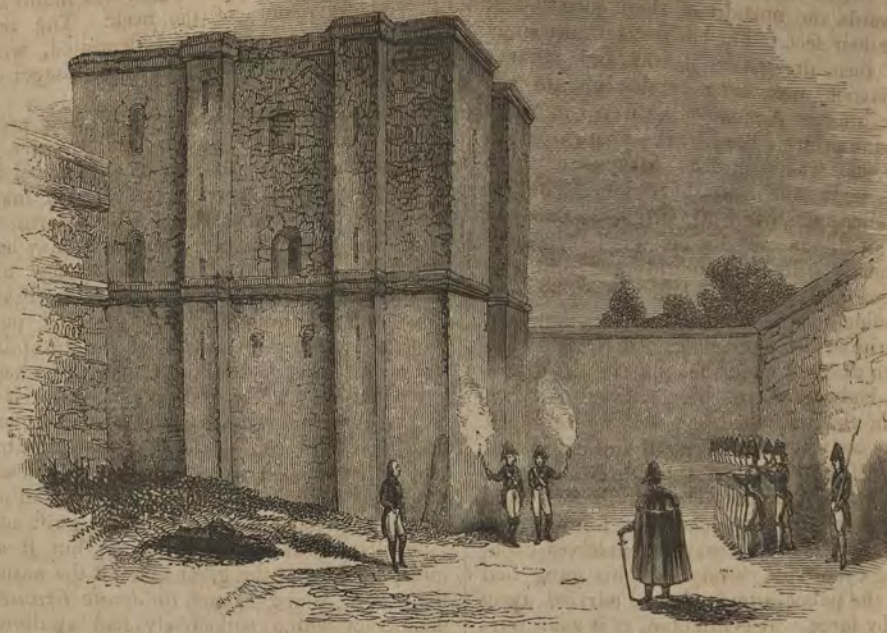
The prince was fast asleep, when Savary bade his subaltern officer give the party that were to fire into his heart—his two dry words, 'GIVE IT', being the only death-warrant of the descendant of so many kings and heroes—and in a sound sleep the execution party found him when they went to his bedside and ordered him to rise and follow. "He had so little suspicion of the fate that awaited him, that, on descending the rough staircase leading to the castle-ditch, the prince asked whither they were taking him. To this question he received no answer from Savary's tried and taciturn gendarmes. Harrel, the commandant, walked by the prince holding a lantern. Feeling the cold air which came up the dark staircase, he pressed Harrel's arm, and said "Are they going to immure me in an *oubliette?*"*

* Yet that bare-faced, unblushing villain, Savary, calls this an "*open court*," and Bonaparte himself called it "*a fair trial.*" An open court! The old castle was surrounded by troops, and was occupied in the interior by Savary's picked gendarmes, who permitted neither ingress nor egress. President Hulin himself declares, in the most solemn manner, that he and his colleagues in the commission were shut up in the council-chamber and an adjoining room, and could not communicate with those without, or see what was passing in the rest of the château.

† Hulin, who had fallen from his high estate, who was old, stricken with blindness, and retired from the world, when Savary provoked him to attempt the double task of palliating his own conduct and exposing that of Savary, says,—"Scarcely was it (the sentence) signed when I began a letter to the First Consul, in which I conveyed to him, in obedience to the *unanimous wish* of the court, the desire expressed by the prince of an interview with the First Consul, and further conjured the First Consul to remit the punishment, *which the severity of our situation did not permit us to elude.* It was at this moment that A MAN (*Savary*) who had persisted in remaining in the court-room, said, 'What are you doing there?'—'I am,' I replied, 'writing to the First Consul, to convey to him the wish of the prisoner and the *recommendation* of the court.'—'You have done *your* business,' said he, taking the pen out of my hand, 'and *what remains is* MINE.' I confess that I thought at the moment, and so did several of my colleagues, that he meant to say that the conveying these sentiments to the First Consul was *his* business. His answer thus understood left us still the hope that the recommendation would reach the First Consul. I only recollect that I even at the moment felt a kind of vexation at seeing him thus take out of my hands the only agreeable circumstance of the painful situation in which I was placed. In fact, how could we conceive that *a person had been placed over us, with an order to violate all the provisions of the law?* I was in the hall, outside the council-room, conversing about what had passed. Several knots of persons had got into private conversation—I was waiting for my carriage, which not being permitted (any more than those of the other members of the commission) to come into the inner court of the castle, delayed my departure and theirs. *We were ourselves shut in, and could not communicate with those without,* when an explosion was heard, when a terrible sound struck us to our hearts and froze them with terror and horror.

"Yes, I swear, in the name of myself and my colleagues, that this execution was not authorized by us; our sentence directed that copies should be sent to the minister of war, the grand judge, the governor-general of Paris. The latter (Murat) alone could, according to law, direct the execution; the copies were not yet made—it would have taken a considerable part of the day to make them."

* *Oubliette* (from the French verb *oublier*, to forget) was a subterranean dungeon, into which the victim was secretly thrown, and then as it were forgotten. There were *oubliettes* in the donjon of Vincennes; and in the old feudal times there were few castles, either in England or France, without them. Mr. Alison (History of Europe



VINCENNES. DEATH OF THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.

Savary himself tells us that it was not until he was brought down these back-stairs suddenly into the ditch that the prince heard his sentence: but there was no need of the sense of hearing; the sight of the grave, of Savary's gendarmes, and of the barrels of their muskets gleaming in the dim, lurid light, must have told the doomed Bourbon that his last moment on earth was come. The chief of Bonaparte's household police, in his anxiety to wash his hands of all minor parts of the guilt, denies that he fastened a lantern to the prince's breast, as a mark for the executioners; denies even that he descended into the ditch; and it seems to be proved that he did neither of these two things, but stood on a parapet which overlooked the ditch and the heads of his unflinching gendarmes. He seems also to deny that he gave the word of command TO FIRE: but he had uttered what amounted to the same thing, in saying GIVE IT.* As to the lantern, it is probable that the prince himself may have fixed it to his person, in order to guide in that dim obscurity the aim of the soldiers.* It is said that he asked for the attendance of a confessor, and that the brutal reply to the request was, "Would you die like a priest?" He cut off a lock of his hair, and gave it, with a miniature, and a gold ring, to an officer, imploring him to cause it to be delivered, through the medium of Bonaparte's wife, to the Princess de Rohan; and then he presented his

from the commencement of the French Revolution), with his usual felicity in mis-translating, completely disfigures this passage, and deprives it of its obvious and tragical point. And yet nothing can be clearer or more easy of comprehension than the French of Bourrienne, who gives this passage, which chills the heart's blood, in continuation of the narrative that Harrel gave him the day after the execution of the duke.

To mistake, through nearly an entire volume, "droits de timbre," or Stamp Tax, for "Timber duty," is bad enough; but there, at least, no touching incident is spoiled by the mis-translation.

* According to a striking story told by Bourrienne, and according to every probability and usage in such a case, the word "To fire" was given by a non-commissioned officer of the select gendarmerie.

* Savary, who of course dwells most on the least important points of the tragedy, says that it was six o'clock in the morning, and broad day-light, and that therefore no torches and lanterns were needed. He admits, however, that there was a lantern in the ditch. Harrel certainly carried a lantern to light the prince down the dark staircase. But it appears the execution took place not at six, but before five o'clock: and it is particularly mentioned, on all hands, that the morning was gloomy and foggy. On such a morning, and in such a locality, with a forest and hills adjacent, a narrow castle-ditch fifteen feet deep below the surface of the soil would not be very well lighted even at six o'clock in the month of March.

Bourrienne says, "Much has been said about a lantern, which, it is pretended, was attached to one of the duke's button-holes. This is invention. Captain d'Autancourt, whose sight was not very good, took the lantern out of Harrel's hand to read the sentence to the victim, who had been condemned with as little regard to judicial forms as to justice. This circumstance probably gave rise to the story about the lantern." But it seems that no sentence was read: that the sentence was kept by the commission up stairs in the council-room to be copied; that, as we have said, the only death-warrant was Savary's "GIVE IT;" and that the only sentence was the word of command "to fire."

Savary also is exceedingly indignant at the imputation of having appropriated the duke's valuable gold watch; and he sublimely asks whether it is possible to believe that he, a general in the French army, a minister of state, had stolen a watch? As the watch was found in the prince's grave, Savary could not have stolen it—he only stole the prince's life. The execution, the interment, were conducted in the greatest hurry; and then all the parties concerned seem to have run back to Paris in haste and confusion, and like the midnight murderers that they were.

Savary disproves the theft, and almost succeeds in putting out the lantern; but this is all the exculpation he can make. In other matters his defence makes the conduct of himself and his master even worse than it was before believed to be.

breast to the soldiers, and, exclaiming "I die for my king and for France," fell with seven mortal bullets in his body. The men fired at the close distance of ten paces, and as they fired the duke rushed towards the muzzles of their pieces, and fell dead at their feet. The body was immediately taken up; then, dressed as it was, and without any examination, was flung carelessly into the ready-made grave. A stone was thrown into the grave near the prince's head by the man employed to fill it up, and who wished to have some mark whereby to know the body hereafter. The pit was soon filled, the band of murderers and the troops departed, the old donjon was left to more than its ordinary stillness and sadness: and then there came a little dog and laid himself on the grave, moaning and howling piteously; it was a little favourite of the duke, that had run after his master when dragged from the château of Ettenheim, that had afterwards been allowed to travel with him in the carriage, and that had escaped notice in the confusion of the trial and execution. The fidelity of the poor dog, that would not leave its master's grave, excited so much interest (and it was just that sort of incident that would sentimentalize hundreds of Parisians themselves capable of doing even what Savary and his gang had done), that the police interfered and carried away the poodle by force. A gentleman, it is said, purchased the dog from the man who carried him away, and kept him for many years out of affection to the memory of the unhappy prince. The site of the grave into which the yet warm remains of Condé's grandson, "uncoffined," "unaneled," were huddled like the carcass of a dog, is marked by a small cross at the bottom of the moat, on the side towards the forest of Vincennes. "There are few" says Bourrienne, "who have not seen that spot! Who has not made a pilgrimage to Vincennes, and dropped a tear where the victim fell?" But the victim lies there no longer. On the 21st of March, 1816, the twelfth anniversary of the murder, a committee appointed by the restored king of France, Louis XVIII., went to Vincennes to search for the body, and move it to a more becoming place of sepulture. The man who had dug the grave and filled it up was still alive, and several persons who had visited it shortly after the event recognised the precise spot. The sad "whereabout," must, indeed, have been known pretty accurately to the whole neighbourhood. After digging about *four* feet deep the boot of the right leg was discovered, then the rest of the body successively, and, lastly, the head, with the marking stone which the labourer stated he had thrown in. They found about the middle of the skeleton a mass of metallic matter, of the size and shape of a watch, but so decayed, that but for some small iron keys and a seal with the arms of Condé, which adhered to it, it would hardly have been recognised. They also found seventy pieces of gold coin, the contents of the rouleau which he had brought with him from Ettenheim; a small red morocco purse with some loose money, or eleven pieces of gold and five of silver; a ring and chain of gold which the prince was known always to wear about his neck, and which was found around the vertebral bones of the neck. The remains were placed in a coffin, and deposited, with the usual ceremonies of religion, in the chapel of the castle.*

But what, at the time, was the effect produced in Paris by the kidnapping and murder of the Duke d'Enghien? The few close personal friends of the prince that were in that capital may have felt an agony of astonishment, bewilderment, and grief; the royalists there, generally, may have deplored the event, though probably few of them were kept thereby two nights from the theatres, or their other habitual amusements and pursuits; some of the better-minded of the revolutionists, and of the party of the First Consul, who had swallowed the revolution and was digesting it for his own nutriment and growth, may have deplored the deed, and have considered it, as Fouché himself is said to have called it, a thing worse than a crime, a political blunder;† or some few of each of these parties may have shuddered at the guilt and shed momentary tears for the victim; but it appears indisputable that the great mass of the nation,—of the new or young France (*la Jeune France*)—the democracy which collectively had swallowed up more than the First Consul, the generation which had profited by the Revolution, entertained sentiments very different from those which were afterwards expressed upon the foul catastrophe. The one great dread of the revolutionary party, which, as we have urged repeatedly, must have included the great body of the people, or at the least of that stirring and active part of it which must be taken as the representative of the whole, was a counter-revolution and the restoration of the old dynasty, which their acquaintance with the preceding history of their country and their own practice would not permit them to disconnect from the notion of sanguinary reprisals; and which, in ordinary calculation, was likely to make a call upon them for a restitution of spoils, and for a searching inquiry into the titles by which they held the confiscated or sequestrated property of other men. Before the arrest of Pichegru it was known by many of the revolutionary party that Bonaparte himself had been in correspondence with Monsieur, the late king's brother, who, in the eyes of the legitimists, and of all the courts of Europe (though few of them could openly express the conviction, for the dread of Bonaparte's half million of bayonets), was Louis XVIII., King of France; and a consequent dread had arisen that the Corsican soldier of fortune might, at some moment, play the part which General Monk had performed in England, and bring back the Bourbons. From the secrecy in which his examinations were conducted, it was not,

* Quarterly Review, vol. xvii., Art. Answer to Warden, &c.

† Fouché's reported words are—"C'est pis qu'une crime, c'est une faute!"

generally known that Pichegru had threatened to proclaim on his trial this correspondence between Bonaparte and the expatriated Bourbon, and even to produce proofs of it; but the First Consul knew all this, and a great deal more—knew mysteries which accidents might bring to light at an awkward moment;—and it is more than presumable that these considerations had largely contributed to the crime which had been perpetrated under his orders. And when the crime was perpetrated the revolutionists could dismiss their apprehensions of a restoration—apprehensions absurd or unfounded, but which can be proved to have existed to an immense extent, and which had not a weaker hold on the French imagination on account of their absurdity;—they could congratulate themselves that now the hands of Bonaparte were dyed in the blood of the Bourbons even like their own, and that henceforward there was no chance of the First Consul enacting the part of General Monk. According to Thibaudeau it is altogether incorrect to pretend that the death of the Duke d'Enghien spread a general consternation in Paris, in the provinces and châteaux of France. "The ancient noblesse certainly were affected by it; but their mourning was not of long duration: not a single noble quitted on that account the court of Napoleon; the noblesse continued, as before, to rush thither in crowds. The nation was indifferent about it; their instinct told them that a dead Bourbon was an enemy the less." * If no noble quitted the new court, so was there only one man of that class that quitted the service of Bonaparte on account of the foul murder at Vincennes. That single exception was the false-sentimental, rhetorical, flowery, vague, wordy Vicomte de Chateaubriand, who had just been appointed to the very poor post of diplomatic agent or resident minister in the Valais, that miserable segment of Switzerland which Bonaparte had torn from the canton of Berne, and which a few years after he united as an integral part to France. Those who evaporate and exhaust themselves in their enthusiastic praise of this great sacrifice to principle, and to the abhorrence of injustice and cruelty, seem to forget that Chateaubriand subsequently, in one of the prefaces to his many books, styled Bonaparte the man sent by God in sign of reconciliation; and on his return from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land brought back, nicely corked and hermetically sealed, a bottle full of the water of the river Jordan, wherewith to baptize the son of the Emperor Napoleon, the new King of Rome. The forgetfulness of these people is perhaps the less surprising as the Breton vicomte himself appears to have forgotten the circumstances from the moment that the ancient dynasty was restored, and he became minister of state and a peer of France under Louis XVIII.

But, whatever may have been the sensation produced in Paris or in the rest of France by this atrocious affair, it is certain that the kidnapping and murder of the Duke d'Enghien excited an indignant feeling in all the rest of Europe, and produced immediate demonstrations unfavourable to Bonaparte in all the courts that were strong enough, or remote enough, to hazard the expression of their opinion. The court of St. Petersburg ordered a public mourning for the death of the unfortunate prince, and remonstrated with his real assassin, the First Consul; and the Emperor Alexander, as mediator and guarantee of the continental peace, notified to the states of the Germanic Empire that he considered the violation of the territory of Baden and the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien as an overt attack on the security and independence of that empire. Going farther than this, the young Czar sent in a note to the Diet assembled at Ratisbon, complaining of this violation and criminal transgression of the law and rights of nations, and reminding the Diet that he had pledged himself, together with the First Consul of France, to protect the rights and ensure the tranquillity of the minor states of the Germanic Confederation. The King of Sweden also remonstrated, and sent his note to the Germanic Diet, as a party interested through the possessions which he held in the empire, and as an ancient guarantee of the independence of that league. Bonaparte, whose pride could never bear reproach or interference, and who knew or suspected that Russia, some time before this, had listened to English proposals for a new coalition, made Talleyrand write a most insolent and outrageous note to the Russian ambassador. He asked why, when the Elector of Baden and the other German princes were silent (their silence proceeded from their weakness and their fears), Russia presumed to intermeddle in a matter that was wholly German? Whence came that strange pretension of Russia to mix audaciously in what did not concern her? When the Emperor Paul, the ally of France, and the father of the Emperor Alexander, fell under the blows of assassins, *sold to England*, had France advanced the political right of examining that mysterious iniquity? And, if the authors of that plot had been arrested at two leagues from the Russian frontier, would the cabinet of St. Petersburg have tolerated the demand of explanations about the violation of neutral territory? Russia was talking about the law and rights of nations, but had she not protected conspirators at Dresden, at Rome, at Paris, and had not one of her ambassadors (Markoff, who had conversed with Lord Whitworth in the embrasure of the window at the Tuileries) given quite recently his protection to intrigues and plots directed against the First Consul? This violent language might ensure, at no distant period, a war with Russia, but it was not calculated to remove the evil impression which had been made. This war indeed was almost a certainty before; but the kidnapping and the murder of the Bourbon prince, and the recriminations cast in the teeth of the young Czar (who, in the Moniteur and other French publications, was directly accused of being the assassin

* Hist. du Consulat.

of his own insane father), hastened the declaration of hostilities, and gave a keener edge to the Russian enmity. He gained victories after this, and he had triumphs—many and high triumphs, with a conquered kingdom, and a conquered empire in the dust before him—but from this time cheerfulness was banished from the heart, and joy and liveliness from the court, of Bonaparte; that court became more pompous and gorgeous, but it was sombre in its very splendour, and cold and chillingly doubtful and suspicious: for the dismal fate of Pichegru, the ruin and expulsion of Moreau, and the other incidents that were woven up in the same black web with the assassination of the Duke d'Enghien, even though acceptable to many, perhaps to the large majority of that court and of the Consul and Emperor's immediate adherents, made them all feel that they were living in a lion's den, and that the hour might come when the fate of the prince, or of Pichegru, or of Moreau, might be their own.

It is scarcely permitted us to quit this subject without saying a few words on the motives which have been attributed to the First Consul, and the excuses which have been made for him, and which he made for himself. As one of the strong motives, it has been stated that some of the persons arrested as accomplices of Georges-Cadoudal and Pichegru had confessed that they had seen repeatedly, in the very heart of Paris, a distinguished, noble-looking stranger, who always presented himself in a cautious, mysterious manner, and whom they knew by no other name than that of "the General"—that, from various indications, the Consul was led to believe that this mysterious visitant in Paris was none other than the Duke d'Enghien, &c. But Savary admits—and he would only have injured his bad, and, as it is, wretchedly pleaded, cause by taking up the opposite ground—that the Duke d'Enghien never came to Paris at all; that the notion of his having been there was found to be a deplorable mistake, but when it was too late, when the duke was no more; and that the mysterious personage mistaken for the Duke d'Enghien turned out eventually to be General Pichegru. And this is far from all: evidence has been produced to prove that this mistake, assumed as a justification or excuse of the seizure at Ettenheim and the bloody doings at Vincennes, could not have existed at the date of either of those deeds. One of the French writers* called into the field by the publication of Savary's memoirs, which throw blame and infamy on everybody but himself, his master, and a few decided partisans, has proved, by citations from the voluminous documents of the trial of Georges-Cadoudal and his party, that the individuals who reported the visits of the pretended unknown had, on the 12th of February (a good month before the seizure of the duke at Ettenheim), deposed that the mysterious visitor was Pichegru; that the same fact was proved on the 21st of February, twenty-three days before the seizure; and again on the 12th of March, nine days before the prince was murdered at Vincennes. It is difficult to conceive that any such mistake had ever for a moment existed, for the duke and Pichegru were totally unlike in form and feature, in voice, expression, and demeanour; but, if the mistake really had existed, having been cleared away at least a month before the seizure, it could not stand even as a bad and insufficient excuse for that deed.*

Bonaparte himself, according to those who wrote memoirs for him, and according to his conversations as reported by Las Cases, O'Meara, Warden, and others, affirmed that the Duke d'Enghien had written a letter from his cell in the fortress of Strasbourg to the First Consul, not merely to implore life and pardon, but to offer *to enter into his service;* and that Talleyrand—the ill-omened Talleyrand—who entertained as a fixed principle that there would be no safety to Bonaparte and the monarchy he was building up so long as any of the Bourbon princes were left alive, got possession of the letter, and kept it from the First Consul until it was too late. This story is in all its parts too monstrously absurd to merit any serious refutation. As yet, perhaps, the ex-bishop of Autun was not very anxious for a restoration of the old dynasty; that anxiety came on him about four years later, when he saw that the tyranny of the Corsican Emperor was becoming a worse tyranny than had ever existed in France, and when, against his weighty advice and admonitions and entreaties, Bonaparte was rushing headlong to his ruin by kidnapping the royal Bourbon family of Spain and invading that country: but to assert that the wise, the arch, acute, and blood-loathing Talleyrand should have recommended the cutting off *all* the Bourbon princes, and beginning with the Duke d'Enghien, who was the remotest of them all in the order of succession to the crown of France, is to suppose a degree of credulity or insanity in the world which does not yet exist.† Bourrienne most markedly and positively denies (what needs no denial after one has perused the accounts of the trial and the death of that prince) that the duke ever wrote a letter to the First Consul; and he declares he had his information from the duke's first aide-de-camp, who never quitted him while he was at Strasbourg. M. Dupin proves, by incontrovertible documents—by the diary of the prince's imprisonment—by the *procès verbaux* of all the proceedings—and by the official list of *one* letter, addressed

* M. Dupin.

* Maquart, Réfutation de l'Ecrit publié par le Duc de Rovigo sur la Catastrophe de M. le Duc d'Enghien, as cited in *Quart. Review.*

† Warden, who appears to have written entirely under the dictation of Las Cases, states that Bonaparte told him "that it was Talleyrand's principle, and one from which he never deviated, that the new dynasty could not be secure while the Bourbons remained. 'This (said Bonaparte) was a *fixed unchangeable* article of his political creed; but I did not become a ready or willing convert. I examined the opinion with care and caution, and the result was a *perfect conviction of its necessity.*'"—*Letters from St. Helena.*

The allegation against Talleyrand is too monstrous to call for any serious refutation; but the one-sided enthusiastic ship-surgeon surely does little good to the fame of Bonaparte by putting into his own mouth the declaration that he had eventually become a convert to, or had been convinced of the necessity of, Talleyrand's fixed unchangeable doctrine that the Bourbons must all be cut off.

by the duke to the Princess de Rohan—that he never wrote to the First Consul. Had he done so, as it was pretended the letter was not destroyed, but only delayed, as its contents were quoted as known to Bonaparte and many of his court, would not the First Consul have published the whole of the letter to the world, as a proof of the baseness of the Bourbons, or of the meanness of spirit of the inheritor of the proud name of Condé? Most assuredly he would have done so: this would have been the very sort of triumph over the old royalty which he loved, and which was calculated to make an impression on the French people. But there was no such publication, and nobody but himself ever pretended to have seen the letter. These Bonapartist memoir-writers, and Boswellizers of his sayings and doings, are, as we have already noticed, perpetually at variance with one another, and even with themselves, in relating the same circumstances. Savary denies the fact of the duke having written the letter from Strasbourg; but he nevertheless endeavours to throw the blame of the duke's death on Talleyrand. But in this attempt Savary refutes himself; and there is, besides, most superabundant evidence to show that Talleyrand had, in the first instance, nothing whatever to do in the business, and that he could have known nothing of the duke's trial and execution at Vincennes until they were over. It was not to Talleyrand and the foreign office that the First Consul had applied when informed that the duke was plotting against him at Ettenheim; but it was to Réal, a crafty scoundrel, who had been recommended by Fouché, and who at the moment managed the greater part of the general police. It was not a diplomatic note to the contemptibly weak Margrave of Baden, but an adroit kidnapper, that Bonaparte wanted. Reversing Savary's syllogism, that, as Talleyrand was minister for *foreign* affairs, and the prince was seized in a *foreign* state, so Talleyrand must have had the management of the affair; we would say, that as the foreign office was never applied to until everything was settled, so Talleyrand could have nothing to do with the matter. The one deduction is at least as good as the other; and it is Savary himself who tells us that the entire management was left to Réal; that it was Réal whom Bonaparte employed to conduct the development of this affair; that Réal by Bonaparte's order applied—not to the foreign office—but to the inspector-general of the gendarmerie, for a confidential officer to send into Baden to act as a spy on the prince; that this confidential officer proceeded to his destination with proper secrecy, and reported—not to the minister for foreign affairs, but—to his own inspector-general, who again reported directly to Bonaparte;* that on this report another emissary was sent to seize the duke, and that this emissary was to call to his assistance the armed force at Strasbourg. And all the world knew who this second emissary was; it was not a clerk in the foreign-office, it was not a dependant or friend of Talleyrand, but a colonel of grenadiers, aide-de-camp to the First Consul,—in short, Caulaincourt, whom we have seen superintending the operations of the seizure at Offenbourg, and who by grace of this and other services became shortly afterwards Duke of Vicenza. A long letter of instructions to Caulaincourt and Ordenner, signed "Bonaparte," has been preserved and printed. These orders regulate with remarkable precision all the steps which the kidnappers are to take, in order to get possession of the person of the duke; but the letter contains not a word about the fate in store for the captured prince; and, though Caulaincourt may have known the First Consul's intention, it is at the least possible that Ordenner and the officers who crossed the Rhine had no such knowledge. Thibaudeau affirms, that at this conference, when Caulaincourt received his mission, Talleyrand was present, as well as Fouché, Cambacérès, Le Brun, and the grand judge Regnier; and that not one of these high functionaries manifested any disapprobation of the measure, which was *un parti pris*—a thing decided upon—by the First Consul. He further adds (and the letter has been published) that Talleyrand on this day, or on the 11th of March, wrote to advise M. Massias, the French minister at the court of Baden, of the First Consul's intention to seize the duke and the other French emigrants at Ettenheim. But Thibaudeau admits that everything had been determined upon before this note, which appears never to have been delivered, was written; and that some of those who were present at the conference felt convinced that Bonaparte's rage would blow over, and that he would never carry into execution what he was threatening to do. He says (and this, by itself, seems to prove that the minister for foreign affairs had never been applied to, or had hitherto done nothing in the business,) that, as Talleyrand entered the room, Bonaparte exclaimed—"What is M. Massias doing, when armed gatherings of my enemies are going on at Ettenheim? But I will find out the means of punishing their plots! The head of the guilty one (*la tête du coupable*) shall

*When the report of this special spy—who, as usual, appears to have reported a great deal more than was true—was delivered to the First Consul by the inspector-general of the gendarmerie, the Consul summoned not Talleyrand, but Réal, and asked him in anger how it was possible that THE POLICE should not know what was going on at Ettenheim. And it was, as we have seen, upon this report of the *confidential officer* or special spy (named and appointed at Bonaparte's order, delivered through the medium of Réal by the inspector-general of gendarmerie), that Caulaincourt was sent on his iniquitous mission. "This proves two facts: first, that M. de Talleyrand did not make Bonaparte acquainted with what passed at Ettenheim; and, secondly, that Bonaparte did not even expect him to do so; for it was of the negligence of the *police*, and not of the foreign department, that he complained."—*Quart. Rev.*

Indeed in other affairs of a less questionable nature, Talleyrand, or his foreign office, had little to do with the trembling governments of the small neighbouring states; they were watched by the spies and agents of the police, and were dictated to by the commanding officers of the gendarmerie and other French troops cantoned along their frontiers. We know ourselves, from good Italian authority, that Talleyrand, even while minister for foreign affairs, and to all appearance in high favour with his employer, was often left in total ignorance of correspondences carried on with Turin, Milan, and Genoa, although those correspondences properly appertained to his office; and that he first knew of various measures adopted in Italy when deputations arrived at Paris to complain of them, and addressed themselves to him as the business was considered to be in his department.

do me justice!" And he adds, that to this Cambacérès replied, "I dare say that, if such a personage was in your power, rigour would not go to that point." The whole amount, then, of Talleyrand's participation in the crime comes to this—that when everything was decided upon, he wrote a brief note to M. Massias, who, like the government of Baden itself, could do nothing for or against the unfortunate prince, whose fate Bonaparte had, from the first, resolved to leave to his gendarmes and satellites, to such men as Réal, Caulaincourt, and Savary. We have already exposed the nullity of the plea about mistaking the duke for Pichegru, and discovering that mistake too late; and yet Savary, after making all these preceding statements, makes Bonaparte, after the duke's execution, exclaim to Réal (who knew all about the business, and, like his master, must have known that it was General Pichegru, and not the duke, that had been reported as the mysterious stranger), "Ah! wretched Talleyrand, what have you made me do?" as if Talleyrand had had anything whatever *to do* in the matter! Again, Savary, who admits that on the evening when the Duke d'Enghien arrived at Vincennes, he carried a *sealed letter* from Bonaparte at Malmaison to Murat at Paris (which sealed letter he confesses contained the First Consul's orders to his brother-in-law, the governor, about the duke), attaches a ridiculous importance to the incident of meeting Talleyrand coming out of Murat's house as he (Savary) entered it; and insinuates—in spite of his own confession as to the *sealed letter* he himself brought, and in spite of the facts that he was the last person that came from Malmaison, and that the minister for foreign affairs had not seen the Consul since the morning, and had another most obvious motive for calling on Murat, as Murat had been so ill as to be confined to his room—that Talleyrand had called to induce Murat to hasten the execution of the Duke d'Enghien, and to screw up his courage to the proper point. But Savary again completely cripples his own insinuation, which has absurdity enough on the face of it, by letting it escape that Talleyrand was not with Bonaparte *when* he wrote that fatal sealed letter of which he (Savary) was the bearer, and was not with Murat *after* he had received that letter—thus removing from Talleyrand all immediate responsibility as to that foul epistle. The ex-Bishop of Autun was never the man to act upon generous passionate impulses, or to run his own neck into the noose to rescue others; but, if he had been aware of the crime that was preparing, he must have considered it, as Fouché did, a monstrous political blunder, and would not have failed to try the effects of his persuasive eloquence on Bonaparte, who, for a long time, stood in some awe of his cool commanding intellect. But the motive is apparent which made the fallen emperor, and the banished Savary, so anxious to inculpate the ex-minister for foreign affairs: long before his fall Talleyrand had given mortal offence to Bonaparte by that opposition to the invasion of Spain which has been mentioned, and by other deeds and caustic sayings; Talleyrand, while the emperor was falling, had contributed important services towards restoring the Bourbons; and, therefore, Talleyrand must be defamed: and what defamation could tell so well as charging him with the murder of a Bourbon prince? But the whole contrivance is too bungling to impose any longer even on the fanatics of Bonapartism; and we believe it is now universally admitted that, next to Bonaparte, Savary was the most guilty of all that were implicated in the death of the duke; that Savary might have suspended the execution, and did not, but, on the contrary, hurried it on with a zeal and ferocity worthy of a disciple of the Old Man of the Mountain, or Prince of the Assassins.*

But Bonaparte, according to the memoir-writers, and the reporters of his conversations at St. Helena, took up other ground, and, without dwelling upon either of the two exploded fictions—the suppressed letter of the duke, and the mistaking the duke for Pichegru—boldly and broadly justified the duke's execution, alleging it to have been an act of self-defence, a measure of state policy, arising out of the natural rights of humanity, by which a man to save his own life may take away that of another, and out of the political right of the French republic to put down plots and conspiracies, and strike terror into its enemies. Assuming the grossest falsehoods for facts, and taking as proven a series of particulars which had never been proved at all, and to which his spies, and police, and courts of law, unscrupulous, bad, violent as they were, were never able to give even a semblance of consistency and probability, he maintained that the Bourbon princes had been publicly convicted of having been the contrivers of the infernal machine, and of hav-

* Bourrienne, who speaks only of the facts that came to his knowledge from the best sources, says, "All that relates to the affair of the Duke d'Enghien resolves itself into this:—Bonaparte, perhaps *to* please the revolutionary party and in order to attain the throne with greater certainty, desired the immediate death of the duke, without judicial forms. He was obeyed with all the promptitude which doubtless he had commanded, so that there was no time or possibility to retract his first determination. I have certain knowledge that the positive order was given, yet I am convinced that, if the execution had been deferred some hours, the Duke d'Enghien would not have perished. . . . . General Savary did not dare to delay the execution of the sentence, although the prince urgently demanded an interview with the First Consul. Had Bonaparte seen the prince, there can be little doubt but that he would have saved his life. Savary, however, thought himself bound to sacrifice his own opinions to the powerful faction which then controlled the First Consul; and, whilst he thought he was serving his master, he was, in fact, only serving the faction to which, I must say, he did not belong. The truth is, that General Savary can only be reproached for not having taken upon himself to suspend the execution, which *probably* would not have taken place, if it had been suspended. He was merely an instrument, and penitence on his part would, perhaps, have told more in his favour than *his* vain efforts to justify Bonaparte. From all that I have stated, and particularly from the non-suspension of the execution, it appears to me as clear as day that General Savary had received a formal order from Bonaparte for the Duke d'Enghien's death, and also a formal order that it should be so managed as to render it impossible to speak to Bonaparte again on the subject, until all should be over. Can there be a more evident, a more direct proof of this, than the digging the grave beforehand?"—*Memoirs.*

We have carefully compared the statements and documents of M. Dupin, 'Pièces Judiciaires et Historiques;' of General Hulin, 'Explications offertes aux hommes impartiaux;' of Savary, 'Extraites des Mémoires de M. le Duc de Rovigo;' of Thibaudeau, of Bourrienne, Las Cases, and others; but both in the account of the trial and execution of the Duke d'Enghien, and in the remarks which follow that catastrophe, we have been assisted and guided by the closely reasoned and able article in the Quarterly Review already cited:—Art. xi., No. 58, vol. xxix., on 'Savary and the Duke d'Enghien.'

ing disgorged sixty brigands upon Paris, including the Polignacs, de Rivière, and others, for the purpose of causing him to be assassinated; and then he asked whether by the law of nature he, Bonaparte, was not authorised to cause the Count d'Artois to be assassinated in London. And then for the law of polity: the whole republic, he said, was tottering upon the brink of a precipice, and the Duke d'Enghien was one of the chiefs who conspired its fall; and, besides, it was necessary to check the audacity of the Bourbons, who had sent their sixty assassins to Paris. "The republican government could not, *consistently with its dignity*, do less, when the assassination of its chief was publicly plotted, than cause its thunder to strike the family which dared to engage in such an attempt."* Here the murdered prince was coupled in the loosest manner with the Count d'Artois and the rest of the Bourbons residing in England; and that *public conviction* of which Bonaparte is made to speak can refer only to the trial of Georges-Cadoudal and his associates, which did not take place until the middle of May, or nearly two months after the duke had been tried, fusiladed, and buried at Vincennes; and which, when it did take place, afforded no such conviction, nor so much as the shadow of a proof against any of the Bourbon princes. But, as if by an after-thought, the reporter of Bonaparte's last quoted words, in a later publication, makes the ex-emperor rest his defence upon the Duke d'Enghien's actual and personal participation in the pretended plot for assassinating him. Here the reporter gets rid of the anachronism of Georges-Cadoudal's trial; but, in so doing, he also drops his proofs and public conviction. He makes Bonaparte say, "The duke and his party had constantly but one object in view, that of taking away my life.† I was assailed on all sides; air-guns, infernal machines, plots, ambuscades of all kinds were resorted to. At last I grew weary, and took an opportunity of striking them with terror in their turn in London. I succeeded, and from that moment there was an end to all conspiracies. [His state prisons and remote fortresses continued down to the end of his reign to tell a very different tale, and to prove that his suspicions, and the inventions of his police, were not terminated by the death of the duke; and there were certainly real conspiracies, both republican and royalist, after that deed.] Who can blame me for having acted as I did? What! blows threatening my existence are aimed at me day after day, from a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues (*meaning from London*); no power on earth, no tribunal can afford me redress; and I shall not be allowed to use the right of nature, and return war for war!" It has been well noted that this law of nature, that this mode of defence, had already been appealed to by that arch-Jacobin and Maratist Robert Lindet, in justification of the massacre of the prisoners in Paris in September, 1792.*

On other occasions, the exile at St. Helena would say that the Duke d'Enghien's death must be attributed to an excess of zeal for him (Bonaparte), to private views, or to mysterious intrigues; that he had been blindly urged on; that he had been, if he might say so, taken by surprise; that the measure was precipitated and the result pre-determined by others. As to the precipitation, Bonaparte had had more than a week to reflect upon it: it was on Sunday the 11th of March that he gave Caulaincourt his orders to seize the duke, who was not seized until the night of the 14th, and not executed until the morning of the 21st. Besides, this pleading contradicts Bonaparte's more earnest and more laboured defences of the proceedings. Credit cannot be given to assertions so very opposite; and no credit whatever is due to a man who is constantly contradicting himself. As long as he could he avoided any explanations, and enjoined the strictest silence; and so complete was the subjugation of the press, and so extreme the dread of giving offence to him, that nothing was written or said in France about the matter until his own rashness, and the fortune of war, brought back the Bourbons. But, when he was dying at St. Helena, he put, as it were, into his last testament the frankest avowal of the deed. "I caused the Duke d'Enghien to be arrested and judged, because it was necessary to the security, the interest, and the honour of the French people. In the same circumstances I would again act in the same manner."

Just fifteen days after the execution of the Bourbon prince at Vincennes, General Pichegru—with whom, as with Georges, the Polignacs, and others, the prince ought to have been confronted—was found dead in his cell in the Temple, where he had been lying ever since the 27th of February, subject to the frequent visits and interrogatories of Réal. No threats, no promises could induce Pichegru to injure any man by his answers, or to effect the great object in view—that of implicating General Moreau in the royalist conspiracy. He threatened, on the contrary, to tear to pieces the flimsy web which had been thrown round Moreau; to speak out on his public trial; to unfold the odious means by which he and his companions had been entrapped into the conspiracy by Bonaparte's police; and to reveal what he knew of the First Consul's corre-

* Las Cases, Answer to Warden.

† If Bonaparte had ever entertained this notion, he had been convinced of its falsity long before the time when he thus pleaded in defence of his reputation. A short time after the murder at Vincennes, and his election as emperor, being at Aix-la-Chapelle, he had a conversation with M. Massias, the French minister at the court of the Margrave of Baden, who had been residing at that court when the Duke d'Enghien was living in the country. Bonaparte, after speaking of the intrigues of the emigrants, said, "You ought at least to have prevented the plots which the duke was hatching at Ettenheim." "Sire," replied Massias, "I am too old to learn to tell a falsehood. Believe me, on this subject your ear has been abused."—"Do you not think, then, that, had the conspiracy of Georges and Pichegru succeeded, the duke would have crossed the Rhine, and have come post to Paris?" The respectable old diplomatist hung down his head and was silent; for he saw that the emperor did not wish to hear the truth.—*Bourrienne.*

* Quart. Rev.—"This terrible movement of the people," said Lindet, in a printed book, "seemed necessary for the safety of the country, and the result was *only* the *impartial application of the principles of the law of nature.*

spondence with the Bourbons. "When I am before my judges," said he, "my language shall be conformable to truth and the interests of my country." This speaking out in an open court—and it was known that Pichegru could speak in a lofty and energetic manner—gave great alarm to the consular government. Besides, in spite of his

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present sad predicament, and the charges and calumnies which had been heaped upon his name, some of the soldiery might still feel an affection for the commander who had repeatedly led them on to victory before the name of Bonaparte had made itself known. To proceed against two such successful generals as Pichegru and Moreau, at one and the same time, might, perchance, prove too severe a trial of the temper of the army. It was calculated, too, that, if Pichegru were but dead, it might be insinuated that it was only his death that removed the proof of Moreau's complicity. Réal had been heard muttering as he came from his cell, "What a man this Pichegru is! There is no moving him." On the 5th of April, this counsellor of state and manager of police, this creature of Fouché, had a long secret interview with the general, and it was on the next morning that Pichegru was found strangled on his bed, with a black cravat tightened round his neck, by means of a stick which acted as a tourniquet, and which was kept in its position by being put behind the ear, and pressed against the pillow by the weight of the head, &c. Six obscure surgeons, named by the criminal tribunal, were called in to examine the body, and sign a report that Pichegru had committed suicide. A *gendarme d'élite* deposed that, being on guard near Pichegru's cell, about three hours after midnight, he had heard a violent coughing and spitting; a turnkey of the Temple deposed that he had the key of the general's door all the night in his pocket, so that the door could not have been opened: but, in spite of surgeons, gendarmes, and turnkeys, and of other pains taken, then and afterwards, to prove that Pichegru had perished by his own hand, the impression was instantly made, and in a manner to be lasting, that he had been most foully murdered. The event came so close upon the catastrophe of Vincennes:—the police of the Temple was entirely under the control of Réal—Savary was, in a manner, the military governor, and the guards there were mounted, and the general service of the prison performed, by Savary's *gendarmes d'élite*, comrades of the men who had shot the prince in the ditch—there were other familiars of the *mouton* genus, who were known to have committed detestable deeds, and who were believed to be capable of any crime—there were keys of the *passe par-tout* sort which opened every lock—and the midnight visitations, and the acts of carrying off state prisoners, unknown to their co-mates in captivity, and no one except the agents employed knew whither, were facts notorious in Paris and in all France. It might be that Pichegru had strangled himself—and we believe that medical jurisprudence has, since that time, registered more than one suicide committed in a more difficult manner—but Pichegru seems to have been considered, by all who knew him, as a man very unlikely to have recourse to suicide of any kind, as one whose natural temperament, excited passions, and indignation against Bonaparte, and Fouché, and the agents of police who had entrapped him, would have led him to bear any extremity of suffering, and to face the guillotine or the fusilades at the plain of Grenelle unmoved, provided he could but have the opportunity of speaking out on his trial: and then the accumulation of suspicious circumstances with regard to the state prison, the deeds which had recently been committed, and the conviction that the First Consul, and those who served him, would stick at no crime which might serve his purpose, all went to confirm the belief that Pichegru had really been murdered. After calling upon Réal, who was still living at the time he wrote, to declare what he knew of this transaction, Bourrienne says, "There is evidence, amounting almost to demonstration, that Pichegru was strangled in prison, and consequently all idea of suicide must be rejected as inadmissible. Have I positive and substantive proof? I have not; but the concurrence of facts, and the weight of probabilities, do not leave me in possession of the doubts I should wish to entertain on this tragic event. Besides, there exists a certain popular instinct, which is rarely at fault; and it must be in the recollection of many, not only that the general opinion agreed in the notion of Pichegru's assassination, but that the pains taken by the government to give that opinion another direction, by the affected exhibition of the body,* only served

* The article in the Moniteur, which was published the day after the death, accompanied by the depositions of the *gendarmes d'élite*, the concierge of the Temple, the turnkey, and the surgeons, displayed an awkwardness of ingenuity and pains-taking, which went to confirm what it was intended to destroy. It was to this effect:—

"The preceding evening Pichegru had copiously dined according to his custom, for he loved the pleasures of the table. He was full of meat, had a short neck, was sanguineous, and the want of exercise predisposed him the more to apoplexy: in the evening, too, he had asked for a Seneca, and opening the book at the page where the philosopher discusses the miseries of life and the easy passage to eternity, Pichegru had prepared himself for suicide. He had concealed a stick taken out of a faggot of fire-wood, and that, with his cravat, sufficed for the strangulation. Thus Pichegru has escaped the disgrace of the scaffold by suicide."

In the state in which the press then was, and in the passive dread of

to strengthen it. He who spontaneously says, I have not committed such or such a crime, at least admits there is room for suspecting his guilt." Savary says that Réal, on the morning of Pichegru's death, exclaimed—"Though nothing can be more apparent than that this is suicide, yet it will always be said that, despairing of his conviction, we strangled him in prison!" As a matter of course, Savary denies that he himself knew anything of the matter, and that Pichegru was murdered at all; but he confesses, at the same time, that the belief of assassination was universal, and that a high functionary, his own personal friend, spoke of it years afterwards as an undoubted fact, and named the gendarmes in the Temple as the men by whom the deed had been done. Among the foreign diplomatists resident at Paris, no doubt appears to have been entertained as to the manner of the death. One of them, writing to his court, said, "It is evident that Pichegru has been selected as a victim. The history of the Roman emperors of the Lower Empire presents the picture of this country and government!"* There were certain private circumstances which rendered the catastrophe the more striking: the conqueror of Holland and the First Consul, who had obtained their commissions as lieutenants of artillery on the very same day, had been schoolfellows in the military school of Brienne; and there Pichegru, being the elder of the two, had taught Bonaparte the four first rules of arithmetic, and had been both a friend and tutor to the poor and almost friendless Corsican. And now all their calculations had come to this;—strangulation with a black silk handkerchief and a bit of stick, and six feet of dishonoured earth, for Pichegru; and for Bonaparte an imperial throne (he was placing his foot on the first steps of it when his schoolfellow perished), which was designed to be enduring, and for perpetuity in his race, but which lasted only ten stormy years, and then one hundred days!

The world was still aghast at the fate of Pichegru, when another and a more bloody catastrophe was brought to light from the same state-prison. Captain John Wesley Wright, who, in the preceding autumn, had landed Pichegru and some of his companions, was becalmed on the morning of the 8th of May, close by the mouth of the river Morbihan, on the coast of France, and was carried by the ebb-tide close upon the rocks. Whilst his crew were sweeping with all their strength to get clear of the coast seventeen armed vessels were rowed out from the Morbihan, consisting of six brigs, six luggers, and five smaller gun-vessels. Wright's raft was only an 18-gun brig-sloop, and his crew consisted of fifty-one effective men and twenty-four boys; yet he gallantly fought, within grape and hailing distance, the whole French flotilla for nearly two hours, and did not strike his colours until his ship was a mere wreck—until twelve of his men were wounded and two killed, and he himself wounded in the groin. Laurent-Tourneur, the French commanding officer to whom Wright struck, told him that he had nobly sustained the honour of his flag, and the high reputation of his country's navy; that the French loved and esteemed the brave, and that he and his crew would be treated with all possible kindness.* This was the natural impulse, and no doubt the intention or wish, of the brave French officer; but there were very different feelings and intentions entertained at Paris. The First Consul was informed that Wright's vessel had been recognised as the same which had landed Pichegru; and that Wright had been a lieutenant on board Sir Sidney Smith's ship the 'Tigre,' and had distinguished himself under Sir Sidney in the defence of Acre. The latter fact alone would assuredly have led to some much harsher treatment than is reserved for prisoners of war; and it is believed that, if Bonaparte could only have caught Sir Sidney himself, even though not engaged in landing royalists and conspirators, Sir Sidney would at least have run a close risk of making his exit from this world in the Temple—of which, before this time, he had been so long an inmate—in the manner of Pichegru or of the unfortunate Wright. Orders were immediately transmitted to the coast to interrogate the captured English crew *separately*, that is secretly, and by the police; and, when nothing could be got from the English sailors to throw any light on the Pichegru conspiracy, Captain Wright was brought up to Paris, thrown into the Temple, not as a prisoner of war, but as a state prisoner, and there confined *au secret*. What followed could be precisely known only to those familiars who possessed the secrets of that prison-house. Even the date of the unhappy man's final catastrophe is not known; for Bonaparte himself declared that his death had been concealed for some considerable time—the motive of that concealment no doubt being an anxiety to avoid a too close juxta-position with the death of Pichegru in the same accursed place. Bonaparte also allowed that, to extort confessions, the surgeon of Wright's ship was threatened with immediate death; and this is nothing less than a species of torture. He also declared that his grand object was to secure the principals, and to extract a full disclosure of all he suspected Wright to know; and that he considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence. These avowals have tended to confirm the belief, which was very generally entertained at the time, and which indeed seemed unavoidable, that Wright was barbarously treated in his close confinement—perhaps that his body, as well as mind, had been subjected to actual torture—and that, to get rid of the evidence his maimed or injured frame would present, recourse was had to another midnight assassination. Captain Wright was once, and only once, seen in

men's minds, no one could then publish any comments, or give any account of Pichegru's death different from the official one put forth in the 'Moniteur.'

* Dalberg.

* James, Naval History.

public, after his arrival at the Temple. He was brought into court on the 2nd of June, as a witness on Georges's trial, being called the *hundred and thirty-fourth* witness in support of the prosecution. He, however, refused to answer any interrogatories, declaring that, as a prisoner of war, as a British officer, he considered himself amenable only to his own government. The attorney-general requested the president to order that the examinations of Captain Wright, which had been taken on the 21st of May and on a later day, should be read over to him in court; and, this being done, Wright replied, that it was omitted to be stated that on the occasions when those secret examinations had been taken the questions put to him had been accompanied with the threat of turning him over to a military tribunal to be shot, if he did not betray the secrets of his country. We know not how long after this Wright lived, but it was a considerable time ere it was announced in the Moniteur that he had been found one morning in his cell with his throat cut from ear to ear; and that this was another very clear case of suicide. But, again, a great majority of the world, not certainly excepting that of Paris, concluded it was another clear case of assassination. And, in fact, the probabilities of Wright's having destroyed himself were still less than the probabilities in Pichegru's case. The French general, whose character was blemished and whose fortunes were utterly ruined, had a great deal to depress his spirits; but the English captain had only good and cheering prospects before him, if he could but be released from his irregular confinement; he had done his duty, he had executed the orders of his government in various cases under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, he had displayed a rare ability as well as an extraordinary courage, the battle he fought before surrendering was as gallant an affair as any that had occurred since the commencement of the war. Once out of the Temple, Wright might have been exchanged by cartel; once restored to his country, he must have obtained honours and promotion. Those who knew him well spoke of him as a buoyant, light-hearted, jovial sailor—the least likely man in the world to be easily cast down or driven to a cowardly despair. Whatever may have been the threats employed, it was not probable that he should readily believe they would be put into execution against him; and we know that during a part of his captivity he anticipated an ultimate release, and that he employed himself in drawing up a spirited narrative of the circumstances of the capture of his ship, in order to refute the mendacious accounts given of that affair in the Moniteur.* There is, however, a case in which we may suppose Wright to have destroyed himself; but it is a case where the guilt of murder would fall as heavily on his enemies as it could do if it were fully proved that they had with their own hands used the razor or the knife. Wright may have been so tortured as to have been deprived of his reason, or in the natural dread of a repetition of the torture he may have raised his hand against his own life. It is possible, though scarcely probable, that Bonaparte, who always positively denied any knowledge of Wright's death, may have been as ignorant on the point as he pretended; but he must have known that infamous threats had been used against that officer; and, in confessing himself that the death was concealed for a considerable time, he does not attempt to explain the motive of that very suspicious concealment. His apologist, Savary, who also denies all knowledge of Wright's death, calls it a dark and mysterious subject, and then hints that Fouché, who, before it happened, was fully reinstated in the ministry of police and in Bonaparte's good graces, was at the bottom of it all.*

We will finish the tragedy before going to the comedy or farce exhibited in the tribunate and the senate, or to the melo-drama of the imperial coronation in Notre Dame. Many efforts were made—some of them being reported on good authority, and others wrapped in mystery—to effect a compromise with Moreau, upon such conditions as would for ever deprive that general of the power of being dangerous to the Bonaparte dynasty. Pichegru himself had been tempted with the perspective of the government of Guiana; but to Moreau, who was so much more formidable, and, even in his captive state, an object of constant anxiety and alarm, much higher offers were made. Public opinion in Paris, or a portion of that brittle and changeable material, was decidedly in favour of Moreau; he had numerous partisans among those who still clung to the phantom of the republic; and this, coupled with the embarrassment caused to him by his high reputation, was Moreau's unpardonable crime in the eyes of Bonaparte. He was not treated with the same indecent

* After the restoration of the Bourbons the government of Louis XVIII. restored to Sir Sidney Smith, who was then in Paris, and who always (as we know from his own lips) took the deepest interest in the fate of the gallant officer who had served under him, all Captain Wright's papers which had been preserved, and among them this account of his last action. The spirited, highly national, and characteristic document will be found in vol. xxxv. of the 'Naval Chronicle,' and an extract from it in James's 'Naval History.'

* The following short and sensible passage from the pen of one who has had other opportunities besides those afforded by memoirs and books of studying the character and operations of the French police, is entitled to particular notice, although we doubt its applicability to Captain Wright's case:—

"Yet, even freely admitting the sincerity of his (Bonaparte's) statements, one may suspect that the agents of his police, screened as they were from all public responsibility, might, in their eagerness to serve their master, or rather themselves, have resorted to foul means to get rid of men when they could not extract from them confessions which would suit their purpose. Bonaparte has repeatedly complained of the hasty zeal of some of his agents. It is stated by Bourrienne, that Pichegru's depositions did not inculpate Moreau, whom there was an apparent eagerness to find guilty. Some dark rumours were circulated about Captain Wright having been put to excruciating torture. It is very possible that Bonaparte himself did not know at that time all the secrets of his prison-houses. There is a remarkable passage in Bourrienne, who, when he was French agent at Hamburg, kidnapped a spy, a really bad character, and sent him to Paris, 'where,' he says, 'Fouché no doubt took good care of him.' These are ominous words. In Montholon's Memoirs (vol. i.) Napoleon speaks of the arbitrary tyranny which the minister of police and his agents exercised, until, by his decree on state prisons of the 13th of March, 1810, he stripped them 'of that terrible power of committing any individual at their own pleasure, and keeping him in their own hands, without the tribunals taking any cognizance of the case.' This abuse had existed from the time of the Convention."—*A. Vieusseux, Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.*

rigour as the other prisoners; nor would it have been safe so to treat him, for, even in his prison, he received the homage and respect of many of the military, not excepting even those who were put over him to be his guards and gaolers. Many of these very soldiers had served under him, and it could not be forgotten how much he had been beloved by the armies he had commanded. The mildness of his temper, which seemed scarcely ruffled by all the injuries and insults which were heaped upon him, conciliated affection and made him many new friends. The opinion was entertained in Paris, that a single word from Moreau would have converted the gaoler-guard into a guard of honour, ready to execute, at the least, all that might be requisite for his safety. "Perhaps," adds Bourrienne, "the respect with which he was treated, and the indulgence of being allowed to see his wife and child every day, were but artful calculations for keeping him within the limits of his usual gentle character. Besides, Moreau was so confident of the injustice of the charge brought against him, that he was calm and resigned, and showed no disposition to rouse the anger of an enemy who would have been too happy to have some real accusation against him." But, at the same time, Moreau rejected the tempting overtures which were made to him; and it was in vain that Bonaparte sent his secret and his avowed agents, his aides-de-camp, his generals, his ministers, his own brothers, to win over the obstinate prisoner; and that he said to some of these agents, "Only bring me back the adhesion of that man and he shall have whatever he chooses to ask for, and all will go well." It will hardly be at variance with the received notion of Moreau's character to believe that he feared to trust himself in any bargain or compact with one who had proved himself such an adept in over-reaching; and that he apprehended, if he put his own seal to the charges against him, he might get all the infamy without any of the promised reward. For years he had been declaring that there was no trusting the little Corsican. Moreau too had been bred a lawyer; he was an obscure avocate, as his father had been before him, when the Revolution broke out, and he was still supposed to have much of the character and way of thinking of lawyers. The whole of his conduct in the Temple and on his trial seems rather remote from the heroical. As he would not enter into a compact, it was held necessary to defame him still further, and to confound him, by implication, still more with Pichegru, whose bolder tongue was now silenced for ever, and with Georges-Cadoudal and the other royalists. In an unguarded moment, stung by the Moniteur articles and the pamphlets which were published against him, Moreau took up the pen and wrote a mean and imprudent letter to the First Consul, who forthwith published it, with comments, and striking effect, in the official journal. In this letter the captive general confessed that he had concealed for some time the discovery he made in 1797 of Pichegru's correspondence with the Bourbon princes, because he did not like to play the part of a denouncer or informer, and because at that time, Pichegru having been removed from the command of the army, and peace being established, he could do very little to injure the public cause. But, after the events of the 18th Fructidor, feeling that, as a public functionary, he could no longer remain silent, he had communicated to the government of the day all he knew respecting Pichegru's intrigue. Moreau then went on to allow that during the two last campaigns in Germany, and again since the peace of Lunéville, "distant overtures" had been made to him on the part of the Bourbon princes, but the thing seemed so absurd that he took no notice of the overtures. "I repeat to you, General," said he "that, whatever proposition was made to me, I rejected it, and regarded it as the height of madness. When it was represented to me that your absence for the invasion of England would offer a favourable opportunity for effecting a change in the French government, I invariably answered that the Senate was the authority to which the whole of France would naturally cling in a time of trouble, and that I would be the first to place myself under its orders. [Moreau could not have used words more calculated than these last to exasperate that hatred of the First Consul which chiefly originated in the conviction that Moreau preferred *institutions* to him, the Man.] To such overtures made to a private individual, who wished to preserve no connexion either with the army or with any constituted authority, the only possible answer was a refusal. Betrayal of confidence I disdained. Such a step, always base, becomes doubly odious when the treachery is committed against those to whom we owe gratitude, or with whom we have been bound by old friendship. This, General, is all I have to tell you respecting my relations with Pichegru, and it must convince you that very false and hasty inferences have been drawn from conduct which, though perhaps imprudent, was far from being criminal."*

Very different, again, was the treatment and conduct of Georges-Cadoudal; though, even in his case, attempts were at one moment made at compromise and conciliation. Bonaparte himself confessed this fact, expressing a wondrous admiration of the determined character of the Chouan chief. "Georges is a man of the right stamp," said he; "in my hands he might have done great things! I made Réal inform him that if he would attach himself to me, I would not only give him a pardon, but a regiment besides. What do I say? I would have made him one of my aides-de-camp. But

* Moreau also spoke of the humiliation of being in prison, of being obliged to appear before a tribunal to say that he was no conspirator, and of the services he had rendered to his country. "But I will not dwell upon these," he added, "for I can believe they are not yet effaced from your memory. But I will recall to your mind that, if the desire of taking a part in the government of France had ever for a single moment been the object of my services and of my ambition, the road was opened to me very advantageously a short time before you returned from Egypt; and surely you have not forgotten the disinterestedness with which I seconded you on the 18th Brumaire. Enemies have estranged us since that time."

Georges refused everything. He is a bar of iron. What can I now do with him? He must undergo his fate, for such a man is too dangerous. He must die—it is a necessity of my situation."* It has been asked whether, if the First Consul really considered Georges-Cadoudal in the light of an assassin, he would have talked thus of giving him a regiment, and even placing him near his own person as an aide-de-camp; but, in the dark history of Italy, in her bad ages, more than one instance is to be found in which the bravo was taken into the pay of the party he had been employed to assassinate, and for a higher fee undertook to assassinate his original employer: there are cases too, in all countries—and they abounded in France at this very moment—of men passing suddenly from one class of opinions to another, and from the extremes of one party to the extremes of the opposite faction; and the zeal of political as well as religious converts is proverbial. We confess that, were there no other ground than this for denying that Georges had contemplated the assassination of the First Consul, we should take the incredulous side; but we think we find ten thousand times better ground in his manly character and conduct, and in the wretched, prevaricating, fabricated evidence that was brought against him.

In the Temple, the Chouan chief was loaded with irons, and was visited out of curiosity in his cell, as though he had been a wild beast. A few days after the death of Pichegru, and when the sensation of horror excited by that event in the interior of the Temple was at its height, Louis Bonaparte repaired to the prison, accompanied by a brilliant escort of staff-officers, and was introduced by Savary to Georges, who was lying on his bed with his hands bound by manacles. Louis was indisputably a kind-hearted man, the most amiable of Bonaparte's brothers, perhaps the best of the whole family; and we are, therefore, averse to believe but that his visit had some other object than the gratification of a cruel curiosity. But it was not manacles and fetters that could bear down the robust frame and the high spirit of the Breton; and Georges kept up the hearts of his companions. Some of these were Bretons like himself, were peasants who had been born and bred up with him, who had followed him in many a dangerous expedition against the "Blues," who worshipped the white cockade in his hat as they would a religious relic, and who looked up to him with the same feeling with which our Highland clans regarded their chiefs, their Macs of Macs. A simple and devout, a rude, and, no doubt, a fanatical race they were, these Chouans! Yet to us the picture of their captivity is full of interest. At sunrise, and at sunset, they all knelt and recited their prayers, undisturbed by the mockery of the gendarmes and the gaolers; and a good part of the intervening hours they spent in singing, in their strange native Bas-Breton dialect, the songs which had been orally transmitted from generation to generation, and which dwelt upon the feelings suggested by the view of the steeples of their village churches and on the adventures and dangers of the deep sea and their own wild coast, on the joys of a pastoral life and on the pleasant excitements of smuggling. And, when they were not singing or praying, they were generally to be seen playing at *barres*, an ancient game which closely resembles that known to English school-boys by the name of "Prisoners' Base," or "Prisoners' Bars." When they had to go from the Temple to the Conciergerie, which continued to be the vestibule to the criminal courts, Georges harangued them in a style admirably adapted to keep them steady and bold. "When you feel your courage failing," said he, "look at me, and think that I am with you. My fate will be the same as yours;—all our fates must be the same. Let that consideration encourage and cheer us. Let us be kind and indulgent towards one another. Let our common destiny give new force to our affection. Let us not look back on the past; we are only now just as God willed we should be. With our dying breath let us offer up a prayer that our country may be happy under the paternal sceptre of the restored Bourbons. Let us not forget, my boys, that the prison we are now going to quit is that which Louis XVI. left only to mount the scaffold!"*

Previous to the trial, a decree of the senate suspended for two years the functions of the jury in cases of attempts against the person of Napoleon Bonaparte. This senatus consultum was promulgated twelve days after the arrest of Moreau. The suspension applied only to the particular case mentioned, trial by jury remaining for all offences except those against the person of the First Consul. Nor were the conspirators to be tried by the ordinary criminal court. They were to be brought before a *special* tribunal, where the judges were selected *ad hoc* by Bonaparte, Regnier, Fouché, and Réal, and where the voice of those judges was to pronounce life or death. The senatus consultum received on the very day after its promulgation an extension or addition, assimilating to Georges and his accomplices whosoever might have given any of them an asylum, and rendering such persons liable to the same capital punishment, without making any distinction in favour of consanguinity, or of any of those natural and sacred ties which arise out of friendship or gratitude, and which are strongest in the hour of adversity. It would have been just as well, or rather it would have been much better, to have re-established at once the old law of high treason. This was indeed a legislation worthy of the darkest ages.

The trial began on the 28th of May, a few days after Bonaparte had changed the title of First Consul into that of Emperor. The republican Moreau was arraigned with Georges-Cadoudal and his Chouans, with the two Polignacs, the Marquis de Rivière, Bouvet de la Lozier, and the other

* Bourrienne.

* Capefigue, Le Consulat et L'Empire.—Bourrienne.

royalist gentlemen and officers, including, for appearances' sake, General Lajolais, who had been all along in the pay of the secret police, and who had led Pichegru and all the rest of them into the snare. The president of the special court was Hémart, who had voted for the death of Louis XVI.; the notorious Thuriot, who had given the same vote, was one of the leading and the most violent of the judges; and a third Conventionist, Merlin-de-Douai, who had also voted for the death of Louis, was the imperial attorney-general. The court was exceedingly crowded, and several generals and field-officers nobly attended, and testified their high regard for Moreau and the deep interest they took in his fate. That sturdy republican General Lecourbe was there, with Moreau's wife and child; and he attended assiduously day after day, showing the little boy in his arms, and telling the soldiers on guard or that came to hear the trial, that that was the son of their beloved general.* The very gendarmes who guarded the prisoners at the bar showed the greatest deference to the conqueror of Hohenlinden, rising when he rose to speak, and treating him with all possible respect. On the other side, Merlin, the attorney-general, read over the long indictment with a savage emphasis, tortured his ingenuity to fasten an appearance of guilt on the laurels of Moreau, and was as rude and insolent as he was violent in invoking the vengeance of the law upon him as a traitor to his country, a conspirator in the pay of England, &c. But everything seemed to fail; and even the weak letter which the prisoner had written to the First Consul seemed to tell rather in his favour with that audience than against him. Every time that the general himself spoke there was a dead silence. He admitted that he had seen Pichegru more than once since that unfortunate man's return from London; but he solemnly denied having ever had any intercourse with Georges; and upon this latter point the only evidence produced was that of Lajolais and another sham conspirator, who, like him, had been employed by the police. Scarcely one of the hundred and thirty-nine witnesses who were heard for the prosecution knew Moreau, except by sight; and he himself declared, on the fourth day of the trial, that there was not an individual among the accused now arraigned with him that he had known or had ever seen before his arrest. Thuriot made the most strenuous efforts to extort false admissions, and to force contradictions; but he had no success; he could elicit no fact of any consequence to the prejudice of the general—he could elicit nothing beyond what Moreau had confessed in his letter to the Consul, always excepting the depositions of Lajolais and the other paid agent of the police. If Pichegru had been alive, one of the disclosures he would have made would have been that of the real character of Lajolais; and hence, it is presumed, had been one of the urgent necessities of getting Pichegru out of the way before the trial. There appears to have been little that was passionate or any way eloquent in the replies or speeches of Moreau, until he was pressed with the charges of having designed to make himself a dictator and of having accumulated enormous wealth in his different commands. The first of these charges, accompanied by an oratorical flourish about the heinousness of such an offence in a republican government, is exceedingly amusing, if we consider that Bonaparte had been the absolute dictator of France for more than four years, and had now been *emperor* ten days. Moreau exclaimed, "I dictator! What, make myself dictator at the head of a few partisans of the Bourbons! I, a known and steady republican! Point out my partisans! My partisans would naturally have been the soldiers of France, of whom in my time I have commanded nine-tenths, and of whom I have saved more than fifty thousand! If I had wanted partisans, those are the men I should have looked to! All my aides-de-camp, all the officers of my acquaintance, have been arrested; but not a shadow of a suspicion could be found against any one of them, and they have all been set at liberty. Why then attribute to me the madness of aiming to get myself made dictator by the aid of these partisans of the old French princes—of these men who have been fighting for the cause of royalty ever since 1792? You allege that these men, in the short space of four-and-twenty hours, formed the project of raising me to the dictatorship! Can any one be so mad as to believe it? . . . . My fortune and my pay have been alluded to: I began the world with nothing; I might have had by this time 50,000,000 of francs; I have merely a house and a bit of ground; as to my pay, it is 40,000 francs, and surely that sum will not be compared with my services!" The satellites of Bonaparte, and his police above all, began to dread an acquittal for Moreau. Réal hastened to whisper confidentially in the ears of his judges, that if they acquitted Moreau they would force the emperor to make a *coup d'état*—that the emperor must have a sentence of guilty, and then he would show his magnanimity by granting a pardon. Four of the judges were quite ready to take the word of command from the Tuileries; but six of them hesitated. Thuriot, the judge-reporter, and Hémart, the president, laboured hard to remove this hesitation. The president is reported to have said, "The acquittal of Moreau will be the signal of civil war. The foreign powers are waiting the issue of this trial to determine whether they will recognise Napoleon as emperor or not. Messieurs, there are certain sacrifices which the safety of the state has a right to exact." For several days, however, there was doubt and indecision, all the judges but two looking out for some subterfuge or compromise by which they might gratify the emperor without doing too much violence to their

* For this generous conduct to an old friend, and a brother soldier, Lecourbe was struck out of the list of generals, and he was condemned to poverty and obscurity until the return of the Bourbons in 1814.

own consciences, or too much injury to their own reputations.*

As for Georges-Cadoudal, they had all fully determined that he should die, and his behaviour on the trial had no tendency to make the judges change their mind. The Chouan chief regarded his fate with a fierce kind of resolution, or with a stormy resignation, for he had gone there to die. During his short stay in the Conciergerie, he had been again tempted by Réal with the offer of a pardon if he would renounce the conspiracy, and accept of employment under Bonaparte; but his only reply to Réal's arguments and persuasions had been, "My comrades followed me to France, and I will follow them to death." He treated the old Conventionists that had voted for the king's death, and that were now sitting on the bench, with the greatest contempt, often calling Thuriot Monsieur Tue-Roi, Mr. Kill-King; and, after pronouncing his name, or being forced to reply to his interrogatories, he would ask for a small glass of eau-de-vie, in order to wash his mouth. When President Hémart asked him whether he had anything to reply to the witnesses for the prosecution, he answered with a sonorous "No!" To other questions he replied, "Where is the use of all these formalities? You are Blues; I am White. Only certify my identity, and act towards me as the Blues used to do to the Whites in the Vendée and in Britany: three bullets in the head will be enough, so let us have no more talk about it." From time to time he turned round to his Chouans and said, "Courage, my boys!" And the courage of those primitive royalists appears not to have forsaken them; not one of those rude peasants made any confession, or any attempt to save himself by accusing others. Bouvet de Lozier, who babbled in the Temple after the vain attempt to hang himself, was not a rude peasant, but a fine-bred gentleman.

The Marquis de Rivière took pride in repeating that he was aide-de-camp to the Count d'Artois, and a devoted royalist. He said that he was no conspirator; that he had never intended to attack the person of the First Consul; that his royal highness, his master, had sent him to Paris to examine whether the reports sent to him were true; or whether he was deceived by false agents. "That," said he, "was my only mission, and I undertook it without hesitation." When President Hémart produced, as a proof against him, a small portrait of the Count d'Artois, which had been found upon his person, de Rivière took it, and respectfully put it to his lips. Armand de Polignac, the elder of the two brothers, implored that he might die, and that Jules might be saved in consideration of his youth, if not of his innocence; and Jules de Polignac reversed the prayer, saying that he was a single man, and that his brother Armand had a wife to weep for him. The whole trial occupied ten days, and each day the crowd seemed to increase in the court. On Sunday morning, the 10th of June, sentence of death was passed upon Georges-Cadoudal, Bouvet de Lozier, Lajolais, Armand de Polignac, and sixteen others; while Moreau, Jules de Polignac, and three others were condemned to two years' imprisonment. The rest of the prisoners—twenty-two in number—were acquitted; but the police seized them on coming out of court, and threw them into prison again by order of Bonaparte. It had never, we believe, been the intention of his successful rival to proceed to the extremities of an execution in Moreau's case: the plan was to obtain a capital conviction, and then humiliate and crush him with a reprieve and commutation of punishment.* The trial itself had sufficiently shown that there might have been some danger in bringing the hero of Hohenlinden to the scaffold; and Bonaparte never wanted to shed more blood than the quantity he thought strictly necessary to his purpose. Some of the judges, however, would not venture on a sentence of death against a man who was so formidable even when a prisoner at the bar, and against whom there was scarcely a tittle of evidence. The compromise had therefore ended, as we have seen, in a sentence of two years' imprisonment—a sentence which seemed absurd to all the world; for Moreau was innocent or guilty, and if innocent there ought to have been no punishment at all,—if guilty, the punishment was too light. One of the judges is said to have declared that there had been no conspiracy proved against any of the prisoners, and two of the judges are said to have protested against the judgment which condemned, though only to a minor pain, a party (Moreau) whose innocence had been established by the trial.† But ten of these precious judges had agreed in the absurd sentence, and four of them—President Hémart, Thuriot, Selves, and Granger—would, from the first, have gratified Bonaparte with a sentence of death, and trusted to his promise for the non-execution of it! Thuriot, or Tue-Roi, had threatened his more scrupulous colleagues: "You want," said he, "to set Moreau at liberty; but I tell you that he will not be liberated. You will force the government to an act of violence. I tell you this is a political affair rather than a judicial one!" As soon as the decrees of the special tribunal were delivered, Murat hurried to his brother-in-law, and conjured him in the most urgent manner to pardon all the condemned, observing, that such an act of clemency would gain popularity for the newly founded empire; that it would be said the Emperor pardoned the attempts against the life of the First Consul; that the pardon would be glorious, and more valuable than any security to be obtained by executions. Such, Bourrienne tells us, was the conduct of Murat; but Murat did not solicit, as some have reported, the life of any par-

* "Témoignage d'un Témoin oculaire," as cited by Capefigue, Bonaparte said to Bourrienne, "It is unnecessary to affirm to you that Moreau never should have perished on a scaffold. Most assuredly I would have pardoned him; but, with the sentence of death hanging over his head, he could no longer have proved dangerous; and his name would have ceased to be a rallying point for disaffected republicans or imbecile royalists."

† Témoignage d'un Témoin oculaire.

ticular individual. Other intercessions were made by Bonaparte's wife and sisters; Madame Armand de Polignac, after being concealed by the kind-hearted Josephine for some hours in her apartment at St. Cloud, threw herself at his feet, protesting the innocence of her husband, and imploring his pardon, and several of his generals and aides-de-camp joined in these entreaties. Of those capitally condemned, the elder Polignac, de Rivière, de Russillon, de Rochelle, d'Hozier, Bouvet de Lozier, and Lajolais, all the *gentlemen* of the party, except Georges and Coster-Saint-Victor, were reprieved; but of these Lajolais had been condemned only to save appearances, and Bouvet de Lozier had saved himself by his weak conduct in the Temple. The rest were led to execution on the 25th of June, two days after the promulgation of the reprieve of their associates. The guillotine was now erected once more in the Place de Grève; and there, de Rivière exclaimed, was now the only field of honour. The courage and resignation of the Bretons did not forsake them there; and Georges-Cadoudal, learning that it was rumoured he had received a pardon at the foot of the scaffold, entreated and obtained permission to die the first, in order that his faithful followers might have full assurance that he was not going to desert them —that they were all going together to look through the little window of the guillotine into a world where no Bonapartes, or Fouchés, or Lajolais could trouble them more. In a trice the bold bull-like head of the Chouan chief was severed from his robust and life-full body, and lying in the basket awaiting the heads of his followers. The practice had not been so great as in some former years, but the headsmen had lost little of the rapidity of execution: the thirteen heads were all in the basket in seventeen minutes, and the spectacle was over, which all Paris had crowded to see. At and after the execution, as during the trial, and long before it, Georges-Cadoudal and his associates were all represented as being in the pay of the English government, as being assassins into whose very hands Pitt had put the daggers with which they were to assassinate the First Consul. Yet a few days before the execution he acknowledged in private to Bourrienne that the last horrible assertion was but a fiction. At that same private interview he expressed great anxiety as to what he should do with Moreau, and this miserable sentence which the special tribunal had passed on him—a thing which he called, correctly enough, the sentence of a pickpocket. "What do you think," said he, "I ought to do with him? Detain him in prison? No! He might still prove a rallying-point. Besides, I cannot confine him in the Temple—it is full enough without him. Let him sell his property and quit France. That will be best for all parties!".* And this was the course adopted.

* Yet in this same interview Bonaparte showed how little he thought Moreau was fit to play the part of a state conspirator, or to render himself in any way very dangerous to his government. Moreau, indeed, had only become dangerous for a time by being infamously treated, thrown into a prison, and put upon his trial.

"Moreau," said Bonaparte, "was the author of his own ruin. It will require men of a different stamp from Moreau to conspire against me! . . . . Moreau possesses some high qualities; his bravery is undoubted; but he has more courage than steady energy; he is indolent and self-indulging. When with the army, he lived like a pasha, gave himself up to the pleasures of the table, and was almost constantly smoking. His abilities are naturally good; but he is too indolent for study; and since he has been tied to his wife's apron-strings he has been fit for nothing. . . . . You must remember my observing, more than two years ago, that Moreau would one day strike his head against the gate of the Tuileries. That he has done so is no fault of mine. I wanted to attach him to me. . . . . He served me well, indeed, on the 18th Brumaire; but since then he has been very ungrateful—has entered into all the silly cabals against me—has blamed my measures of government—has turned into ridicule the Legion of Honour. Have not some of the intriguers put it into his head that I am jealous of him? You must know, as well as I, how anxious the Directory were to exalt the reputation of Moreau. Alarmed at my success in Italy, they wished to have a general to serve as a counterpoise to me. Well! I have ascended a throne, and he is the inmate of a prison! Had he attached himself to me, doubtless I would have made him the first marshal of the empire. But, as he took an opposite course, what could I do with him? From discontent to revolt there is frequently only a step!"—*Bourrienne, Mémoires.*

Moreau consented to exchange his two years of imprisonment for banishment, Savary being the agent employed by Bonaparte and Fouché to conduct this secret negotiation. His house and bit of ground were bought by the government, and an officer of Savary's *gendarmes d'élite* conducted the man universally esteemed the best general next to Bonaparte through France and Spain to Cadiz, where he embarked with his wife and family for the United States.

The other prisoners were detained, some for long and some for shorter periods, in different fortresses, and were afterwards kept under Fouché's lynx-eyed surveillance. Some of them died under the empire and in this restraint; and others survived to figure in the world when the empire was no more, and when Bonaparte was a prisoner in the lonely isle, or dead.

One of the desired effects of the first announcement of the discovery of this Pichegru, Georges-Cadoudal, and Moreau conspiracy, was the arrival of shoals of addresses from the army, the departments, the towns and communes of France, all congratulating the First Consul, who had run no danger at all, on the imminent dangers he had escaped; and nearly all recommending greater care of that precious life for the future, with the adoption of the means best calculated to put his person and government beyond the reach of conspirators. While these things were pouring in, and while the Moniteur was keeping up the alarm, and representing the hard fate of France if another revolution should happen, and if the First Consul should be taken from them, Curée, an old Conventionist, who had taken his share in those volleys of oaths which the Convention had sworn against all royalty and monarchic government—Curée, who had recommended the establishment of special tribunals to put down the crimes excited by royalism and religion, rose in the tribunate, and moved to bestow upon Napoleon Bonaparte the title of emperor, with the hereditary succession in his family, even as the succession was hereditary in the other royal lines of Europe. Curée, who was a littérateur, and closely connected with Fontanes and the other *beaux esprits* that assembled in the salons of Eliza Bonaparte, had his lesson beforehand; but he spoke as if on the inspiration

of the moment, and with spontaneous warmth. He announced that one of the grand objects of the whole revolution was to re-establish royalty in a great man—in a saviour like Napoleon. "Tribunes," he exclaimed, "the magnificent revolution of 1789 now bears its fruits. At that epoch thirty millions of men rose to abolish feudality and establish EQUALITY. We have suffered many desolations since that time and the present happy day; but now we see our finances restored, peace conquered by victories, and the altar raised from the dust. We are now happily arrived at the point at which the Constituent Assembly left us. It is for us to complete what the Constituent Assembly generously undertook to do. The Constituent Assembly only wanted a change of dynasty; and *that* is the only remedy to all the evils we have suffered, and to all those to which we shall be hereafter exposed if we attempt to maintain the elective system!" Although the tribunate was considered as a sort of last refuge of republicanism; although besides Curée there were many men there who had sat in the Convention, which had voted the eternal abolition of monarchy; and although there was not a man among them but had taken the king-renouncing oath, and had sworn to live with the republic, or die with it, the place immediately resounded with the cries "It is true! It is true! We want an hereditary monarch! Long live the Emperor! Let us vote instantly, and proclaim Napoleon Emperor of the French!" Curée's motion was supported in a more orderly manner by Simeon, a lawyer from Aix, who had served the Convention, who had been a member of the Council of Five Hundred, who had been deported as a conspirator, who had been recalled by the consular government, and who, subsequently to his present exertions, became a minister of justice under Bonaparte—a post which did not prevent his obtaining high appointments under Louis XVIII. This Simeon declared "that monarchy was the only thing that could put an end to anarchy; that ten years of misery and turbulence, and four years of hope and improvement, had fully demonstrated the inconveniences of the government of many and the advantages of the government of one sole man." From the beginning it was sure to come to this; but yet it was startling to see the frankness of the avowal, and to hear how enthusiastically these republican tribunes shouted "Yes, we want the government of one sole man!" This passed on the 3rd of April; and it appears that on this day there was not one single member of the tribunate that had honesty or courage enough to give utterance to a dissentient voice. It was, however, deemed decent not to divide on the great question at once, but to fix the 10th of April for its final settlement. On the 6th, the very day on which Pichegru was found strangled, the senate assembled, to take into consideration a message from the First Consul, which pointed as clearly to the hereditary throne as the loadstone points to the pole. The senate named a committee of ten to prepare a report on the message, wishing the tribunate to finish its discussions before they should cry Vive l'Empereur. The senatorial ten were Fouché, François de Neufchâteau, Rœderer, Lecouteaux-Canteleu, Boissy d'Anglas, Vernier, Vaubois, Fargues, and the two *philosophes* Laplace and Lacépède.

On the appointed 10th of April the tribunes went on with the motion presented on the 3rd. Curée quoted Roman history to show the necessity of having a sovereign, with an hereditary succession. "For," said he, "in voting an hereditary chief, as Pliny said to Trajan, we shall prevent the return of a master. . . . . Then, tribunes, make haste; it is no longer permitted us to march slowly: time hurries on; the century of Bonaparte is already in its fourth year; and the nation longs for a chief as illustrious as its destiny." Four and twenty orators, well counted, succeeded one another in the tribune to support Curée's anti-republican motion, with ready-written speeches which they pulled out of their pockets. It is almost a loss of time to add that one half of the twenty-four were old Conventionists and regicides. But one Conventionist and Jacobin, and one member alone of all the tribunate, raised his voice against the proposition. This minority of one was Carnot, who had equally voted against the consulship for life, and who by these two votes condemned himself to want of employment and poverty. His republican consistency has been much applauded; but we believe that an attentive inquest into the complicated history of the intrigues of the time would bring out some other motives for his hostility to Bonaparte. But if we admit Carnot's single-mindedness and sincerity, we must laugh at his judgment, or wonder at the madness or imbecility of a man who, seeing what he had seen of his country and countrymen since the year 1789, could still dream of the possibility of building up a happy and enduring republic, in such a land and with such materials, and at such a time as April, 1804, when horrors were in the course of perpetration very little inferior to those which had been committed during the Reign of Terror by the committee of *Salut Public*, when he, the said Carnot, was a member, and an active member, of that infernal committee. This part of the history of the man ought never to have been forgotten. It was not forgotten in the tribunate. Grenier recalled to his mind the days of Marat and Robespierre, and that he had been one of the committee of *Salut Public*, expressing his astonishment that Carnot should not endeavour to make men bury that fact in oblivion. Another of the tribunes asked him whether he wanted the return of the Jacobin constitution of the year '93. The discourse of Carnot was a poor proteet, vain, and without an echo.* Curée's motion was carried triumphantly, and a committee was named to draw up an address to the senate. This address was carried unanimously on the 3rd of May, and was,

as a matter of course, adopted unanimously by the senators, who had only been waiting for the paper. And the very next day the senate felicitated the tribunate on its having made so excellent a use of "that popular and republican initiative which had been delegated to it by the fundamental laws;" and informed Messieurs the tribunes that the senate as well as themselves wished to raise a new dynasty. And the instant that this was done the senators voted the answer to the message of the First Consul, which had been drawn up by Fouché and the other members of the Committee of Ten. In this strange document the senators assumed that the plots of the enemies of France, the internal conspiracies and agitations, rendered indispensable a monarchic hereditary government. It declared that the experience of fifteen years of revolution made men sigh and long for the shelter of a fixed unchangeable throne; and that the love of the French people for the person of Napoleon Bonaparte, transmitted to his successors with the immortal glory of his name, would unite for ever the rights of the nation to the power of the prince. The sentiment was repeated over and over again, or with slight variations, that Frenchmen would be for ever faithful to Napoleon, hereditary emperor, and to his hereditary successors, seeing that glory, gratitude, love, reason, policy, and the interest of the country all united in prescribing this everlasting attachment. It was clear, it said, that the hereditary government could be confided only to Napoleon Bonaparte and his august family; and it was equally clear that this new imperial hereditary government would be founded on a rock which nothing in nature could shake, and which must endure as long as the military renown of Napoleon. But the social contract was to be respected—the social pact was to brave the storms of time—the *republic* was to be immovable like its own vast territory, was to see the political tempests of the world rage round it in vain, for it was only to be shaken by the crack of doom (*pour l'ébranler il faudrait ébranler le monde*), and posterity, in recalling the prodigies generated by the genius of Napoleon, would see, for ever proud and erect, the immense monument of what France owed to him. What this social pact was to be—whether it was to be the *contrat social* of Rousseau, which the Girondists and Jacobins had set up and knocked down like a nine-pin, or whether it was to be some other pact between the sovereign and the people,—Messieurs the senators said not. They mentioned not a word about guarantee or constitutional security and limitation, or about the necessity of providing restrictions on successors to the imperial throne who might not be so great and good as Napoleon Bonaparte. But, leaving the nation to its chances, these august conscript fathers tried hard to make a bargain for themselves, and to procure from the Emperor an instalment of the price of the throne to which they were raising him. They did not do this in their public address in answer to Bonaparte's letter, for that might have been attended with awkward appearances and disagreeable consequences. But in a *secret* memorial appended to the rotund public answer, like a parachute to a balloon, they demanded or implored—1. That the dignity of senator should be made hereditary, like that of peers in Great Britain. 2. That senators should only be tried by their peers. 3. That the Senate should have the initiative of laws, if not the veto. 4. That the Council of State should not have the faculty of interpreting any senatus consultum. 5. That two permanent committees or commissions should be instituted in the bosom of the senate; one to protect the liberty of the press, and the other to guarantee individual liberty.—On all and every of these articles of demand or petition, the First Consul was, in public, dumb as a statue; but, as they had been offered to him in private, so in private did he answer them—calling to him, not collectively, but separately, the conscript fathers who had presented them, and reasoning with them on the extravagance of their pretensions, on the scandal that would be cast on the doctrine of *equality* by an hereditary aristocracy like the English peerage, on the inconsistency of subdividing the sovereign authority (and two permanent committees, with the control of the press and of individual liberty, would have been dividing the imperial authority with a vengeance!) at a moment when the nation, the tribunate, the senators themselves were calling for a unity of power; and, as the end of all, showing every member of the senate that was of consequence enough to be spoken to, that he did not intend to grant them any one of the articles, and that they had not the power to force him. His triumph over the presumption of the senators was the easier, as there was no cohesion or sympathy between them and the tribunes and the members of the *corps législatif*, and as both of these two last bodies politic were secretly soliciting, at the same time, for an increase of their annual salaries! And what indeed could Bonaparte fear from a set of men, or from three bodies or sets of men, who were all preoccupied and absorbed by their own private interests?* He showed no eager haste for the senatus consultum which was to complete the work of his elevation to the throne. But, in the meanwhile, monarchic addresses, prayers for his immediately ascending that throne, continued to arrive from all parts, and the Moniteur, day after day, published the most striking of them. The *corps législatif* was not sitting at this moment, but Fontanes, the pet poet and lover of Eliza Bonaparte, collected together all the members of that legislature that chanced to be in Paris, drew up an address for them, stating that their wishes coincided with the wishes of the tribunate and the senate, and then, as president, went up to the Tuileries with the address. Cambacérès, the Second Consul, who had always played the complacent part, showed himself particularly eager in the council of state, and afterwards in the senate, "to become the exalted

* Hist. Parlement.

subject of him who had been his first colleague in the consulate." He presided on the 18th of May, when the senate proceeded to finish the business by passing an 'Organic Senatus Consultum,' deferring (*déférer*) the imperial crown in conformity with "the addresses of the tribunals, the administrative bodies, the municipalities, the army, and the spontaneous cry of all good citizens." In the explanations prefixed to this organic senatus consultum, and in which the senators durst make no allusion to their private demands, their fruitless attempts at bargaining, there was scarcely one Jacobin or republican dogma left unrefuted, or at least uncondemned; and, again, the terrible plots and conspiracies "of the English and the emigrants, which had been discovered," were cited as necessitating the immediate establishment of an hereditary government. All this left little doubt on the minds of attentive observers, that the late so-called plots and conspiracies had been gotten up by those who made this use of them. "The French people could not see without affright the horrible conspiracies against their country, and against the hero who governs it: they are no longer satisfied with applauding the present; the dread of past evils makes them seek a guarantee for the future." And where could this guarantee be found except in the man of the age and his illustrious family? "There are certain great principles which may be kept out of sight in times of trouble and faction, but which endure for all ages, and upon which men feel the necessity of reposing after political tempests. The first of these principles is, that great states can be governed only by one man—*que les grands états ne comportent que le gouvernment d'un seul.* This important truth is even already consecrated by the existing order of things in France: the more a state aggrandizes itself, the more its government ought to be concentrated; for the government ought to be stronger and more active in proportion as the territory becomes vaster, and the nation more numerous. In the government of many, the chief magistrature is enfeebled by division:—under the government of a single person there is more secrecy and celerity in affairs; the supreme magistracy makes everything move, in seeming motionless itself. This is the sort of government which, with the least effort, produces the most extended and powerful action. In the government of many, those who administer public affairs may be agitated by private ambition; not one among them is powerful enough and elevated enough not to wish to be more powerful and more elevated. And, on another side, in the sort of government of which we are speaking, nobody properly attaches his own name to the good or the ill which happens; each administrator remains more indifferent to the glory of success, and to the shame of a vicious administration; and the public interest almost always disappears in the perpetual shock of many interests and opinions. When there is one sole governor, he feels that all the affairs press upon him; he takes that to heart; he is besides, according to the expression of a celebrated publicist, THE GREATEST CITIZEN OF THE STATE; he can only place his private happiness in the general happiness; he can have no other interest than the interest of the state itself.

"The second grand principle," the senators proceeded, "which is equally of common right in political matters—*qui est également de droit commun dans les matières politiques*—is this, that power must be *hereditary* in the family chosen by the nation." And here, as the principle was not altogether so generally received and digested by the people as the preceding one, a proportionately greater quantity of logic and rhetoric was employed to demonstrate and recommend it. The reasonings are long, tedious, and unprofitable; and we refer to the subject merely for the sake of the not uninstructive contrast between the declarations of the revolutionists from 1790 down to 1794, and those of the Bonapartists in 1804, again reminding the reader that many of these public men were the same who figured on the *côté gauche* of the Constituent Assembly, and who were lawgivers in the ultra-republican Convention; and that the great mass of the French people, who had promised and vowed eternal hatred to kings, were quite as ready to sing now, and with as much enthusiasm, *Vive l'Empereur! Vive le pouvoir d'un seul! Vive l'hérédité!* as ever they had been to sing the *Ca Ira*, the *Carmagnole*, or the Marseillese hymn. If the reader turn back to the debates in the Jacobin club and in the Convention, as purposely given with some detail in the preceding Book, he will better feel the full force of the contrast. There the doctrine of all sort of hereditary succession was questioned. Now the hereditary quality of a monarchy was maintained to be essential to the existence of France. "This," said the senators, "is the only barrier against factions and intrigues; it places the supreme magistrate in a sanctuary inaccessible to the thoughts and machinations of the ambitious. In the circumstances in which we live, it is only by establishing the hereditary power in the new family that we shall succeed in destroying the last germ of the chimerical hopes of the old family, who are leagued with the eternal enemies of France, and whose return, marked by convulsions and vengeances of every kind, would become an exhaustless fountain of public and private calamity. . . . . This hereditary law offends none of our national maxims; and it is in itself alone a grand principle of conservation and of public tranquillity!" At first they had offered to Bonaparte the faculty of naming his successor to the throne, for Josephine, who had children by her marriage with Vicomte de Beauharnais, had had no child by her second husband: but now it was thought expedient to fix the succession, and to declare the imperial throne hereditary in the family of Bonaparte, and in the male line of the emperor's direct descendants (in case he should yet have a son or sons, which case appears to have been already contemplated by means of a divorce from Josephine, and a

marriage with a younger woman); and, failing these direct descendants of Napoleon, then in his brothers Joseph and Louis, and their male descendants, in the order of primogeniture, the doctrine of the Salic law being emphatically upheld in these words —"Among a people essentially warlike, women must of necessity be perpetually excluded." But, as, at Napoleon's express command, the senators who drew up this organic law had excluded from the succession the second and fourth brothers, Lucien and Jerome, because they had given mortal offence by marrying obscure women without Napoleon's consent; and as the same law-makers felt, or had been told, that, after all, Napoleon, by some disagreement with Joseph and Louis, might hereafter choose to exclude them as he had excluded Lucien and Jerome, they put into their organic senatus consultum, that the Emperor Napoleon might adopt as his successor the son or grandson of any one of his brothers, provided he should have no male children himself, and provided the adopted heir should have completed his eighteenth year:*

It was Second Consul Cambacérès who put this organic senatus consultum to the vote; and, when it was carried by acclamation, he headed the senate, who *en corps*, and escorted by different corps of cavalry, hastened to lay it at the feet of the emperor. And when the senators arrived at the pleasant country palace, it was Cambacérès that delivered the harangue to the emperor, and that went next to congratulate Josephine as empress. Bonaparte, who was difficult to please, was not entirely satisfied either with the organic laws or with the harangue, which, though pronounced by Cambacérès, had been written, and in a hurry, by another; but he knew the entire devotedness of the Second Consul, and he knew still better that it was not the senate that could prevent his retouching the senatus consultum, if hereafter he should deem it expedient so to do. For the present he replied to the august senators, who for the first time had called him Sire and Your Majesty, "All that can contribute to the welfare of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you believe to be conducive to the glory of the nation. *I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession.* I hope that France will never repent the honours she may confer on my family. At all events, my spirit will not be with my posterity when they cease to merit the confidence and love of the Great Nation."

As there were to be no more consuls, an imperial mandate was given there upon the spot, at St. Cloud, appointing Cambacérès Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, and Lebrun, the Third Consul, Arch-Treasurer. "Citizen Consul Cambacérès," said this first imperial letter, "your title has changed; your functions and my confidence remain the same. In the high dignity with which you are now invested, you will continue to manifest, as you have hitherto done in that of consul, that wisdom and those distinguished talents which entitle you to so important a share in all the good which I may have done. I have, therefore, only to desire the continuance of the same sentiments towards the state and me. Given at the palace of St. Cloud, the 28th Floréal, year XII.—Napoleon, Emperor. H. B. Maret, Secretary of State."

Bourrienne says, rather happily, that this first letter of the *emperor* is "characteristic of Bonaparte's art *in managing transitions*." It is to the *citizen* and *consul* that the emperor addresses himself, and it is dated according to the *republican* calendar. That calendar, which was dying fast, and was soon interred and consigned to oblivion, and the delusive inscription on the coin, were, indeed, all that now remained of the republic, to erect which so much blood had been spilt, so many crimes committed!

On the following day—in Christian or slave style the 19th of May—the *emperor* and *empress* repaired from St. Cloud to Paris, to hold a grand levee in the Tuileries, and to hear the enthusiasms of the army and the loud-tongued plaudits of the Parisians. The assemblage is described as more numerous and more brilliant than any that the old palace of the Bourbons had yet seen; the applause of the people as spontaneous, unanimous, extatic. General Bessières addressed the *emperor* on the part of the imperial guards, and the *emperor* gave back compliment for compliment. No one knew better the oratory which delighted the French soldiery. All the general officers and colonels of regiments that were in the capital were presented to the emperor by his brother Louis, who had already begun to exercise his functions of "Grand

* Mr. Alison makes a strange mistake in describing this settlement. He says that the throne was declared "hereditary in *his* (Napoleon's) family, and that (those) of his brothers Joseph and *Lucien*." Now this last, who had, even more than the youngest of the brothers, Jerome, excited the wrath of Napoleon by marrying Madame Jouberteau, a beautiful but low-bred woman, and the *undivorced* wife of a Parisian agent, who was shipped off to the West Indies, where he soon died (the said Lucien having previously caused great scandal by carrying off and actually marrying the wife of a Parisian dealer in lemonades, a still lower-bred woman, from whom he had been liberated by death), was not only excluded from the succession—his younger brother Louis being substituted for him—but was excluded also from all the imperial dignities which were conferred on Napoleon's ascending the throne. And from this time, or rather, from the time of his quarrel with Napoleon, who demanded from him that he should repudiate Madame Jouberteau, and be ready, as soon as opportunity should offer, to marry some foreign princess,—Lucien, the author of the famous but unlucky 'Parallel,'—Lucien, who had done more than any member of the family, excepting only Napoleon, to destroy the republic and set up a monarchy with hereditary succession, tried the game backwards, and played the part of a republican once more. There is no fact more notorious than that Lucien was excluded with Jerome, and that it was Louis that was included with Joseph. "When," says Bourrienne, "Bonaparte heard of Lucien's second marriage, from the priest by whom it had been clandestinely performed, he fell into a furious passion, and resolved not to confer on Lucien the title of French Prince, on account of what he termed his unequal match. Lucien therefore obtained no other dignity than that of senator. Jerome, who pursued an opposite line of conduct (in 1807, he cast off his young and beautiful wife, the daughter of Mr. Paterson, a merchant of New York, and married a princess of Wurtemberg), rose high, and was made a king."

Walter Scott might have saved his countryman from the mistake, for he states clearly and correctly the exclusion of Lucien, and the cause of it.—"*Lucien* and Jerome Bonaparte were excluded from this rich inheritance, as they had both disobliged Napoleon, by marrying without his consent." Mr. Alison might have found the organic senatus consultum at full length in fifty English books. The name of Lucien is never once mentioned in that document, any more than that of Jerome; but Joseph and Louis Bonaparte are named repeatedly, in the various clauses which fix the succession in them and their children, with the provisos we have mentioned in the text.

Constable of the Empire." In a few days everything in court and capital assumed a new aspect; but, although the gaping Parisians admired the brilliancy and glare of the phantasmagoric scene, they could not help ridiculing (in secret, or when the eyes of the police were not upon them) the new courtiers and state dignitaries. Not even the business of a courtier is to be learned in a day: the rough soldiers of fortune and the Jacobin *parvenus* were very awkward at it; and it was not until Bonaparte secured the services of men of the old court, like the Count de Ségur and Count Louis de Narbonne, that his court began to assume the proper style and elegance. On this 19th of May, or his first court-day at the Tuileries, he issued a decree naming eighteen of his first generals Marshals of the French Empire. These generals, of whom the greater part had risen from the ranks, and had been violent Jacobins and republicans, were Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, Kellermann, Lefevre, Perignon, and Serrurier. And it was determined that, when addressed verbally, they should be called *Monsieur le Maréchal*, and when in writing, *Monseigneur*, or My lord. At the same time each of the French princes and princesses, that is to say, every brother and sister of Bonaparte, received the title of Imperial Highness, and the grand dignitaries of the empire that of Serene Highness. These dignitaries were rather numerous. Besides the Arch-Chancellor and Arch-Treasurer, there were the Grand Elector, the Chancellor of State, the Constable, the Grand Admiral of the Empire, &c. The organic senatus consultum had nicely regulated the functions of all these personages, and had declared their dignities to be for life. They were all to be addressed as Monseigneur, &c. Maret, the secretary of state, was to have the rank of minister; and henceforward every minister, as well as the president of the Senate, was to be called Your Excellence. Then came the high household appointments, as Grand Marshal of the Palace, Master of the Horse, Grand Huntsman, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, the Prefects of the Palace, &c. &c. &c. To give all possible solemnity to his accession, Bonaparte ordered that the senate itself should announce his accession to the throne, and proclaim in Paris their organic senatus consultum; and this was done on Sunday the 20th of May, with infinite pomp and rejoicing. The first decrees of the new sovereign were headed, "Napoleon, by the grace of God and the constitution of the republic, Emperor of the French," &c.; but the name of the republic was shortly afterwards dropped altogether. Fresh volleys of oaths proceeded from every part of the country: all the ministers, marshals, generals, &c. &c., who had taken so many oaths already, and of a character and tendency so different, swore fealty and allegiance to the emperor.* It would have been better to say nothing about it, it would have been best to endeavour to make the world forget that most of these swearers, together with the mass of the French people, had sworn fidelity to the constitutional monarchy of 1791, to the republic of 1792, to the republic improved (by the Marats and Robespierres) of 1793, to the directory of 1795, and to the consular government of 1799; that, after the first of these oaths, each had been a perjury, and a violation of its predecessor; and that this new oath of 1804 was an accumulative perjury, and a flagrant outrage against and denial of all the principles upon which all the preceding oaths had been founded. Yet M. François de Neufchâteau, in taking this new oath to the emperor, as representative of the senate, said, among other fine things, "When your majesty, who has repaired so much ruin, has also re-established amongst us the sacredness of an oath, we seriously weigh the object and extent of the inviolable promises and engagements which we now make to you." Fresh addresses poured in, numerous and heavy enough to load a waggon, and all conceived in the most extravagant language. The authors of them seemed to exhaust their imagination in carrying flattery and adulation to the highest possible point; and such of them as proceeded from the clergy—that is to say, from that part of the French clergy who had submitted to the Concordat and accepted the salaries of government—intermixed a religious unction with their flattery, which made it infinitely more disgusting than the adulation of the laymen. These churchmen said they saw the finger of God in it all. They called Napoleon a new Moses, a new Cyrus, a new Charlemagne; and they declared that "submission was due to him as having dominion over all, and to his ministers as being his envoys, because such was the order of Providence." It is hardly needful to say a word about the reference to the French people to sanction the law of hereditary succession. We have seen already how those matters were managed; and Bonaparte did not wait for the result of the popular votes on this question, to take into his hands the imperial sceptre. Some months after he was seated on the throne, it was reported to him that above three millions of the registered votes of the people approved of the hereditary succession, and that in all France only between three and four thousand votes were contrary.* It is said that in many places names of men were registered among the assentients who never voted at all, and that this was notoriously the case in Geneva, that small Swiss republic which had been forcibly annexed to France: but there appears to be little doubt that, at the time, the great majority of the French people—"to whom the present is a great deal, the future much less, and the past nothing at all" †—cared little or nothing about the hereditary question, and were glad to have the great soldier and conqueror for their lord and master.

Monsieur, or the Count de Lille, or Louis

* This report was presented by the senate on the 1st of December.
† Walter Scott, Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.

XVIII., from his secure retreat at Warsaw addressed, not to the French people, but to the sovereigns of Europe, a protest against the usurpation of his throne. Fouché, who was the first to hear of this protest, feared that copies might be multiplied and distributed among the aristocrats and the Bourbon royalists of the Faubourg St. Germain, and lead to some explosions against the emperor's infant government. But Bonaparte treated it with contempt, saying, "Ah! ah! so the Count de Lille makes his protest. Well, well, be it so. I hold my right by the will of the French nation, and while I have a sword I will maintain it! The Bourbons ought to know by this time that I do not fear them; let them therefore leave me quiet. Did you say that the fools of the Faubourg St. Germain will multiply copies of the protest? Well, they shall read it at their ease. Send it to the Moniteur, Fouché; send it to the Moniteur, and let it be inserted to-morrow morning." And accordingly the protest appeared in the official newspaper. It would have been well for the fame of this extraordinary man, if he could always have treated in the same manner the dark suggestions of his police minister, and if he could always have felt that, so long as he had a sword and the French army with him, he had nothing to fear from the old noblesse or from the Bourbon princes. Just three months earlier these convictions would have saved him from the worst of his state crimes; and the convictions might have existed, for, notwithstanding the strangulation of Pichegru, the public execution of Georges-Cadoudal, the banishment of Moreau, and his own easy elevation to the empire, it would not be easy to prove that Bonaparte was in reality any stronger or more secure on the 29th of June, when he held this conversation with Fouché, than he was on the 21st of March, when the Duke d'Enghien was murdered. On the contrary, there are sundry reasons for believing that his political power at least was much less secure now than then; that by establishing monarchy he prepared the minds of the people to look with less horror or reluctance to the possible return of the old Bourbon dynasty; and that by building up a new system with such rapidity he threw a doubt into men's minds as to the durability of the structure.

In the month of July Bonaparte left Paris to visit the camp at Boulogne, and the so-called Army of England. Some of the Paris gossips were quite sure that the alleged object of the imperial journey —the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour to the worthiest soldiers in the camp— was only a pretext, for that he was really gone to carry into execution the long-threatened invasion of England, and would soon be back with King George and William Pitt, with all the royal family and the worst of the English aristocracy, prisoners in his train. And, although he had not the slightest intention of attempting the said invasion, yet had he other and more serious objects in view than the mere distribution of crosses and ribands: he suspected long before this that a new coalition was in the course of formation; the gross insults he had offered to the Emperor Alexander were not likely to be borne long by a young and powerful sovereign; the King of Sweden had maintained a threatening tone ever since the catastrophe of the Duke d'Enghien, and though Sweden was but little formidable in herself, there were very evident grounds for believing that she was supported by Russia; and even the spiritless, shuffling cabinet of Berlin had changed its tone of deference for one almost of defiance, and was increasing its army day by day. Therefore what Bonaparte proposed to himself in this visit to the coast was to excite more and more the enthusiasm of his own army, to show himself to it, invested with his new imperial dignity, under striking, picturesque, and dramatic circumstances, and to dispose that great and highly disciplined army to a prompt and enthusiastical obedience of the first signal he might give. And he was received in the camp with an enthusiasm that fully responded to his wish. He pitched his tent near the tall tower called La Tour d'Ordre, which now changed its name into that of Cæsar's Tower, for some traces of a Roman camp had been discovered on the spot, and, to establish or keep up a captivating parallel, it was fancifully assumed that this was a camp which the Roman Cæsar had constructed when threatening Britain with invasion, and that here was a tower from which that first and greatest of the Roman emperors had looked proudly across the Channel upon his conquest. It was not far from this Tour d'Ordre, or Cæsar's Tower, that the so-called Army of England, under the command of Marshal Soult, was assembled in a vast plain to witness the distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, now impressed with the effigies of the emperor. Nothing was omitted by the great master that might tend to keep up the enthusiastic feelings of the soldiery.* Everything was dramatic, and the stage and the scene were admirably chosen. Painters had been consulted, actors had been consulted, beforehand, and Bonaparte's early and intimate friend Talma, the John Kemble of France, was believed to possess in perfection the art of representing classical heroes and Roman emperors. The plain was circular and hollow, and in the centre was a round hill—a sort of natural throne—and there the im-

* "When he reviewed the troops, he asked the officers, and often the soldiers, in what battles they had been engaged, and to those who had received serious wounds he gave the cross. Here, I think, I may appropriately mention a singular piece of charlatanism to which the emperor had recourse, and which powerfully contributed to augment the enthusiasm of his troops. He would say to one of his aides-de-camp, 'Ascertain from the colonel of such a regiment whether he has in his corps a man who has served in the campaigns of Italy or the campaigns of Egypt. Ascertain his name, where he was born, the particulars of his family, and what he has done. Learn his number in the ranks, and to what company he belongs, and furnish me with the information.' On the day of the review, Bonaparte, at a single glance, could perceive the man who had been described to him. He would go up to him as if he recognised him, address him by his name, and say, 'Oh! so you are here!' You are a brave fellow—I saw you at Aboukir—how is your old father? What! have you not got the cross? Stay, I will give it you.' Then the delighted soldiers would say to each other, 'You see the emperor knows us all; he knows our families, he knows where we have served.' What a stimulus was this to soldiers, whom he succeeded in persuading that they would all, some time or other, become marshals of the empire!"—*Bourrienne.*

perial Bonaparte stationed himself in the very midst of his soldiers. There he stood with his brilliant staff, and around this central glory the regiments were drawn out in lines, and looked like so many diverging rays. And from this natural throne the emperor delivered the form of oath to be taken by the members of the Legion of Honour: "Commanders, officers, legionaries, citizens, soldiers, swear upon your honour to devote yourselves to the service of the empire—to the preservation of the integrity of the French territory—to the defence of the emperor, of the laws of the republic, and of the property which they have made sacred;—swear to combat, by all the means which justice, reason, and the laws authorise, every attempt to re-establish the *feudal system;* in short, swear to concur with all your might in maintaining *liberty and equality*, which are the bases of all our institutions. Swear!"

Between the sublime and the ridiculous of this form of oath there was not so much as a step; but the absurdity and the palpable contradiction were not noticed (or, if a few cynical men sneered or laughed, they did it behind the curtain): the thing was taken as the signal for a universal burst of enthusiasm; and the shouts from a hundred thousand throats were heard far over the British Channel—that Channel whose broad rough waters were full in sight, studded with British ships of the line and proud frigates which told the enthroned soldier that he was not to pass it. A storm came on during this brilliant day, and it was apprehended that the scarcely sea-worthy flotilla of Boulogne, the prames, flat-bottomed boats, gunboats, and other vessels, which had ventured a little way out of port in order to add to the scenic effect, would be in jeopardy. The emperor quitted the hill and proceeded to the port to direct what measures should be taken. The directions of a landsman could have been but of little value; but just as Bonaparte arrived at the pier the sun shone forth and the storm ceased, "as if by enchantment;" and this was taken as an omen by the French soldiery, and probably by Bonaparte himself, who, as well as they, retained the superstition of a vague belief in destiny, although he scorned the superstitions of others, and had cast off all faith in revealed religion. The flotilla entered the port safe and sound; and the emperor went back to the camp, where the *quasi* classical sports and amusements prepared for the soldiers commenced; and at night the brilliant fireworks which were let off rose in a luminous column which was distinctly seen on the opposite English coast.*

From the camp of Boulogne Bonaparte proceeded in great state along the coast into Belgium, where he met his empress, Josephine; and from Belgium he continued his journey along the country bordering on the Rhine. In whatever town he stopped, addresses were presented to him. All these orations carried flattery to an extravagant height, but the orator generally believed to have surpassed all his competitors was a M. de la Chaise, prefect of Arras (the birth-place, and long the residence, of the Robespierres), who said, "GOD MADE BONAPARTE AND THEN RESTED!"†

From Mayence Bonaparte dispatched to Rome his aide-de-camp and general of brigade Caffarelli, to engage the Pope to come in person to Paris and crown the new emperor in Notre Dame, where Napoleon, as First Consul, had inaugurated the Concordat. Caffarelli appears to have been chosen for this delicate mission on account of various qualifications; he was of Italian descent; he spoke the language well, having served for some time in the Piedmontese army of the King of Sardinia; he had a brother who had been a priest; and he possessed a great deal of cunning and address. The petty princes whose states bordered on the Rhine, and whose fates were at his disposal (so far was Germany yet from the great Teutonic feeling and the unity of purpose which finished his overthrow) waited upon him and abjectly prostrated themselves before him, engaging, when called upon, to join their troops to the victorious and invincible army of their "Protector." Bonaparte, in fact, at this time received the congratulations of all the powers of Europe excepting England, Russia, and Sweden; for Prussia was again shuffling, or playing a double game. He returned to St. Cloud in October; and the poor defenceless old Pope, who knew what would be the effect of a refusal, and whose conclave of cardinals could not withstand the arguments of the knowing Caffarelli, arrived at Fontainebleau in November.† For

* Bourrienne.

* That sayer of many good things, the *spirituel* Count Louis de Narbonne, whom we last saw figuring as the *cher ami* of the de Staël, and endeavouring to effect the liberation of the unfortunate Louis XVI. and his family, and who had not yet put on the livery or entered the service of Bonaparte, is reported to have said, in rejoinder to the Prefect of Arras's blasphemous conceito—"that it would have been well if God had rested a little sooner."

† Pius VII., who was accompanied by six cardinals, many prelates, and two Roman princes, and who was preceded, as a sort of avant-courier, by Bonaparte's maternal uncle, now *Cardinal* Fesch, had a long and rough journey through Italy, across the Alps, which were already covered with snow, and then through nearly the whole length of France. It is said that the poor old pontiff, terrified at the fatigue to be undergone, would have preferred making a part of the journey—from Civita Vecchia to Toulon or Marseilles—by sea; but that Caffarelli dissuaded him, "because of the English cruisers."

It would have been one comedy or contrast the more, if the captain of an English man of war had brought the Pope of Rome and his cardinals into Spithead or the Downs. How would such an arrival have affected George III.?

Great pains were taken by Bonaparte, and are recorded in admiring language by his adherents, to arrange his meeting with the pontiff, so that it should be upon a footing of equality, or of superiority. The meeting took place by the road-side, between Nemours and Fontainebleau, opposite to an *auberge* and post house called the 'Half-Moon,' which stands, or which at least stood a few years ago, on the top of a hill. Bonaparte had ordered a grand hunting-party in the forest of Fontainebleau; and he and his suite galloped across the road, as if by mere chance, as the Pope's carriage drove up. Rapp, who had been bred a Protestant, laughed very heartily at the whole contrivance. "Only fancy to yourself," said he to Bourrienne, "the amusing comedy that was played off. After the Emperor and the Pope had well embraced, they went into the same carriage; and, in order that they might be upon a footing of equality, it was so arranged that they entered at the same time by opposite doors. All this was settled beforehand; but at breakfast the emperor himself calculated how he should manage, without appearing to assume anything, to seat himself on the right-hand side of the pope; and everything turned out as he wished." The rough Alsacian Rapp could not, however, avoid being struck by the fine benignant countenance of Pius VII. But Savary states, with evident satisfaction, that the old pontiff was made to walk through the mud of the road. After relating the hunting-match, and the rest of the contrived scene, Savary says—"The pope's carriage drew up; he got out at the left door in his white costume; *the ground was dirty;* he did not like to step upon it with his white silk shoes, *but was obliged to do so at last.* Napoleon alighted to receive him. They embraced; and the emperor's carriage,

some short time the mind of Bonaparte and his court and government seemed to be wholly absorbed by the coronation. Once more painters and actors were called into solemn consultation. Ultra-republican David, who had organised so many republican, and atheistical, and then theistical festivals, and processions, and ceremonies—painter David, who had been painting nothing but republican heroes of Greece and Rome in the act of killing kings and tyrants, or of immolating themselves for their country—David, of the wry-mouth and starch, vinegar countenance, who had painted the great Marat in his bath, dying under the knife of Charlotte Corday; who had clung to Robespierre to the last, and had threatened to drink the hemlock with the "Incorruptible," but had not done it,—was one of the principal organisers of this august ceremony, wherein an emperor was to be crowned by the Priest of Priests! [Nor was this all: before the old pope quitted Paris, David painted his portrait with the pencil which he had solemnly vowed should be reserved only for the republican heroes of ancient and of modern days.] Next to the great David, M. Isabey, miniature painter in chief to the imperial court, most distinguished himself on the present occasion. Indeed it may be doubted whether the man of miniatures did not surpass the historical painter. The Emperor wanted a visible and tangible representation of the coronation scene—"a *sacre* modelled in high relief"—a something which should show him how the scene might be arranged so as to produce the most striking effect. It was the practice of some of the old Italian masters and of other painters to use not merely a lay figure, but also a multitude of little figures, to guide them in their grouping; yet, it appears from that grand functionary M. Bausset, one of the prefects of the imperial palace, that Bonaparte's wish embarrassed those present at the consultation. "But," adds M. Bausset, "the happy and fertile imagination of M. Isabey inspired him. . . . . He replied, with a confident assurance, and to the great astonishment of the emperor, that within twice twenty-four hours his order should be executed. And before returning to his own house, M. Isabey went and bought up in the doll-warehouses all that he could find of those little people in wood that serve for the amusement of infants—*il alla acheter chez les marchands de joujoux tout ce qu'il put trouver de ces petits bonshommes en bois qui servent à l'amusement des enfants.* . . . . . He took them home and dressed them in paper of the colour of the costume of each personage that was to figure in the ceremonies of the coronation; made a ground-plan of Notre Dame, according to a scale proportionate to the size of the little puppets; and repaired the next morning to Napoleon, who hastened to demand from him his designs. 'Sire,' replied Isabey, 'I bring you something better than designs;' and then he unrolled his plan, produced his dolls, and put them into the positions they were to occupy during the *first* ceremony, having written the name of each personage at the bottom of each doll. This first action or ceremony was the reception, under the dais, at the door of the cathedral. The emperor was so well satisfied that he instantly summoned all those who were to take part in the *éclat* of this grand occasion. The rehearsals—*les répetitions*—were made in the *salon* of the emperor, and upon a great table. One ceremony only, more complicated than the rest, exacted a *real* rehearsal or repetition (*i.e.*, *not with Isabey's dolls, but with living men and women*). It took place in the grand gallery of Diana in the Tuileries, according to a plan chalked on the floor. Isabey had put all possible taste into the habiliments of his puppets; and he covered, by his talent, the ridiculous side of these designs in relievo. The clergy, the dames of the court, the princesses, the emperor, the pope himself, were costumed in the most exact and most suitable manner." The thing was private, and perhaps, even if done in the face of day, it would not have made the same impression on the French people; yet it should seem that it was as much of an omen, at the least, as the sudden sunshine and calm that greeted Bonaparte by the sea-beach at Boulogne; and that Isabey's moveable ground-plan, and his dolls or puppets for clergy, dames, grandees, emperor, and pope, were typical of the phantasmagoric raree-show nature of the Napoleonic empire.

Bonaparte determined that Josephine should be crowned with him. But here there arose a difficulty. The revolutionists had made marriage a simple civil contract, to be performed in the presence of two witnesses before a civil magistrate: the Catholic church holds marriage to be one of its seven sacraments, which can only be performed by a priest. Now, General Bonaparte and the fair widow of the guillotined vicomte had been married in the former way, *à la républicaine*; and they had not called in (which they might have done) a Catholic priest to confirm the civil ceremony and sanctify it. At the time they were married, indeed, few persons considered the religious ceremony at all necessary: people got married and unmarried with so much facility, and in so simple a manner, that the exaggeration is merely verbal which states that the republican marriage ceremony was completed by dancing round a tree of liberty, and that the divorce was effected by dancing round the same tree of liberty backwards. But the pope protested that he could not depart from the canons of the church, and anoint, and consecrate, and give the sacrament to a lady who had not been canonically married. He declared that he had made every kind of concession in things merely temporal, but that *this* he could

which had been purposely driven up, was advanced a few paces in front of the pope's, as if from the carelessness of the driver; four men were posted to hold the two doors open; at the moment of getting in the emperor took the right door, and an officer of the court handed the pope to the left; so that they entered the carriage by the two doors at the same instant. The emperor *naturally* seated himself on the right; and this first step decided, without negotiation, the etiquette to be observed during the whole time that the pope was to remain in Paris."

not do. He wished that the marriage should be celebrated legitimately, or according to the forms of the Catholic church. This was on the very eve of the coronation. Bonaparte fell into one of his furies; but the old pontiff was not to be moved:—the marriage must be sanctified by the church, and he must have the assurance that the benediction of a priest had been given to it, or he would not officiate at the coronation. The emperor's uncle stepped in as moderator, showing that the pope's scruple might be removed without any public scene. At eleven o'clock at night a temporary chapel or altar was prepared in the private apartments of the emperor, in a little cabinet adjoining his bed-chamber; and there, at midnight, Bonaparte and Josephine, or the emperor and empress, received the nuptial benediction from Cardinal Fesch, none being present except M. Portalis, minister for the department of religion, and Duroc, the grand marshal of the palace. The rest of the Tuileries, or of the world, for that present, knew nothing of the matter; but the cardinal uncle waited upon the head of the Catholic church to inform him that the marriage had been celebrated according to the canons, and thereupon the pope agreed to crown Josephine the august empress.*

Some weeks before this time a circular letter had been addressed by the emperor to all such as from their employment or situation were expected to attend in Notre Dame. This circular said that, "Divine Providence, and the constitutions of the empire, having placed the imperial hereditary dignity" in his family, he had fixed the 2nd of December for the ceremony of his *sacre* and coronation; that he could have wished on this august occasion to have collected on one single point the universality of citizens composing the French nation; but that, as this was impossible, he desired that the most distinguished of the citizens should be present, and hear him take the oath to the French people, &c. The circular concluded with naming the day by which these most distinguished citizens must be in Paris, and announce their arrival to his grand master of the ceremonies; and by praying God, in the old style, to have them in his holy keeping. For weeks before the coronation every *diligence* that arrived from the departments was stuffed full of the most distinguished citizens—members of the departmental councils, mayors, municipals, justices of the peace, members of the civil and criminal courts, deputations from the cities, &c. &c.—a strange set, according to the wits of Paris, and in good part (for the poorest and remotest departments were obliged to send some one) rustical, poor, and parsimonious. But there was no want of a more brilliant attendance: there were princes and palatines from the Rhine; princes, dukes, marquises, and counts from Italy; there was a thin sprinkling of Spanish grandees; and no inconsiderable number of the ancient noblesse of France, mixed with the new noblesse of Bonaparte's creation, with his marshals, generals, dignitaries of the Legion of Honour, and with the Jacobin civilians, ministers, and statesmen, who had doffed the Jacobin *carmagnole* jacket and red flannel nightcaps, and had bedizened themselves in plumed hats and court-cut coats half covered with gold lace. Of all sorts there was enough and to spare. Paris had never been so crammed as it was on the 2nd of December, 1804, the grand coronation day.* The ceremony itself was a mixture of the old *sacre* of the kings of the Bourbon line, and of the more ancient coronation of the Emperor Charlemagne, to whom Bonaparte wished to assimilate himself. We can only find room for a few novelties and detached particulars. As at the Concordat, the mass of the spectators, and even of those engaged in the solemn ceremonial, were very far from having any solemn feeling. It was a day for making puns and bons-mots; and many good ones were made. The first shrill laugh of the Parisians was excited by the sight of the pope's mule, which preceded the holy father's carriage, mounted by a chamberlain carrying a Roman cross. The dress of the cardinals, their crimson stockings, and the pope's embroidered silk shoes, furnished food for more remark and merriment; but most of all those mocking-birds laughed at the cumbrous gauds and the awkward tournure of new-made *dames du palais* and ladies of honour. Marshal Serrurier carried on a cushion the ring of the empress; Marshal Moncey her mantle; Marshal Murat her crown; and her sisters-in-law, Pauline and Caroline, supported Josephine's train. Marshal Kellermann carried the crown of Charlemagne, Marshal Perignon his old sceptre, Marshal Lefevre his great sword, Marshal Bernadotte the collar of gold of the Legion of Honour; Beauharnais, Josephine's son, the imperial ring; and Marshal Berthier bore the symbolical globe and cross. Then came Bonaparte covered with the imperial mantle, and carrying in his hand the sceptre and the hand of justice. At the grand entrance of Notre Dame a cardinal presented the holy water; and the canons of the cathedral held the dais or *baldaquin* over the head of Napoleon. The pope approached

* Capefigue, who states that he received this information from Count Portalis, the son of the Ministre des Cultes, one of the witnesses present at the midnight marriage.

When, in 1809, Bonaparte divorced Josephine, the defect of publicity—the secret, nocturnal, and irregular manner in which the ceremony was performed—was cited as one of the valid grounds for annulling the marriage!

* In 1795, when Bonaparte was paying his court to Madame de Beauharnais, he frequently walked about the streets of Paris with her, on business as well as on pleasure, neither of them being then rich enough to keep a carriage. One day they walked together to the house of a lawyer, or notary-public, called Raguideau, a person in whose judgment and advice Josephine placed great confidence. The lady went alone into Raguideau's study, leaving her admirer in an adjoining room. The intervening door did not shut close, or, which is quite as probable, Bonaparte put his ear to the key-hole. He distinctly heard Josephine acquaint her adviser of her intention to marry the young general of artillery, the protégé of Director Barras; and he as distinctly heard the notary say, "Madame, you are going to take a very wrong step, and one that you will be sorry for. But can you really be so mad as to marry a young fellow who has nothing but his cloak and his sword?" Bonaparte never mentioned to his mistress, or his wife, that he had overheard these words. But to her astonishment, on the morning of the coronation day, when Josephine was glittering with diamonds, and dressed in imperial robes, he desired that Raguideau might be sent for; and when the notary appeared, he said to him, "Well! Raguideau, have I nothing but my cloak and my sword now?"

Bourrienne says that this truly characteristic anecdote was related to him by Josephine herself.

Coronation of Napoleon.

the altar, and led off the psalm, "Veni, Creator!" The emperor and empress knelt as if to pray; and when they rose, the late Third Consul Lebrun, and the late Second Consul Cambacérès, Joseph Bonaparte, M. *Talleyrand*, and others, had several functions to perform, such as taking one of the regalia and giving another, changing the mantle, and the like. When the *Veni Creator* was terminated, the pope, approaching the emperor, demanded, on the book of the Evangelists, whether he professed Catholicism; and the emperor replied, with a firm voice, *Profiteor*. Then the cardinals and French archbishops approached, made a profound reverence, and accompanied the sovereigns to the foot of the altar. In the midst of a cloud of sweet-smelling incense, the pontiff anointed the emperor, who submitted to this performance with evident impatience, and gave his benediction to the crowns, to the sword, and to the imperial mantles. The chanted mass went on; and after the elevation of the host Pius VII. advanced, with solemn steps and slow, to place the crown which he had blessed on the head of Napoleon. But not even from the head of the Catholic church would Bonaparte consent to receive that symbol of sovereignty: with one of his impetuous gestures, he snatched the crown from the pope, and put it on his head with his own hands. A smile of resignation was all that could be perceived on the venerable, mild countenance of the pontiff. On a sign given by Bonaparte, Josephine kneeled, and her husband, with his own hands, put also the diadem on her head. The pope then accompanied the emperor to an elevated throne, kissed him on the cheek, and then cried with a feeble and inarticulate voice, Vivat Imperator in æternum. And then, all present in that crowded Gothic cathedral shouted, "Long live the Emperor! Long live the Empress!" That the performance might be complete, that none of the rites used in crowning the old king might be wanting, the unbelieving Napoleon took the communion with his wife, who sat by the side of the throne on a simple fauteuil. A grand Te Deum was sung to French music, which distressed the sensitive ears of the Italians; and at the end of the ceremony the New Testament, or the book of the Evangelists, being presented to the Emperor on the throne, he took off his glove, and pronounced his coronation oath, with his hand upon the sacred book. "The whole affair," says one that was present, "was exactly like a theatrical representation, for all the parts had been studied beforehand; and we had even had several general rehearsals at the palace, where, by the Emperor's orders, M. Isabey had modelled a *sacre* in high-relief to serve as a guide. Messieurs the masters of the ceremonies played the parts of prompters, they being charged with the duty of reminding each of the great persons figuring in the august ceremony, as to where he was to go, and what he was to do."* The grand

* Mémoires de Mademoiselle Avrillion, première femme-de-chambre à l'Imperatrice Josephine, &c.

These memoirs, like the vast majority of the books of the kind, bear evidence of having been "touched up" by some professional littérateur of Paris. But the groundwork looks like truth. The demoiselle really filled the close confidential post in the household of Josephine mentioned on the title-page, and must have had many op-

finale was performed by heralds, who, turning towards the four quarters of the hemisphere, proclaimed that the "thrice glorious and thrice august Napoleon, Emperor of the French, was crowned and installed." It is said that a few low Jacobin murmurs were heard, and that the countenances of Augereau and Bernadotte were clouded; but the whispers were drowned in the general acclamations, and in the roar of one hundred and one pieces of artillery.

The day after the coronation, all the troops in Paris were assembled in the Champ de Mars, which had witnessed so many republican celebrations and oath-takings, in order that imperial eagles might be distributed to the regiments, in lieu of the national flags. Near where the altar of the country and the plaster figure of Liberty had once stood, and in front of the military school, where Bonaparte had lived for some time an unfriended poor student—so poor that he could share in none of the luxuries, or comforts, or amusements of his fellow-students—a splendid throne was erected; and at a given signal, all the columns closed and approached that throne; and then Bonaparte, rising, ordered the eagles to be distributed, saying, "Soldiers, behold your standards. These eagles will always be your rallying-point. They will always be where your emperor may think it necessary for the defence of his throne and his people. Swear to sacrifice your lives in defending them. Swear, by your courage, to keep them constantly in the path of victory. Swear!" The enthusiasm was as great as it had been at the camp of Boulogne.

There now followed a rapid creation of nobility; for to make titles was easy work after what Bonaparte had done, and it was his habit to do all things in masses or by heaps. Princes, dukes, counts, barons, started up as by a touch of harlequin's wand. It was so very easy, too, to overcome the scruples of the ex-republicans, Jacobins, and sans-culottes. "You began your revolution," said the emperor, "in order to overthrow the castes and privileged ranks above you, and in order that you might stand on a footing of equality with the old noblesse. I will give you something better than equality—I will establish inequality in your favour. The Montmorencys, the Trémouilles, and all those ancient families, are now legally nothing in the state but simple bourgeois, for the titles of the ancient régime and the high places at court shall be possessed by men of the meanest names, if it so pleases the emperor!"*

It was not surprising that Bonaparte should hate the negroes. That imitative race, the blacks of St. Domingo, who had so amusingly parodied the republic and the consulate, now parodied the empire. The negro Dessalines, who, for the present, had taken the start of Christophe, and had succeeded to the power of Toussaint-Louverture, as soon as he heard of Bonaparte's move, and of the deliberations of the tribunate, corps législatif, and senate at Paris, caused himself to be elected and proclaimed emperor, and, as soon as the lists of the French peerage-batches reached him, this negro emperor began making batches of his own, and copying the imperial court at the Tuileries with all its titles, appendages, and rigorous etiquette. The white emperor was furious at his black imitator; and the malicious English newspapers, which he still continued to have translated to him, would not let so happy a subject drop very soon.

Shortly after his coronation, Bonaparte addressed another letter to George III. personally, under the title of "Sir, and Brother." The professed object of this epistle, which was very different from its real object, was to prove that France and England ought to be at peace; and that he, the emperor, was weary of war. The letter, which was dated the 2nd of January, 1805, was to this effect: —"Called to the throne of France by Providence, and the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood, shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences? I consider it no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world that I fear none of the chances of war; it, besides, presents nothing that I need fear: peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children: for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable, to silence all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war which all my efforts will not be able to terminate? Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war?—To form a coalition with some powers of the Continent?—The Continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew intestine troubles? —The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances?—Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed. To take from France her colonies?—The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect to cause two nations to fight merely for the sake of fighting. The world is suf-

portunities of acquiring curious information, particularly as to the domestic scenes which passed between Bonaparte and his first wife. Her little book is, at the very least, as worthy of being used as historical evidence as is the voluminous rhodomontade of Junot's wife, or Duchess of Abrantes, which has been so often and so inconsiderately cited in grave works.

* Madame de Staël, Considérations.

ficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling everything, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.—Napoleon." The king of England's answer was returned in a diplomatic note, addressed by Lord Mulgrave, our secretary of state for foreign affairs, to Talleyrand, who continued to fill that office in France. Bonaparte's string of truisms was met with the general declaration that there was no object which his Britannic majesty had more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure the advantages of a peace founded on bases not incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions; but that he was persuaded that this end could only be attained by arrangements which might at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe. But these general expressions were followed by something more special —by something very like a direct intimation of the European coalition, which was forming, notwithstanding Bonaparte's assurance that the Continent would remain tranquil. "His majesty feels it is impossible," said the letter, "for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the powers on the Continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connexions and relations, and particularly the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of the Continent." But without this intimation Bonaparte knew well that a storm was gathering in the North; and instead of wishing to avoid it, he was eager to confront it, having greatly miscalculated the military means of the young Czar, and the valour and steadiness of the Russian troops; and he had counted confidently on an easy triumph over the Calmuc and Cossack hordes. He could never have expected that the King of England would himself have answered his vague letter, and give him back the "Sir, and Brother;" if he knew anything of the British constitution, he must have known that the king could not answer it; and, if even Lord Mulgrave's note had intimated an eagerness to treat, he would have been embarrassed by it. All that he wanted was to seize the opportunity of addressing George III. as an equal; to give the French people to believe that he wished for peace,—that he was desirous of commencing his empire with pacific negotiations; and to throw the blame of the continuance of the war on the implacable hatred of England. It was, indeed, his common practice to reverse the old adage, "If you want peace, seem ready for war," into, If you want war, seem ready for peace. He submitted Lord Mulgrave's note, and a copy of his own letter, to the corps législatif; and then published them both in the Moniteur, with appropriate comments.* The same official paper, for which Bonaparte frequently wrote or dictated himself, had continued to deal out satire and ridicule on the sovereigns of Russia and Sweden, in retaliation for their remarks and remonstrances on the murder of the Duke d'Enghien; the Emperor Alexander, after some angry notes, had suspended nearly all diplomatic intercourse with Paris, and had invited other princes of the House of Bourbon to join Louis XVIII. in his states; and the King of Sweden had recalled his ambassador from Paris, and, in a public note delivered to the French envoy at Stockholm, he had expressed his surprise at "the indecent and ridiculous insolencies which Monsieur Napoleon Bonaparte had permitted to be inserted in the Moniteur." Moreover, both Alexander and Gustavus had demanded compensation for the King of Sardinia, the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples, and respect to the neutrality of the states of the Germanic body, with the pledge and assurance that such violations of the territory as had taken place in Baden and in other weak states should not be repeated.

The rights of neutral states and the law of nations had been most flagrantly violated in numerous instances in the summer and autumn of 1804. Two or three of these cases will serve to show in what temper the British government must have received the new emperor's insidious letter. Ever since the rupture of the peace of Amiens Bonaparte had been complaining that the British ambassadors, envoys, and other diplomatic agents resident at the different courts and states of Europe, were only on the Continent to create him enemies among his neighbours, and to encourage and promote insurrections and conspiracies in the interior of France, with assassination plots directed against his own person. Even after his own intimate conviction that the Duke d'Enghien was in no plot at all, and was not a man capable of entertaining for an instant any notion of leaguing himself with assassins, he gave out that the unfortunate prince had been so leagued, and that sundry English diplomatists were leagued with him, having urged the prince to rush into the foul conspiracy, and having furnished him with money for the purpose. It is quite certain that our diplomatists were not on the Continent to make friends for this overbearing insolent foe of their country and of Europe; and it was a part of their duty—a duty not in itself very agreeable, yet one recognised in the law or common practice of war—to encourage the Bourbon royalists and other disaffected classes in France, and to embarrass by internal commotions the enemy that was threatening to invade England, and that had long kept an immense army in sight of our coast. Bonaparte himself had done something more than this in Ireland, and that too at a time when there was

* Lord Mulgrave's note was dated on the 14th of January, 1805. It was submitted to the corps législatif on the 2nd of February of that year.

peace between him and Great Britain. There never was a belligerent power but attempted to maintain communications with such malcontents as might exist in the hostile nation: a large part of the history of European wars is filled with such proceedings; and no power had ever dealt more largely in them than France. It was the same before the Revolution as after it: it was the same under Louis XIV. and Louis XV. as under First Consul or Emperor Napoleon. Even Louis XVI. had been led to intrigue and correspond with our disaffected American colonies previously to any declaration of war against England; and when war was declared, the one great object of his government was to encourage and aid the revolted subjects of George III. But in performing the duty imposed upon them, or in communicating with the French partisans of the House of Bourbon, no English minister, envoy, or agent ever contemplated the employing or encouraging of assassins. The imputation of the crime is a monstrosity; but two or three of them appear to have committed the folly of admitting to their confidence secret agents who were in the pay of Bonaparte's police, or who, to gain credit with their employers, gave a false colouring to the confidential information they obtained. The most notorious and successful of these agents was Mehée de la Touche, a man who had been cradled, and nursed, and nourished in intrigue. He was the son of a quack surgeon of Neufchâtel, and had in his early days been a bookseller in that anomalous state. He had resided a long time in Russia and in Poland —the latter an eternal hotbed of political intrigue— as a secret agent of the French government. In 1792 he was driven out of Poland by the Russian government; and then hastening to Paris, he found employment and promotion from the Jacobins who were managing the Revolution. He became one of the secretaries to the terrible commune of the 10th of August; and in that capacity he signed some of those papers which led to the September massacres. When the sections of Paris were deliberating on the form of government they should demand from the Convention, he wrote and signed a note stating that, if ever a king or anything resembling a king should present itself in France, and daggers should be wanted to dispatch it, he had a poignard, and would use it for liberty and his country. Notwithstanding all this he fell into the category of the *suspects*, and was lying in prison when Robespierre fell. He then united himself with Tallien, and became the author of numerous pamphlets directed against the Robespierrists and Jacobins. But when Tallien and his party were falling, he united himself with Réal, and edited, with that deeply-dyed villain, who since then had risen to such high eminence, a political journal. Under the Directory he attained the post of first secretary in the foreign office; but his evil reputation soon drove him from that place; and he set up another newspaper, called 'The Journal of Freemen.' Having written against the priests at the time when Bonaparte was making his Concordat, he was arrested by an order of the Consul's, in which he was described as "a bloody Septembrizer;" and without any trial he was deported to Oleron. From that island he effected his escape to England, and succeeded very completely in mystifying some of our ministry, whose ignorance of the previous history of so notorious a character is inexcusable and almost incomprehensible. He made them believe that he was the accredited agent of a powerful royalist party in the west of France, who were determined to overthrow the government of Bonaparte, who only wanted a little encouragement and a little money from England. And money he got—it is said in considerable sums— together with confidential letters to various English diplomatists resident in Germany, to which country he soon repaired. But as soon as he reached the Continent he communicated with his old friend Réal, intimating that he had state secrets to sell, and means of being very useful to Bonaparte; and thereupon he was taken into the pay of the secret police, continuing (a fact on which he glorified himself) to receive at the same time allowances from the British government. Such was Mehée de la Touche, who more particularly fastened himself upon Mr. Drake, the British resident at Munich, and upon Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoy at Stuttgard. Both these gentlemen fell blindly into the snare laid for them by the great practitioner Mehée and the police: they took Mehée for the passionate royalist that he described himself to be; they encouraged him to persevere, and expressed the hope that the great party he represented would eventually succeed in overthrowing the intolerable tyranny of the Corsican. They suggested some measures which might contribute to that desirable end, but assuredly assassination was never mentioned by any one, excepting perhaps Mehée de la Touche himself. A second spy was employed by the French government: this was a Captain Rosey, who was to keep a sharp eye upon all the operations of Mehée, and at the same time to serve as an additional witness to the dark and atrocious proceedings and plans of the English diplomatists. Yet after all the ingenuity and cunning employed on one side, and the credulity, dulness, and imprudence of the other side, no evidence could be procured which went beyond this—*that* Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith were disposed to give encouragement to the disaffected French. Yet with these slight materials, and without any regard to his own darker practices, Bonaparte set up a terrible outcry against the infernal machinations of the English diplomatists and their government; and he made his grand judge, Regnier, draw up a report, in which Drake and Smith were accused, not merely of encouraging insurrection, but of keeping in their pay brigands and assassins! Bonaparte invoked the faith of nations, "as if the Duke d'Enghien had been still residing in peaceable neutrality at Ettenheim; and he exclaimed against

assassination, as if his state dungeons could not have whispered of the death of Pichegru." * He ordered his grand judge's report to be laid before every foreign legation in Paris, and many of these embassies publicly protested against the undiplomatic conduct of the two English ministers, and expressed in good round terms the indignation of their governments at the odious profanation of the sacred character of ambassadors. It was natural, it was inevitable, that this should be done by the ministers of such helpless dependencies as Rome, the Cisalpine Republic, Genoa, Lucca, Baden, Hesse-Cassel, Holland, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg; but we should scarcely have expected to find in the number of these indignant protesters the envoy of the United States of America and the ambassador of the King of Prussia. Yet there they are both; and the Prussian diplomatist winds up his note with extravagant protestations of the lively joy felt by the king his master at seeing the First Consul triumphing over the dark plots of his enemies, whoever or whatever were the directors or the instruments. The courts of Bavaria and Wirtemberg did more than protest and exclaim; for, on the demand of Bonaparte, they ordered Drake and Smith to quit their courts immediately. Mr. Drake was forced to quit Munich privately and on foot, and to take cross-country roads, in order to avoid being kidnapped by some of Savary's gendarmes. It was notorious that Mehée de la Touche had passed himself off as a Bourbon royalist, and that Smith and Drake had believed they were treating with an agent of the French royalists in the west; but the former ultra-Jacobin character of Mehée, which was perfectly well known in France, would serve to cover another version of the story, which would throw still greater odium on England, and therefore it was ordered that the memoir which Mehée de la Touche now published, and in which he prided himself on the double part he had played, and on the address with which he had caught the English guineas, should be entitled, "Alliance of the Jacobins of France with the English Ministry." †

The whole affair was pretty well understood on the Continent; but the English opposition seemed to entertain some doubts. Lord Morpeth called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject of Drake's correspondence, or of some fragments of it which the French government had published, and which his lordship considered as highly dishonourable to England. He called upon ministers to declare whether they had participated in the atrocious crime with which Bonaparte charged our late minister at Munich, &c.—whether they had whetted the daggers of assassins—whether they had really taken part in so foul a species of warfare. Pitt instantly rose and replied with an indignation in which there was sublimity:—"This is gross and atrocious calumny! I thank the noble lord for giving me the opportunity to repel, openly and boldly, one of the most gross and atrocious calumnies ever fabricated in one civilised nation to the prejudice of another. I affirm that no power has been given, no instruction has been sent, by this government to any minister or any individual to act in a manner contrary to the law of nations. I again affirm, as well in my own name as in that of my colleagues, that we have not authorised any human being to conduct himself in a manner contrary to the honour of this country or the dictates of humanity!"

Bourrienne, who was sent, about this time, to reside at Hamburg, as Bonaparte's minister or political agent, with orders to correspond as much with Fouché as with Talleyrand, and who was especially charged to watch all the proceedings of the English diplomatists, and to circumvent them by means of spies, and by whatsoever means might be thought available, positively denies that he ever could discover any ground for believing that the British government, or any of its agents, ever gave their countenance to any assassination plotters. He says, "During nearly six years which I passed at Hamburg, as minister from France, I was in a situation to know everybody and everything. I can declare that neither in the exercise of my official functions nor in my private intercourse did I discover anything which gave me cause to believe that the English government had ever contrived any of the plots which dishonoured alike those who conceived and those who encouraged them. In speaking thus, I am not the apologist of the English, but the defender of truth. The English had recourse to all the means authorised by policy and the usages of diplomacy to oppose a vast and ambitious genius, placed by fortune at the head of a powerful and brave nation, and ill-concealing his designs with respect to the Continent. To the power of his armies they opposed the power of their gold, and by the attraction of subsidies they induced wavering cabinets to seek their alliance. These negotiations may have given rise to secret intrigues, which must be condemned in the private relations between man and man, but which necessity and usage have converted into a public law, authorised by the public rights of nations, in the relations between government and government. The interest of its own nation must be the first law of every government; and the English ministers would have been wanting in their duty if they had not endeavoured to throw every obstacle in the way of Bonaparte's ambition. . . . . Surely the policy of Napoleon was much more hostile to the

* Walter Scott.

† This pamphlet was printed at the imperial printing-office. His roguery did not thrive long; and, after living for a while in great luxury and splendour in Paris, Mehée de la Touche disappeared in the obscurity of poverty and distress. At the first restoration of the Bourbons, in 1814, he instituted some law-suits to neutralise the effects of his revolutionary conduct, and so obtain him some employment. In 1815, when Bonaparte escaped from Elba, he set up a journal in his favour. After the battle of Waterloo he tried to get himself engaged as journalist to Louis XVIII., and published a pamphlet in which he denied having been the author of "Alliance of the Jacobins of France with the English Ministry," and declared it to have been written and published by the police. It appears, however, that he really wrote the pamphlet he now denied, and sold it to Bonaparte, who only wrote the title to it. He was driven out of France by a royal ordonnance, and retired, in beggary, to Switzerland.—*Hist. Parlement.—Biographie Moderne, ou Galerie Historique.*

law of nations than ever was that of England! We have not only seen him violating the territory of Baden to carry off the Duke d'Enghien, but even detaining, as prisoners of war, thousands of English private individuals, who had come to France in the confidence of hospitality after the treaty of Amiens. At the very moment too, when the discussion was going in the British parliament respecting Drake's correspondence, Sir George Rumbold, the English minister at Hamburg, was, by Napoleon's order, carried off from his country-house in the neighbourhood of that city, by a party of French troops detached from the army which occupied Hanover. This detachment crossed the Elbe, shamefully violating the as yet independent territory of the republic of Hamburg. Was it to be expected that such transactions as these would be followed by confidence? And, after committing them, how could Napoleon pretend to be so scrupulous respecting the conduct of others?" Bourrienne knew well Mehée de la Touche, and his mode of acting. He declares that Mehée had acquired "an infamous celebrity in the annals of espionage;" that his character, perfectly well known at Paris, discredited whatever report might come from him; that he must say, *because he had good proof of the fact*, that all the correspondence of Drake was the result of the most odious intrigues and deceptions; and that nothing of the kind could have taken place but for the perfidious suggestions of the agents of police, of whom Mehée was one of the most active and most cunning. Sir Walter Scott has left upon record, from a detailed account communicated to him by that nobleman himself, the infamous means used to ensnare the late Lord Elgin. His lordship, lately ambassador at Constantinople, was among the number of the English *detenus*, or "detained," as the French ingeniously called those they had seized on the rupture of the peace. About the time of Georges's arrest, his lordship, who had been living quietly on his parole, was seized, marched off to the Pyrenees, and thrown into the strong and gloomy castle of Lourdes. There, the commandant and his lieutenant exerted all their diabolical ingenuity to irritate him into some violent expressions; and that worst of all spies,—a *mouton*, a Frenchman, a sympathising fellow prisoner, a victim of the tyranny of Bonaparte,—endeavoured to engage him in confidential conversation. His lordship had the caution which became a practised diplomatist, and one conversant with the *façon d'agir* of the country; and not one angry or imprudent word could commandant, lieutenant, or *mouton* extract from him. After undergoing many hardships in that mountain fortress, his lordship was permitted to return to Pau, the pleasant town in the south where he had been living on parole. But he was not yet extricated from the web which the secret police were trying to weave round him. The female who acted as door-porter to the house where he lived one morning handed him a packet, which, she said, had been left by a woman from the country, who would call for an answer. Lord Elgin detained the portress in the apartment, opened the packet, and found in it a letter from the state prisoner, or *mouton*, at Lourdes, stating that he was under confinement for an attempt to burn the French fleet, and detailing his plan at full length, as something which must interest an Englishman. The packet also contained letters addressed to the Count d'Artois, and other expatriated personages, which his lordship was requested to forward at his earliest convenience. He thrust the letters and the whole packet into the fire, and kept the portress in the room until they were entirely consumed; telling her, at the same time, that he would send to the governor of the town every letter that did not come to him by the ordinary post. His lordship also thought it advisable to mention the fleet-burning plot to the prefect of the department, on the condition that no steps should be taken in consequence, unless the affair should become known through some other channel. But in a very short time Lord Elgin was assured by M. Fargues, senator of the district, that there had been no plot at all, except against his lordship; that the fleet-burning project, purporting to come from the state-prisoner at Lourdes, the letter to the Count d'Artois, and all the rest of the packet, had been written in Paris, and had been sent down to Pau by a confidential agent, in the full expectation that they would be found by the police in his lordship's possession, and then be brought as evidence against him.* This narrative, indeed, forms a luminous commentary on the practices imputed to Drake and Spencer Smith, and is a striking illustration of the detention of Captain Wright. Few men were capable of the coolness and consummate prudence which the experienced diplomatist showed on this occasion. "With one iota less of prudence and presence of mind, Lord Elgin must have been entangled in the snare which was so treacherously spread for him. Had he even engaged in ten minutes' conversation with the villanous spy at Lourdes, it would have been in the power of such a wretch to represent the import after his own pleasure. Or had his lordship retained the packet of letters even for half an hour in his possession, which he might have most innocently done, he would probably have been seized with them upon his person; and it must in that case have been impossible for him to repel such accusations as Bonaparte would have no doubt founded on a circumstance so suspicious."† It would in an especial manner have gladdened the heart of Fouché, Réal, and their Jacobin myrmidons, to have had the opportunity of bringing to a public trial and to the guillotine a British nobleman, a peer and diplomatist. The Moniteur declared that Mr. Taylor, our minister in Hesse-Cassel, Mr. Elliot at Naples, Mr. Frere at Madrid, and all the rest of our diplomatists on the Continent, entertained precisely the same views as Drake and Spencer Smith, and were all esta-

* Walter Scott, Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.
† Id.

blishing the principle that to assassinate a man commanding an army destined to invade England was a deed good in itself, and perfectly lawful. The same official gazette, in an article which was probably dictated by Bonaparte, gave a laboured exposition and refutation of this monstrous doctrine. It declared that Mr. Frere, some time before quitting Madrid, opened his plot to that virtuous and high-minded statesman Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, who indignantly reprobated it, and defeated a scandalous intrigue set on foot by the said Mr. Frere, to get possession of the papers and archives of the French legation at Madrid.* Those who best know Mr. John Hookham Frere will laugh the longest at the idea of his advocating assassination, and being in a plot to steal French dispatches and state-papers. But there are other materials proper to provoke risibility; long before this time, the French had resorted to the practice of kidnapping government couriers, of seizing the dispatches and state-papers of other countries whenever they could, or whenever they thought it might be advantageous to do so: and this practice continued without intermission down to the last day of Bonaparte's reign.† The Moniteur called Sir George Rumbold the worthy associate of Drake and Spencer Smith, and hinted that discoveries had been made among his papers, which would enlighten the world as to the dark policy of England; but it should seem that Sir George was seized only because it was easier to seize him than any other of the remaining English diplomatists. It might be, too, that Sir George had moved Bonaparte's bile by the manner in which he had announced to his court the means employed by the French to force the senate of Hamburg to insert Rheinhardt's offensive article in their official gazette. Mr. Taylor, at the Court of Hesse-Cassel, had been mentioned before, in connexion with Drake and Smith: both Bernadotte, who had the command of the French army in Hanover, and police-minister Fouché, had written to Bourrienne at Hamburg about him; but no mention had been made of Sir George Rumbold: and the discoveries which the Moniteur hinted at were never published—a tolerably good proof that nothing capable of a bad version had been discovered. The circumstances of Sir George Rumbold's arrest were of that lawless and atrocious kind which ought to have closed the lips of the French government to any future complaint against the irregularities of other governments. At the dead of night, on the 25th of October, 250 French soldiers landed from three boats on the Hamburg territory. A part of the detachment proceeded, under the conduct of two guides, to the village of Grindel, where Sir George resided, and surrounded his house at about one o'clock in the morning. Sir George sprung from his bed, even as the Duke d'Enghien had done; and, on looking out at a window, saw a number of soldiers, who told him that they brought dispatches. On his refusing admission to such strange couriers, they broke open the doors, seized the diplomatist, rushed into every apartment, secured his books and papers, and whatever else was portable, and hauled him down to the banks of the Elbe. He was conveyed across that river to Harburg. From this town he was carried, closely guarded, to the city of Hanover; and from Hanover he was removed to Paris, and there thrown into the Temple. The case was so flagrant, and such strong appeals were made to the Court of Berlin, that the King of Prussia was induced to interpose and remonstrate: and, as Bonaparte was anxious to keep Prussia neutral until he should have broken up the coalition that was threatening him, he ordered that Sir George should be liberated; and he was liberated accordingly, after lying two days and two nights in that wretched state-prison, upon giving his parole not to return to Hamburg. At a late hour at night, an agent of the police, who told him that there was no charge against him personally, but that the French government intended to keep his papers, put him into a coach, which instantly drove out of Paris, and took the road to the coast. For some time, Sir George did not know whither they were conducting him; nor did he feel secure until he found himself on the deck of a British man-of-war, to which he was conveyed in a French cutter with a flag of truce. Such were some of the facts which preceded the Emperor Napoleon's letter to his "brother" George III.

Before this time Pitt felt his ministerial condition to be one of extreme difficulty. The mingled opposition, including so many of his own family connexions, was collecting all its force; and, shrinking from the collision, or hoping to gain strength in the interval, he put off the assembling of parliament as long as he possibly could. A severe illness deprived him for some time of the services of his colleague Lord Harrowby; and he declared that the loss of this assistance would be a great misfortune, but that he must do as well as he could. An attempt was made to conciliate Lord Grenville; but it failed;—his lordship would not abandon Fox and the Talents, or his pre-conceived notion of a comprehensive ministry. Nothing therefore remained for Chatham's proud son to do, but to make peace with Addington, who had carried with him no inconsiderable reinforcement to the mixed opposition. It is said that the king, who retained his warm partiality for Addington, and who was reasonably alarmed at the weakness of Pitt's majorities at the close of the last session, strongly recommended, and in fact insisted upon, this reconciliation: and this appears to be proved by expressions used privately and confidentially by Pitt himself. In a letter addressed to Wilberforce, he

* Moniteur.—Hist. Parlement.

† Bourrienne relates the following little incident, in proof of the illegal means resorted to by Bonaparte's government, which occurred just as he commenced his diplomatic functions in Germany.—"On my arrival in Hamburg, I learned that a courier, who was on his way from Vienna to England, had been arrested in a forest. After his dispatches had been taken from him, his hands were bound, and he was tied to a tree. The unfortunate man remained in this situation until an old woman, passing accidentally through the forest, untied him, and saved his life."

says, "You will, I know, be glad, independent of politics, that Addington and I have met as friends; but I hope you will also not be sorry to hear that this event will lead to political re-union." A few days after this he announced to Wilberforce that he and Addington were "at one again." He added, "I think they are a little hard upon us in finding fault with our making it up again, when we have been friends from our childhood, and our fathers were so before us, while they say nothing to Grenville for uniting with Fox, though they have been fighting all their lives."*

Simultaneously with this reconciliation, and possibly as an essential ingredient to it, Addington was raised to the peerage as Viscount Sidmouth, of Sidmouth, and was brought into the cabinet as president of the council, in the room of the Duke of Portland, whose years and infirmities made retirement desirable. At the same time Lord Mulgrave was appointed secretary of state for the foreign department in the place of Lord Harrowby, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire took Mulgrave's post as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.†

A.D. 1805.—Notwithstanding the accession of Lord Sidmouth's partisans, Pitt felt that his majorities would still be rather feeble; and therefore he wished to put aside all questions which might divide his friends. When parliament met, on the 15th of January, the minister appeared to have lost much of his usual confidence; but this might in part arise from his declining health. He had rushed into the furnace of politics as a mere boy, he had lived in that fiery atmosphere for more than twenty years, and he was already in constitution a worn-out man. If his course had run smoother, if he had been spared that accumulation of vexations and disappointments which fell upon him with a crushing weight during this parliamentary session, and nearly the whole of this year, he might have lived on a few years longer than he did: but men like William Pitt never attain to an old age. The opening speech, delivered by the king in person, displayed no want of energy or of confidence. It dwelt upon the skill and intrepidity of the navy, the formidable state of the army and militia, the improved discipline of the numerous volunteer force, and the general ardour manifested by all classes of the people, which had been sufficient to deter the French from so presumptuous and desperate an enterprise as the invasion. It stated that the conduct of the court of Spain, under the predominant influence and control of France, had compelled us to take prompt and decisive measures to guard against the effects of hostility. It declared that our forbearance had been carried to the utmost extent, but that Spain had refused satisfaction, and forced us into a war with her, contrary to her own true interests, and solely through the unfortunate prevalence of French councils at Madrid. First, it exposed the general conduct of the French government on the continent of Europe—its violence and outrage—its wanton defiance of the rights of neutral territories, of the acknowledged privileges of accredited ambassadors, and of the established principles of the law of nations—and then it mentioned Bonaparte's recently received letter, and his majesty's communications with the powers on the continent, and especially with the Emperor of Russia, with whom his majesty was engaged "in confidential intercourse and connexion." And this was all it was deemed expedient to say about the coalition, the completion of which had been impeded by sundry circumstances, including a backwardness on the part of the British government to promise large subsidies until they should see armies in the field. No amendment was moved to the address; but many unfavourable remarks were made in both Houses. Fox bitterly condemned the business of the four Spanish frigates, and doubted whether Pitt had improved our system of military defence or placed the country in a safer position than that in which it stood last year. Nor did he omit to remind Pitt that he had done nothing to redeem the pledge which he was understood to have given to the Roman Catholics. On the last point Pitt replied with great animation. If the measures in favour of the Catholics of Ireland, which Fox was now so loudly calling for, appeared to him so immediately necessary, why had he suffered four years to elapse since the Union, without having ever called for them before? "What the reasons are," continued Pitt, "which have induced me to suffer the Catholic question to remain dormant, I shall, on a future occasion, have an opportunity of stating: and I flatter myself that the House and the country will give me credit for consistency, when I shall have stated the reasons why I still think that the matter should remain dormant at the present moment." The opportunity for explanation cannot be said to have presented itself during the present session; and before the next session was two days old Pitt was dead: so that it seems to us unfair and inconsistent to talk of his resuming office in 1804, "refusing to make any stipulation for the Catholics," and of his having from that time "*always* opposed those who urged their claims." This *always* includes only a few most busy and stormy months—a few months which we shall find as busy, and to a minister as disagreeable, as any that occur in parliamentary history. From April, when the criminal charges were first preferred against Lord Melville, his private as well as public friend, and the most able and most constant of all his coadjutors, down to the end of this session in July, Pitt's mind was kept constantly on the rack. The divisions which took place on the Irish Catholics' petition in May will show how inopportune was the moment for pressing such claims, and how impossible it would have been for Pitt to do any good to the cause. And indeed, even to men who had emancipated them-

* Wilberforce, Diary.

† The negociations were begun towards the close of the year 1804; but were not completed until the beginning of January 1805. Sidmouth's patent was dated on the 12th of January, only three days before parliament assembled.

selves from religious intolerance and the notions universal in England only a few generations earlier, there may have appeared to be some danger in granting Catholic emancipation just at the time when the poor pope, by his journey to Paris, his anointing the emperor, his styling Bonaparte the most beloved son of the Roman church, &c., had seemed to prove to the whole world that he was entirely subjected to the conqueror, ready to do his will in all things, and utterly incapable of withstanding it—in short, the mere tool of the mortal enemy of England, whose Irish subjects had been so often excited into insurrection by the agents of France. A closer examination of the case might have left some doubt whether the Catholic clergy of Ireland were not, like the Roman clergy of other countries, impressed with the belief that Pius VII., in all these compliances, had been acting under compulsion, and whether they did not distrust and dread the French government the more for the tyranny it had exercised over the pontiff. But still the naked facts were these:—the pope, according to all appearance, was the ally, the friend, and instrument of the French emperor; his political authority was not disputed; there had been no general council called, no deposition and re-election, such as had taken place more than once when the pope was considered as a captive in the hands of the enemies of the church; his bulls and apostolical rescripts would be received in every part of Catholic Ireland, and the thunder of the Vatican might possibly be directed by the government of France. In the last attempt at rebellion the Catholic priests of Ireland had given good evidence of their loyalty and fidelity; but in Ireland all classes of men had ever been liable to sudden changes; and, if they could once be persuaded that Bonaparte was becoming a convert and a true friend to the pope, they were likely to become the friends of Bonaparte.

On the 23rd of January the Commons voted 120,000 men, including marines, for the service of the navy, for the present year. A few days after this, the secretary-at-war, in moving the army estimates of the year, being 12,395,490*l.* for 312,000 men under the different heads of service, stated that we had in the United Kingdoms alone 600,000 men in arms, including the volunteers, of whom 240,000 had been reported as well disciplined, and fit for immediate service. Mr. Philip Francis, who had moved for an inquiry into the causes of the Mahratta war, and who had attempted to throw discredit on the governor-general of India, his brother, General Wellesley, and all concerned, complained of so large a force as 20,000 Europeans being kept up in India: but the complaint led to nothing; and in the end Francis's motion about the Mahratta war was lost by 105 to 46. On the 8th of February, Sir Evan Nepean, principal Irish secretary, moved for leave to bring in a bill to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in that country. He stated the following facts as notorious;—that disaffection still prevailed in some parts of Ireland—that part of the enemy's preparations were intended for the invasion of Ireland—that the native Irish in the French army, and the committee of the united Irishmen, still sitting at Paris, corresponded with their countrymen at home—and that a number of persons now imprisoned on treasonable charges could not be liberated, as they were entitled to be in due course of law, in about six weeks hence, without the certainty of their resuming their dangerous machinations. Fox, Windham, and others, opposed the measure as unnecessary and tyrannical; and Sir John Newport moved for a committee to be chosen by ballot, to examine documents and report on the necessity of a further suspension. Pitt argued that, though the disaffected in Ireland were now fewer in number, and less provided with the means of doing mischief than they had been, there was still cause for jealousy and alarm, as there were still some Irishmen weak and wicked enough to cultivate a close acquaintance with the emissaries of France, who would become much more numerous if government neglected taking energetic measures. Some Irish members said that, if the Suspension Act was not continued, there would be no living in Ireland. Upon a division the amendment was rejected by 112 against 32, and then Sir Evan Nepean's motion was carried.

In the course of the month of February some long debates took place in both Houses, on the causes of the rupture with Spain. The opposition laboured to prove that ministers had been negligent, inattentive, and disrespectful, and then impatient, impetuous, and violent towards the Court of Madrid (Lord Grenville declared that Mr. Frere, though negotiating to prevent a rupture, had been left eighteen months at Madrid without receiving more than four dispatches from Downing-street, and that these four dispatches were distinguished only by their containing nothing to the point); that they had broken off negotiations when they had as good a chance as at any time since the rupture of the peace of Amiens of keeping Spain at least neutral; that in fine they had rushed into the war unnecessarily, and begun it dishonourably by the attack on the four Spanish frigates. To this ministers and their friends replied that Spain, by her treaties with France, in which she bound herself to furnish on demand, and without demur or inquiry into the justice or policy of the war, a certain aid of ships and men to France, became *ipso facto* a principal in the present war; that the commutation she had made of assistance in money for assistance in kind did not alter the nature of the case; that, although we chose to connive for a time at the substitution, we were not bound to continue to do so; that that connivance, and the protracted negotiations of which the opposition complained, had proceeded from a very necessary regard to our own circumstances, and to the security of our old friend Portugal. Having no allies in our contest with France, nor at that time

any immediate chance of a Continental division in our favour, we had at all events to wait till our naval and military establishments should attain their proper height. In that interval, which was necessary to us, great management was required in order to prevent Spain from falling upon Portugal with French assistance. Thus circumstanced, policy had forbidden ministers to carry on an active correspondence or negotiation, or to put every question to Spain so categorically as to leave no issue but peace or war. Spain, too, had at one time seemed disposed to disentangle herself from her ruinous French connexion; and it was proper to leave her an interval of time to see whether she really would break from the yoke of that fatal alliance, which had in the first instance been imposed upon her by force. She had agreed that her armaments should cease, and that no English prizes should be condemned and sold in any of her ports; but she had broken both these articles of agreement; and, at a time when there were four French men-of-war at Ferrol, she had rapidly prepared an armament with the intention of joining the French in an attack upon one of our blockading squadrons. It was evident, upon the whole, that Spain fully intended to declare war as soon as her four treasure ships should arrive at Cadiz—with treasure not so much for herself as for France. Our government had ordered that those four frigates should be intercepted and kept until a peace, or until a satisfactory arrangement could be entered into with Spain. No state, situated as we were, and having the power to prevent it, would have permitted those treasure ships to go into port. But the seizure of those ships made no part of the case, since there would equally have been war without it; and since it was not even known at Madrid till subsequently to the departure of Mr. Frere the English minister, who had in vain protested against the constant passing and repassing through Spain, of French troops, French sailors, French artillerymen, French stores, whose movements were all directed against England, or against her friends. But no good argument could be found to excuse the employment of so small a force as Captain Graham Moore's. Nor could ministers at that time quote a good precedent to justify a reliance on their assurance, that, if Spain had been capable of manly exertion in her own behalf to free herself from French thraldom, England would have lent her every support and assistance.

There was perfect truth, however, in their description of the present state of Spain; she was indeed under the vassalage and dictation of the ruler of France. Friendly she dared not be, neutral she could not be, and hostile she must be, at the mandate of Bonaparte, and this made it incumbent on the British government to guard against the hostility to which this country must inevitably be exposed from that quarter. Some faint attempts were made to disprove the reported armaments of Spain; but that she had been arming, and that actively, was proved a few months after these debates, when Nelson found the whole of the grand Spanish fleet arrayed against him with the French at Trafalgar. It was not in the period which intervened between the affair of the four frigates in October and the first sailing of the Spanish fleet in April that fifteen sail of the line were got ready. In both Houses the debates ended in motions being carried for an address to his majesty, applauding the wisdom and justice of the government in the transactions with Spain. In the Lords, Earl Spencer moved an amendment, conveying the strongest censure on the whole of these proceedings; but this was negatived by 114 against 36: and the same amendment, moved in the Commons by Mr. Grey, was negatived by 313 against 106. In the course of the debates in the Commons, the advocate-general, Sir John Nicholl, laid down three criteria to determine the judgment of the House upon the subject of the seizure of the Spanish frigates: First, the deductions of natural reason or common sense; secondly, the authority of the most eminent men; thirdly, the most general practice observed by civilised nations when placed in the circumstances in which England had found herself. On the first of these grounds, he justified the government upon the principle of self-defence; on the second, by the concurrent opinions of all the great writers on the law of nations, from Vattel to Martens, who all agree in the rule that, if an injury be received, or injustice done, and explanation has been demanded on the one side and refused on the other, and if there be notice given to the power refusing that if such conduct be persisted in it will be considered as a sufficient cause of war, and if, after this notice, the power so offending continue its offence or refuse explanation, then hostilities against her will be founded on the principles of strict justice. He contended too that the proceeding had so many precedents that it might be considered as the most general practice observed by civilised nations; but, except one, all the precedents he quoted appear to have been taken from our own history. They were the case of Sir George Byng's mission in 1718; the mission of Admiral Hosier to Spanish South America, and the attack on Gibraltar, in 1726; the seizure of all the British vessels on their coasts by the Spaniards in 1739; the attack of the British fleet on the French off Dungeness in 1744; the seizure of the French ships in our ports in 1755; our seizure of Dutch property in the last war; and Nelson's battle of Copenhagen: all of which aggressions took place prior to any declaration of war, and some of them while negotiations were carrying on. Yet perhaps the defence the most applicable of all to the present case was this:—through the bargain which the court of Madrid had made with Bonaparte, to send him so much money in lieu of so many men, the dollars and the ingots taken on the high seas by Graham Moore represented so many soldiers on their way to fight for France.

In opening the budget Pitt stated that he should

require a loan of 20,000,000*l.* for England, and one of 2,500,000*l.* for Ireland; together with the imposition of several new war taxes, and a double duty on salt. Some additions were made to the army grants; 4,000,000*l.* were allotted to the militia and fencible corps; nearly 4,500,000*l.* to the ordnance; 15,000,000*l.* to the navy; and a very large sum to miscellaneous services. The total amount of the supply voted for the year was 55,590,000*l.* The property or income-tax, or "the contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, offices, &c.," was increased, as were certain duties on legacies, on horses, &c.

From the commencement of the session Lord Melville was menaced with the storm which burst over his head in April. "Rumour," says Wilberforce, "had for some time impeached Lord Melville's integrity. I have had much talk with George Rose about him. Rose is confident Pitt will defend him, though he tells me some stories (and strong ones) of jobs which have fallen under his own view." This was in February. About the same time several attacks were made in each House of Parliament upon the coalition which had taken place between Addington (Lord Sidmouth) and Pitt. In the Lords the Earl of Westmoreland defended the proceeding, observing that the allusions to a coalition came with a very bad grace from the other side of the House; that political men who differed only on some few points might coalesce or reunite without reproach; but that it would require great ingenuity to give a satisfactory reason why those men and parties should coalesce who had differed upon every topic and upon every principle ever since the commencement of their political existence. Earl Spencer said it would be ridiculous to suppose that, because men *had* acted on contrary opinions, they should never agree nor act together when they happened to think alike. For his own part, he would be contented to be charged with inconsistency when it should be found that he had abandoned measures which he had once supported. Here Sidmouth rose to speak for himself. If he had abandoned his opinions, he said, on any public measure, the charge of a dereliction of principle might apply to him; but he was confident that he had abandoned no important opinion or principle; and that both in office and out of office he had acted conscientiously and, according to the best of his judgment, for the good of his country. While sitting in another House he had not been unused to the charges of incapacity, inefficacy, and wavering; the most illiberal epithets had been applied to him with more profusion than decency; yet, such as his abilities were, they had always been applied honestly and assiduously to the promotion of the prosperity and security of his country; and to any charge of his having neglected to provide for the defence of the state, he would reply by referring to monumental records of his having, within six months after the recommencement of the war, placed 800,000 men in arms, and in a progressive state of discipline. He was less warmly seconded than he wished by the friends of Pitt, who had so often and so very recently criticised and condemned his entire management of the war department; and this probably contributed to Sidmouth's decided ill-will against Melville, and to his determination of concurring in measures against that minister, now his official colleague, in spite of the representations of Pitt. But there were other grounds of antipathy between the two parties; and scarcely could any two men have been more opposite than Sidmouth and Melville: the bad qualities and the good qualities of each differed *in toto* from those of the other; and there was one particular quality, a persevering personal enmity, which the decorous Sidmouth had, and which the bluff Melville had not. In the debate to which we have last alluded Melville said he liked heat in argument, but never liked rancorous or acrimonious feelings; and the history of the man's life seems to bear testimony to the assertion. He had, he said, much parliamentary experience, being an older man than most of their lordships; and, though every man had a right to maintain his opinion with energy and warmth, yet he thought their lordships would always do well to treat each other as gentlemen.

Pitt earnestly pressed his friend Wilberforce to postpone the abolition question, for Addington was decidedly opposed to it, other circumstances of the moment were unfavourable, and the discussion of it might split the cabinet, which had so little cohesion already. But Wilberforce said he could not make his holy cause subservient to the interests of a party, and drove on the measure with an increase of speed. His bill was read a first time on the 10th of February; and the second reading was fixed for the 28th. After the votes of the preceding session he thought he had nothing to fear in the House of Commons; but on the 28th—"that fatal night," as he calls it—his constancy was tried by one of the many reverses he had to sustain during his twenty years of struggle. All his usual supporters, with the single exception of Fox, were silent; some Scotch members (possibly influenced by Melville, who knew that Wilberforce had no friendship for him) voted against him, although last year they had been neutral; the Irish members were absent, or hostile, although they had been warm in his favour during the last session; a good many other members staid away through forgetfulness or lukewarmness; and the old defenders of the slave trade brought forward their old charges, varied by the new charge of cant and hypocrisy against him, consigning him as a citizen of France to the fraternal hug of the Jacobins. Upon a division, Wilberforce and his bill were beaten out of the field by 77 to 70.*

* Wilberforce, however, had no doubt of his ultimate success. Shortly after the division he was addressed by Mr. Hatsell, the experienced clerk of the House of Commons: "Mr. Wilberforce, you ought not to expect to *carry* a measure of this kind. You have a turn for business, and this is a very creditable employment for you; but you and I have seen enough of life to know that people are not induced to act upon what affects their interests by any abstract argu-

The commissioners of naval enquiry had not confined their researches to the present day, but had carried them back as far as the year 1785 and farther, when Lord Melville, as Mr. Dundas, occupied the post of treasurer to the navy; and when, be it said, many bad or questionable practices were prevalent not only in the navy office, but in every other office under government. One of the main objects of these commissioners had been to find some grounds of accusation against Pitt's formidable colleague; for formidable Melville had been, and for many long years, though now no longer so; seeing that he had for his antagonists the united opposition of Fox and Lord Grenville, together with Addington and his corps, while many of Pitt's own more immediate adherents were either indisposed towards him, or very lukewarm in his cause. We have seen that man of many jobs, George Rose, who began his political career without a sixpence, and who before this time had become wealthy, talking to Wilberforce about the jobs of Melville, who, at least, had never been a poor man, and who had inherited, long before he was raised to the peerage, a very ample estate;* and in this case there was not only a temptation the less to jobbery, but there was also in the character and habits of Melville a disregard for money, in so far as he was himself concerned. It seems, however, to have been proved that, through indolence or connivance, he allowed some of his dependents to job, and perhaps these gentlemen may, in some instances, have interfered with the pursuits of Mr. Rose. Wilberforce disliked Melville on various accounts: he had constantly opposed, in his rough but effective manner, the abolition of the slave-trade; not only was he not evangelical himself, but he was given to laugh rather profanely at those who were; he was jovial in private life, a *bon vivant*, and a port-wine bibber; and Wilberforce appears to have considered that his example had an evil effect on his friend Pitt, and that, but for Melville, he would have had a much better chance of converting the premier to his own decorous habits of life and devout way of thinking. It would be rather difficult to prove that Melville had ever devoted much time or thought to any branch of literature or metaphysics; but Wilberforce had taken it into his head that he had been a proselyte to the free-thinking Scotch philosophers of the 18th century; and hence another motive for dislike or alienation. Though the feeling is subdued, or the expression of it, it appears, from Wilberforce's own letters and diaries, that his antipathy was very strong. His sons and biographers say that his friendly feelings had been always strangely blended with disapprobation of Melville's principles, which, as he thought, had greatly injured the purer character of Pitt.* And yet Wilberforce himself was compelled to confess that Melville had many high and noble qualities. "Dundas was a fine fellow in some things. People have thought him a mean intriguing creature, but he was in many respects a fine, warm-hearted fellow. I was with him and Pitt when they looked through the Red Book, to see who was the properest person to send as governor-general to India; and it should be mentioned to Dundas's honour, that, having the disposal of the most important office in the king's gift, he did not make it a means of gaining favour with any great family, or of obliging any of his countrymen, but appointed the fittest person he could find. Three several times have I stated this fact in the House of Commons, and never once has it been mentioned in any of the papers."† Wilberforce distinctly gives it as his opinion that, whatever might have been his peccadilloes or negligence in office, the vote for Melville's impeachment would never have been carried if the Foxites, the Grenvillites, and the rest could have gotten into power, or if Pitt could have framed that comprehensive cabinet which Grenville had recommended; and we apprehend that every one will entertain this opinion if he attentively examines the character of the House of Commons at that day. Yet Wilberforce says that, before this business was opened, there was an end to the warm friendship and close intimacy which had existed for so many years between Pitt and Melville; that the latter, during the Addington administration, one day at Walmer Castle, "after dinner and port wine," had given mortal offence to Pitt by opening proposals of a ministry in which Addington and Pitt should stand on an equal footing, having a third person put over them as head or premier; and that, while it was generally thought that Pitt defended Melville out of friendship, he (Wilberforce) knew that they were scarcely upon speaking terms. He adds that Pitt was tempted to act the part of an advocate, rather than that of an impartial judge; that Mr. W. Bankes and himself vainly pressed upon Pitt "a more becoming line of conduct;" that Pitt however was determined to support his old colleague; and that he was in truth chiefly led into this course by that false principle of honour which was his great fault, or by fancying himself bound in honour to defend a man who had so long acted with him. He declares, however, that Pitt was fully persuaded of Melville's *personal* integrity, and that Pitt said at this time, "he was quite sure that there was no real pocketing of public money in him."‡

There was, however, something more than this point of honour; and Wilberforce himself states that Pitt evidently thought that his not very strong

ments." "Mr. Hatsell," he replied, "I *do* expect to carry it; and what is more, I feel assured I shall carry it speedily. I have observed the gradual change which has been going on in men's minds for some time past; and, though the measure may be delayed for a year or two, yet I am convinced that before long it will be accomplished."—*Life of Wilberforce, by his sons.*

* Dundas's patent, as Viscount Melville in the peerage of the United Kingdom, was dated on the 24th of December, 1802.

* Wilberforce, indeed, says himself—"His connexion with Dundas was Pitt's great misfortune. Dundas was a loose man, and had been rather a disciple of the Edinburgh school in his youth, though it was not much known."

† Life.

‡ Pitt added—"All men say that Melville has acted like a fool, though so able at other times."

or steady government would be shaken if the opposition should succeed in impeaching his old colleague. And in fact, when the charges first came out, Pitt seemed to some degree involved in Melville's fault; nor did popular outcry separate their two names for a long time afterwards.

These serious charges against the ex-treasurer of the navy were laid in the tenth report of the naval commissioners, which was brought under the consideration of the House on the 6th day of April by Mr. Whitbread, who, as a good man of figures and of business, had been selected by the opposition to be chief manager of an affair which turned entirely upon old accounts and bankers' books. Whitbread began by eulogising the integrity and perseverance of the commissioners, and by complimenting the late board of admiralty (almost to a man the political or personal enemies of Melville), by whom the said commissioners had been appointed. He then referred to the act of which Lord Melville (at that time Mr. Dundas) had been the supporter, in 1785, for better regulating the department of treasurer of the navy, and quoted the order of council by which, when the aforesaid act was passed, the salary of the treasurer was raised from 2000*l.* to 4000*l.*, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments he might before have derived from the public money left in his hands. Whitbread's first complaint was that, though this act had been passed in July, it was not until the subsequent month of January that the balances in the treasury, which ought to have been paid at once, were paid into the bank of England. He then proceeded to state three heads of charges against the noble lord:—1. That he had applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, in express contempt of the act of parliament of 1785; 2. That he had connived at a system of peculation in an individual, for whose conduct he was responsible, and that herein he had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour; 3. That he had himself been a participator in this system of peculation, &c. But on this last head Whitbread confessed that at present he only rested on suspicion, so that he would not now much insist upon it; but, if the House would institute a full inquiry, he would pledge himself to follow it up with moderation on his own part, but with firmness and steadiness for the country. He concluded by reading thirteen resolutions. Pitt observed that there was not a single word in the report of the commissioners which implied that any injury had arisen to the public from the circumstance complained of, or that the delay of so much as a single day had ever occurred in the discharge of any of the demands of the seamen. He thought it was very unfair to endeavour to excite the passions in a case which ought to be examined with the greatest coolness and deliberation. He recommended, and moved, that the report of the commissioners should be referred to a select committee of the House. But afterwards, on some words dropped by Fox, he consented to change the motion into a motion for the previous question. Tierney, who had been called to the office of treasurer of the navy by Addington, and who had had many an open quarrel with Melville, declared that, while he had been treasurer, he had felt no inconvenience to result from a strict and literal compliance with the act of 1785; and recommended that the report of the commissioners should be taken as conclusive evidence against Melville, "who had already had as fair a trial as the nature of the case would admit of, and upon whose case no committee of that House could throw any more light." Canning thought it would be monstrous to proceed in this off-handed manner; thought that nothing was less clear than the guilt of the noble lord; thought that there was little more against him at present than suspicion; and recommended a cool and patient inquiry by committee. The master of the rolls called attention to the principles of jurisprudence, which required the whole case to be gone into before any man could be pronounced guilty. He said that the object of the naval commission was not to try criminals, or to convict men upon their own confession, but to inquire into abuses; that the House itself could not, upon the mere report of the commissioners, convict a man without hearing evidence at their bar; and that it did not appear to him that anything like *personal* corruption was proved against the noble lord in the report. Lord Castlereagh exhorted the House not to be led away by vociferation into a premature and unprecedented decision. On the other hand, Fox, Lord Henry Petty, George Ponsonby, and others, expressed their conviction of Melville's guilt, and recommended rapid punishment. But the speech on this side which made the most impression was that of Wilberforce, who, after giving a glance to Pitt, who had been watching him with great earnestness, rose and delivered himself roundly against Melville, and called upon the House, as the constitutional guardian of the rights and the money of the people, to pass Whitbread's resolutions, and bring the culprit to justice.* "It was a stormy night," says Wilberforce himself; "I spoke late, and, from the state of men's minds, with a good deal of effect." It was very late indeed when the House divided, and when there occurred, what had not happened upon any great question for many a year, a perfect equality of votes, 216 voting for Whitbread's resolutions, and 216 against them, the speaker (Abbot), with whom Wilberforce and Bankes had consulted beforehand,† gave the casting vote, and it was against Melville. After this division Pitt proposed making some amendments

* "The saints were very useful on this occasion, and their conduct, no doubt, is entitled to approbation. Wilberforce's speech produced a great effect. So little was the result expected, that at two o'clock that morning Lord Melville was in high spirits, having just received a note from the House of Commons, saying that there was no doubt of a large majority in his favour."—*Letter from Horner to Sir James Mackintosh, dated 19th of April, 1805, in Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P., by his Brother.*

† "Bankes and I were long doubtful what part we should take about Lord Melville, but at length clear, and Abbot, whom we consulted, clear also."—*Wilberforce, Diary.*

in the wording of Whitbread's resolutions, but none of any consequence were admitted. Whitbread then moved an address to his majesty to remove Lord Melville from his councils and presence for ever; but, on the suggestion of Pitt, it was agreed to postpone the consideration of this motion for two days. At half-past five in the morning the House adjourned.

It has been said that Wilberforce had carried with him the decision of the House; that his speech influenced forty votes; that Pitt could not conceal his agitation when he saw the turn his speech was taking; and that the business of this night contributed in no small degree to Pitt's premature death. Wilberforce and his filial biographers are exceedingly eager to disprove the last of these reports; but some men will still believe, at least, that the result of the debate and division must have had a very pernicious effect on the already harassed mind and weakened frame of the chancellor of the exchequer. The saints might have been quite right in obeying the voice of their conscience; but would that voice have been so loud if Melville had been more of a saint? Wilberforce had wavered and doubted—and that too apparently after seeing the whole of the commissioners' report—what course he should take; it had been with him a delicate calculation whether he should vote for or against Melville; and the slightest weight thrown into the scale would have produced a different vote from that which he gave. We derive all this from his own letters and diary: and we derive, from these same sources, a little more than this;—we find him, for example, admitting that Melville had only acted *foolishly*, and yet in his parliamentary speeches Wilberforce represented him as having acted *criminally;* we find him denying that Pitt's health was injured by the affair, and in the next page admitting that Pitt felt it acutely, deeply, and that Pitt never so *quailed* as now; we find him here talking of his conscience, and there of something very like worldly expediency, or saying "that, whatever might be the consequences of this affair, and whether the administration might not be able to stand, it was perfectly clear that they could not have weathered the storm with Melville in their vessel after the publication of the commissioners' report." And yet, before this, Wilberforce had known that report, and had doubted—had been long doubtful—what part he should take about Lord Melville.

On Wednesday, the 8th of April, as soon as Pitt entered the House, he informed it, that Lord Melville had resigned his office (that of the first lord of the admiralty). Whitbread then moved that his eleventh resolution, charging Melville with being privy to, and conniving at, the withdrawing, for his own private interest, sums issued to him as treasurer of the navy, should be read. And, this being agreed to and done, Whitbread again rose, and stated that, though Lord Melville's resignation could not have been unexpected by any one, yet it could not satisfy either him and the House, or the public. This resignation ought not to stay proceedings. Lord Melville had not been dismissed; he had given in his resignation; but he might be recalled to-morrow, and the nation would have no cause of exultation over him, if parliament did not render it impossible for his majesty ever to call him again to his councils. He thought it but right to tell his majesty, in the most solemn manner, that it was necessary to remove Lord Melville, not merely from the admiralty, but from every office he held under the crown. He would go farther:—though he had been told by a right honourable gentleman (Canning) that Lord Melville's deputy, Mr. Trotter, had been dismissed, he would move immediately after the Easter holidays, that the attorney-general should be directed to proceed both against his lordship and Mr. Trotter, for the recovery of the profits and gains so unjustly taken from the public purse. Whitbread dwelt upon the emoluments which Melville had received, hoping that if any of the grants were revocable they would be revoked immediately; and he concluded with moving "an humble address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to remove Lord Melville from all offices under the crown during pleasure, and from his councils and presence for ever."

Canning again insisted that the case, which, at present, did not amount to more than a bare suspicion, could not warrant the severity proposed by Whitbread; and he expressed his astonishment at seeing that the friends of Earl St. Vincent, for whom Melville had ever been a champion, and naval officers upon whom he had heaped kindness and patronage, and other men whom he had generously defended from unfounded accusations, should now all be united against his lordship—should now all attempt to hunt him down in his forsaken, defenceless state. Grey, G. Ponsonby, Windham, and others supported Whitbread. Windham thought it absolutely necessary that a promise or declaration should be given which would render it impossible to restore Lord Melville to office, as his lordship had such a hold upon those in power, and they were so linked and connected together; and that, if the House valued its own consistency and honour, it was bound to pass the present motion, as a corollary from the resolutions of Monday last. Pitt said that he had no hesitation in stating that all idea of the noble lord's return to power was completely annihilated, and that nothing need be apprehended on that head. But, in making this frank declaration, he wished it to be understood that it was not to continue in force in case the resolutions of Monday should, on future inquiry, be found to have been premature, and consequently be erased from the journals of the House. In any other case it would be absolutely impossible for any minister ever again to think of recommending the noble lord to a share in his majesty's councils. After this explanation he thought it would be but an act of common liberality to the noble lord to

drop the present motion. Wilberforce was much less decided now than on the previous evening; he confessed he felt an indecision as to which way he should vote, and strongly recommended Whitbread to withdraw his present motion. Mr. David Scott complained of the severity exercised against a statesman who had served his country meritoriously for forty years, who had never valued money, who had never made money in office although he might have made millions, *and who had never been a bitter enemy to any man.* Mr. Kinnaird insisted that Lord Melville was known to have been in Scotland a very bitter political enemy. Melville's relative, W. Dundas, the now secretary at war, wanted to know whether the honourable member who spoke last could have discovered that character of bitterness in the noble lord in those frequent opportunities he took of partaking in the conviviality of his lordship's mansion, for weeks and months at a time? In the end Whitbread withdrew his motion, merely moving, that the resolutions voted on the former night should be laid before his majesty: and, this being carried unanimously, he moved that the said resolutions should be laid before his majesty by the whole House.

When Wilberforce was pressed by a friend to join the deputation which carried up the resolutions to St. James's, he refused so to do, protesting that when the sentence of the House was passed he would not join in the execution of it; that it was not to be expected of him that he should stifle the natural feelings of the heart, and not shed a tear over the very sentence he was pronouncing; that he knew not what Spartan virtue or stoical pride might require, but that he knew he was taught a different and a better lesson by a greater than Lycurgus or Zeno; that Christianity enforced no such sacrifice; that she required him to do justice indeed, but to love mercy; and that he had learned in her school not to triumph even over a conquered enemy, much less over a fallen friend.

Lord Melville, in retiring, had strongly recommended Sir Charles Middleton to fill his place, as the man who was most popular with the navy, and most likely to carry out reform, economy, and improvements. It was very generally acknowledged that this was honourable to Melville; but it appears to have been as generally apprehended that Pitt would not have the courage to accept his nominee, or give so important a place to one who had so little parliamentary interest, and who stood so perfectly aloof from party as Sir Charles did. But Pitt conferred upon Sir Charles Middleton the honours of the peerage, and appointed him first lord of the Admiralty three days afterwards.*

After the Easter holidays the House of Commons was occupied and much agitated by a newspaper article, which, in expressing satisfaction at the appointment of Middleton, severely censured the men and the measures that had caused Lord Melville's retreat. Though the general current ran the other way—though most of the newspapers were filled with abuse not merely of Melville but of all placemen, and Scotch placemen in particular—though the days or the style of Churchill and John Wilkes, of the 'Prophecy of Famine' and the 'North Briton,' seemed to be revived—there were several publications which hotly espoused the cause of the fallen minister, and as hotly assailed his adversaries; but the paper selected for notice was the 'Oracle,' morning paper, printed and published by Peter Stuart, who lived in Fleet-street, but who came from beyond the Tweed.* Mr. Grey charged himself with the exposition of the matter to the House. The article stated that party rancour and popular clamour had deprived the king and country of the great and powerful abilities of Lord Melville; that in no period of our political history could be found such an instance of the strong effects of prejudice; and that, with all due respect to the House of Commons, and to town and country meetings, it ought to be declared again and again that Lord Melville had fallen a victim to misplaced confidence, to prejudice, and to indignation misapplied—that he had been condemned without a trial, by intemperate judges and the violence of the times. Here Mr. Grey ceased his quotations from the paper, and moved that Mr. Peter Stuart, the publisher thereof, should be called to the bar of the House. Pitt admitted that the passage seemed libellous, but hoped that if gentlemen now began to turn their attention to libels they would at least be impartial, and not select only such as offended their own party or connexions. He hoped they would not select one particular instance for punishment, and let others pass with impunity. Mr. Grey urged that the case had been well selected as one which called for the special cognizance of the House; and Fox warmly supported him. Mr. Robert Ward,† who had noticed that Mr. Grey had stopped short in the reading of the 'Oracle' article just where a terrible diatribe against Melville's enemies commenced, very ingeniously said that, in order to let gentlemen see the propriety of preserving moderation and temper, he should move that the sequel of the paragraph should be read. This being agreed to, Mr. Ward, who has no incident so good in any of the novels he has written, turned to the clerk of the House, who read as follows:—"If those who were so very impatient to deprive Mr. Pitt of so able a coadjutor were equally zealous in their endeavours to restore to the public the unaccounted millions of which that public has been so disgracefully robbed, there would perhaps be some excuse for all that affectation of public virtue which has lately distinguished certain brawling patriots of the day. Lord Melville has not deprived the public of a

* Sir Charles Middleton, bart., admiral of the white, &c. was created Baron Barham on the 27th of April, and first lord of the Admiralty, *vice* Lord Viscount Melville, on the 30th of the same month.

* The full title of Stuart's morning newspaper was 'The Daily Advertiser, Oracle, and True Briton.' This Peter was the brother of Mr. Daniel Stuart, long proprietor of the 'Courier,' in conjunction with Mr. Street.

† The author of Tremaine, &c.

single farthing; his most implacable enemies have not dared to charge him with such an act: can as much be said of the fathers of some men? If the public were paid its pecuniary claims long since indisputably proved, certain furious patriots, instead of living in splendour, would be put on the parish. In the future resolutions of the House of Commons, in the future resolutions of all public meetings, we hope that an immediate attention to the enormous debts still due to the public by certain noisy individuals, will be strongly recommended." As soon as the clerk had done reading, Fox rose up, and in an angry tone asked Mr. Ward whether he thought this additional paragraph any palliation? Mr. Ward replied, that, though it might not be a palliation, it afforded good and sufficient reasons for having the whole inquiry prosecuted with temper, *particularly by persons whose families might appear to have been defaulters to a large amount.* This completely silenced the House, which hastened to agree to Mr. Grey's motion for calling the printer and publisher to the bar. This being done, Whitbread inquired of the chancellor of the exchequer whether it was his intention to advise his majesty to expel Lord Melville from the privy council. Pitt replied, that he did not feel himself called upon to make any such recommendation. Whitbread then gave notice that on Tuesday next he should make a motion for that purpose. And this he followed up by moving to-night for a select committee to take into further consideration the report of the naval commissioners. The chancellor of the exchequer said he rejoiced at the notion of appointing a committee, more especially because, in consequence, his own actions would become a subject of inquiry. He wished those actions to speak for themselves. But he could not think it would be proper to refer the whole of the report of the commissioners to a committee, as he understood that a second motion was to be made, directing a prosecution by the attorney-general. If the inquiry was to be prosecuted by a bill of discovery as to the question of participation, it would be highly improper to refer that part to a committee, or to establish two concurrent and collateral investigations. And, therefore, Pitt moved by way of amendment, "that a select committee be appointed to consider further of the matter contained in the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, so far only as the same relates to the application of sums granted for navy services to other branches of the public service, as also to the irregularities committed in the mode of drawing the money granted for the service of the navy from the bank, and to any communications that might have been made to the chancellor of the exchequer relative to such irregularity." Whitbread, who had at first opposed referring the matter to a select committee, strongly resisted this limitation of the inquiry. Fox was inclined to think that the inquiry should be restricted by the words of Pitt's amendment; and he submitted to Whitbread whether his second motion for the prosecution would not be better postponed till after the committee should have made its report, and have ascertained what persons had been connected with the delinquent. But, at the same time, Fox cast imputations upon his great rival, which a man so proud as Pitt, and who principally prided himself upon his financial regularity and his immaculate purity in money concerns, must have found it hard to bear. He called Pitt the man who had been the protector of the great public delinquent, and who had been minister during the whole time the abuses were carrying on in the treasury of the navy. He was glad that a select committee was to be appointed; but he trusted that the House would take a special care to have proper persons appointed to be of that committee; and he hoped that the committee would act with the same ability, integrity, and pertinacity that had been displayed by the naval commissioners who had made the report. Sheridan, who was veering again, took the same line of argument as Fox, and the same pains to implicate or identify the chancellor of the exchequer with Melville. Pitt indignantly disclaimed every idea of being implicated in any of the charges contained in the naval commissioners' report. Fox allowed that there was no passage which directly implicated him; but then he urged that there was an article relating to money taken from the treasury of the navy *to pay for secret services*, which, though it did not mention him by name, might lead certainly to a decision of how far he was involved. It was evident that a very large portion of the opposition were as eager to press the blow on account of Pitt as on account of Melville; and that they confidently expected that the premier would be brought down from his pride of place, and that the ministry would be entirely broken up by this prosecution.* Upon a division, Pitt's amendment was carried by 229 against 151. A discussion then took place as to the best way of selecting the committee. Pitt moved that it should be appointed by ballot, his opponents that it should be by nomination. On a division, Pitt's motion was carried by 251 against 120. Some efforts were afterwards made to do away with the appointment by ballot; but they failed. On the following day, the order of the day being read for the attendance of Mr. Peter Stuart, the printer of the 'Oracle,' a very vehement debate took place touching the proper manner of dealing with him. The Whigs were for great severity, delivering opinions about the licence of the press which scarcely agreed with the character or customary professions of their party. On the other hand, the Tories, or adherents of Pitt, invoked the glorious liberty of the press, and ran over all the truisms on the subject. The people of this country surely had a right to discuss freely, in newspapers or otherwise, the conduct of their representatives in parliament; the right might at times be abused, but the great principle was not

* Horner, who was closely connected with the Whig opposition, writes to Mackintosh on the first blush of the business—"There can be little doubt that all this will have an immediate effect in shattering the administration already so frail."

therefore to be attacked; and the honour and dignity of parliament would be best consulted by passing the article in the 'Oracle' over in silence; and surely the House ought to do so from its reliance on its own rectitude. Mr. Grey said that, if the article in question had appeared to him as a trivial matter, or as a fair comment on public affairs, he should not have complained of it; but that it appeared to him that the article had a most serious tendency to vilify the proceedings and insult the authority of parliament. Fox hoped his conduct had pretty well shown that he never had been of opinion that the liberty of the press should be rashly meddled with; but still it was not perhaps altogether proper that every gross breach of privilege should escape with impunity. He was quite certain that, if such an imputation had been thrown on the House of Commons when the majority was in favour of the minister, it would not have been tolerated. He was of opinion that the printer ought to be punished, but that his punishment ought not to be severe. Whitbread was the most violent of them all against the 'Oracle' and the printer. Sheridan, on the contrary, spoke kindly of both, and very neatly upon the general liberty of the press. The article complained of was mere milk-and-water compared with hundreds of others that had appeared: if the House was going to adopt a new feeling, and take notice of all expressions of this sort, after having suffered them so long to pass unheeded, it should first give warning of its intended rigour, and not suddenly let punishment fall on a particular individual. The House had long connived at things of this sort; it had also connived (and nothing more) at the reporting and printing its debates; and they had properly done this, and he should consider it a mortal blow to the liberties of the country if the people should be kept in ignorance of the proceedings of parliament. The members of that House were in the habit of taking greater freedoms with each other than they wished people out of doors to do; but, as the severest things they said of one another in that House were published in the reports of the debates, was it not natural that people should fall into an imitation of their style, and speak of them as they, the members of the House, so often spoke of one another? At last Mr. Peter Stuart was called back to the bar; and was asked by the speaker whether he acknowledged the paper. Peter said yes. The speaker then said that the paper had been complained of to the House as containing libellous reflections on its character and conduct; and that he must ask him what he had to say in answer to the charge. Stuart was sorry to have incurred the displeasure of the honourable House, &c.; but, having said these words, he launched out into a eulogium upon Lord Melville, for whom he would "always entertain the highest respect and esteem;" and then entreated that some allowance might be made for that freedom of discussion of public affairs which for a long series of years had been sanctioned by common usage. He was ordered to withdraw; and then Mr. Grey moved that he had been guilty of a high breach of the privileges of the House. The attorney-general (Spencer Perceval) said these libels or articles wore different aspects as they were for us or against us: he recollected when the newspapers made a right honourable member of that House state at clubs and public meetings that the House of Commons was lost to everything that was just and proper, that it was of no use attending it any longer, and that it afforded no protection to the public; and yet the House had never interfered. This little page from the history of Fox's secessions made a great impression, and called up Fox, who, however, could not deny a single iota in it. But Fox complained that it was not very candid to pass it over at the time it happened, and now bring it forward as an *argumentum ad hominem* when such a libel as this was before the House—a libel more serious than many others, because it seemed to be agreeable to the executive power, and proceeded from a person in the pay of government. Mr. Grey's motion was then put and carried. But instantly after it was moved from the opposite side that Mr. Peter Stuart should be merely called to the bar, reprimanded, and discharged. Mr. Grey said that, if the House, after voting that Stuart had been guilty of a high breach of privilege, chose to let him pass with no greater mark of its displeasure, he had no objection. Pitt himself then moved that the said Peter Stuart should be taken into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. When the printer had been three or four days in custody, he sent a petition to the House which was presented by Sir Henry Mildmay, who moved that the said Peter Stuart should be brought to the bar and be discharged. But Stuart, whose previous eulogium of Melville, pronounced at the bar, had greatly irritated the opposition, had inserted words in his present petition which indisposed them still further towards him. After expressing his regret that he should have unguardedly made use of expressions which had excited the displeasure of the House of Commons, and referring to his conduct during the several years in which he had conducted a newspaper, in which it had uniformly been his principle and pride zealously to support the character and dignity of the House of Commons, and to defend both Houses of Parliament against the charges of political societies and clubs expressly instituted to bring both Houses into disrepute and contempt, he launched forth into fresh praises of Melville, and into fresh reprobation of the reforming societies which had once been so hotly supported by the Foxites. The petition said, "In any observations which your petitioner may have published on the conduct of Lord Melville, he could not but bear in mind that the views of those societies, abetting domestic treason, and assisted by the co-operation of the revolutionary power of France, would, he verily believes, have effected the destruction of the British constitution, had not the wise and efficient measures, brought forward by that

administration in which Lord Melville held so conspicuous a situation, been *adopted, and this honourable House would not, in that case perhaps, have been now in existence, either to censure Lord Melville, or to pardon your petitioner.*" The Foxites cried out that this was an extraordinary petition, that this was not humble and penitent, but presumptuous and insolent language. Windham, whose withers were unwrung, whose opposition to the political societies had been as strenuous as that of Melville himself, but who had committed himself with the present mixed opposition, hoped Sir Henry Mildmay would feel the impropriety of the language of the petitioner, and give up his motion. Sir Henry replied that he really saw nothing improper in it; that, as to the praises given to Lord Melville, and those who acted with him, for those measures which had enabled the House to preserve its existence, he had no hesitation to avow the same principle; and that he should, therefore, persevere in his motion. Fox said that in praising Lord Melville the petitioner attacked those who brought him before the House; that he could not conceive how such a defence could be admitted, unless ministers meant that those who were brought to the bar for libelling the House might plead as a justification that they had uniformly supported administration, and had only libelled the minority or opposition. Whitbread asked whether it was to be endured that the editor of a newspaper should tell the House of Commons that he had sat in judgment upon them and their proceedings, and had pronounced his applause or his censure on the different parties in parliament as he thought fit? This was strong, and uttered in Whitbread's strong and somewhat coarse manner. But Wilberforce, with his usual suavity, said that this was not a proper petition; that it was deficient in temper; that it was not in this style of expression that the House ought to be addressed in behalf of a person who had offended its dignity, &c. Upon a division, however, Sir Henry Mildmay's motion was carried by 142 against 121; and Mr. Peter Stuart having been brought to the bar, and reprimanded by the speaker, was discharged. And thus ended this not uninteresting episode, which displays the professed champions of the liberty of the press in open combat against it, revealing at the same time a degree of soreness and irritability scarcely to have been expected from so slight a cause.

On the same day Sheridan moved the thanks of the House to the commissioners of the navy for the *whole* of their conduct in the execution of the arduous duties intrusted to them. Wilberforce expressed his high approbation of the conduct of the commissioners, and thought them fully entitled to the thanks of the House and of the country; but, as much that the commissioners had done had not yet been examined, and as other reports remained to be made by them, he conceived that the motion was rather too comprehensive. Sheridan therefore withdrew his motion and remodelled it, omitting the words "the whole," and limiting the thanks to the reports which had already been presented by the commissioners; and in this form the motion was carried. It was then moved that the resolution should be communicated by Mr. Speaker to the said commissioners, and, this being agreed to, the House adjourned.

On the 3rd of May Mr. Leycester delivered a message to the Lords from the Commons, requesting their lordships' permission for Lord Viscount Melville to attend a meeting of the House of Commons, to be examined respecting the tenth report of the naval commissioners. Their lordships replied that they would send an answer by a messenger of their own. As soon as Mr. Leycester had retired, Lord Hawkesbury moved that the standing order should be read which imported that no peer of the realm should attend the House of Commons, or any committee thereof, to answer matters of charge or accusation against himself, on pain of being committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the House. The standing order being read, Lord Hawkesbury moved that the message of the Commons should be referred to a committee of privileges, and that the clerk should be ordered to furnish the committee with such precedents as might have occurred. Lord Darnley objected that this was throwing difficulties in the way of public justice. The lord chancellor contended for the propriety of upholding the privileges of that House, and trusted that their lordships would not be unmindful of the solemn resolution taken in 1673, which prohibited, under severe penalties, the attendance of any member of that House in the Commons, if matter of accusation against him were in question. Lord Hawkesbury's motion was agreed to. On the 6th of May, when Whitbread was going to press a motion to that end, Pitt rose and said that the object he had in view was already accomplished; that he had felt it his duty to advise the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of the privy council; that his majesty had acceded, and that his lordship's name had been erased accordingly. Pitt added that he had felt a deep and bitter pang in being compelled to take this course; and the expression both of his countenance and voice bespoke the sincerity and depth of his feeling: the whole House was affected.

It had been previously determined that a commission of inquiry should be appointed to examine into the state of the war-office and of the administration of the army; and on the 16th of May Pitt named the commissioners, and moved "that they shall inquire into all the abuses that do exist in the said department."* The naval commissioners had overlooked existing abuses to go back through a series of twenty years in search of abuses which once had existed. It seemed, therefore, but fair that Mr. Giles should move as an

* The military commissioners named were Sir C. Stuart, Major-General Oakes, and Colonel Beckwith, for the strictly military details; Lieutenant-General Drinkwater for the civil economy; Mr. Cox and Mr. Cumming for the legal part; and, for mercantile judgment, Mr. Peters and Mr. C. Bosanquet.

amendment to Pitt's motion that the words "or that have existed" should be inserted. But this gave Mr. G. Rose an admirable opportunity for throwing odium on Fox and his family, and for confirming, as it were, from his place in parliament the charges which Peter Stuart had made in his newspaper against defaulters and the sons of defaulters; and Rose very ingeniously said, that to adopt Mr. Giles's amendment would be going too far back, as, for example, the sum of half a million of money was left unaccounted for by the late Lord Holland at his death, and had not been recovered until fourteen years afterwards. "Had this sum," continued Rose, "been laid out at compound interest for that length of time it would have produced half a million—half a million which has been lost to the public—and yet his executors have never seemed to think themselves accountable for the profits." Fox rose and solemnly assured the House that he had never received one shilling of those profits, a statement which he was ready to prove, and that he believed his brother, General Fox, could safely say the same: that for his own part, when he found that there was so great an arrear, he had declined acting as an executor. But this was no excuse for those who had acted as executors, and who had reserved to the late Lord Holland's heir fourteen years of compound interest on half a million! After some conversation, Pitt's original motion, without the retrospective amendment, was carried. But an object had been attained: in discussing the amendment Rose had dealt out a good back stroke on the hereditary foe of his own patron and friend the chancellor of the exchequer.

On the 23rd of May Mr. Sergeant Best moved for a select committee to consider of the *eleventh* report of the naval commissioners, which went to implicate Pitt more than Melville, affirming that large sums of money had occasionally been raised for the navy by loans, *by order of ministers*, for alleged secret services, without the consent of that House, and contrary to the established constitution of the country. The chancellor of the exchequer urged that navy bills issued for secret services could be inquired into only by a secret committee; moved and carried an amendment, excepting from the inquiry the sum of 100,000*l.*, which had been at a critical moment issued for secret naval services; and then agreed to Best's motion. On the next day Earl Darnley moved, in the Lords, for a select committee to take into consideration the papers on the table respecting the actual state of the navy; implying that, under Melville's management, the ship-building department had been another scene of jobbery and corruption. Lords Holland and Suffolk supported Earl Darnley, and the Duke of Clarence, after speaking in the highest terms of admiration of the naval administration of Earl St. Vincent, gave his hearty assent to the motion, which was, however, rejected by 88 against 33. The debate was chiefly noticeable on account of the direct personal animosity displayed by Melville and St. Vincent towards each other. Melville had joined Pitt in severely criticising the management of the navy in the latter part of the Addington administration, when St. Vincent was at the head of the admiralty; and now St. Vincent had directed and presided over the naval commission of inquiry which had criminated Melville. The animosity on each side was great. Melville, not satisfied with defending his own board of admiralty, again pulled to pieces that of St. Vincent; and, on points where his own conduct was blamed, he quoted letters written by St. Vincent to show that their plans and proceedings on these particular points at least had been identically the same. He therefore thought it uncandid, inconsistent, dishonourable for the noble lord and his friends to blame him in these particulars. He concluded by saying that he had no anxiety whatever as to the result of the present motion, and left it entirely to the discretion of the House to decide whether there should be this select committee or not. St. Vincent threw the blame from his own shoulders upon the members of the navy board, in the constituting of which he had had no share. He said that in the whole of that board there was not, with the single exception of Mr. Markham, one member who did his duty to the public or was competent to his office; and he hoped, in justice to the public, that all of them would be ignominiously dismissed. As to the personal attack of the noble lord (Melville), he treated it with contempt; but if the present motion were rejected he must consider it as an act of injustice to himself!

Although the peers clung to their valuable privilege, which was not to be given up without an injury to the fabric of the constitution, they consented, after an examination of precedents, that Lord Melville might present himself in the Commons if he himself chose so to do. And on the 11th of June, as Whitbread was about to move for a regular impeachment against Melville, the speaker announced that he had a letter from his lordship, requesting the permission of the House of Lords to attend and be heard upon the subject of the reports of the naval commissioners. Mr. Robert Dundas, his lordship's son, then rose and moved the admission, &c.; and this being agreed to, his lordship was introduced by the sergeant-at-arms, and conducted to a chair placed for him within the bar. After resting for a few moments, Melville rose and addressed the House. He expressed his satisfaction at finding that an opportunity was at length given him to defend his character—an opportunity which he had in vain asked for at the hands of the navy commissioners. He read several letters which had passed between the commissioners and himself, and in which they absolutely refused to re-examine him, or to make a supplemental report. He stated that he was permitted by the House of Lords to attend only under a limitation that he should defend himself only on such points as the Commons had not yet passed any accusatory resolutions upon. He declared that he never knew that Mr. Trotter, his paymaster, had

drawn any money out of the navy treasury in evasion of the act; that he never knew that Mr. Trotter had invested such money in exchequer or navy bills; that he never knew that he had lent money upon the security of stock; that he never knew that he had employed any money in the discount of private bills, or in the purchase of bank or India stock. "If," said he, "such transactions existed, they were not, as stated, with my privity and consent. I need not, therefore, stop to express the indignation I felt when I found that not only that knowledge was imputed to me, but that it was even surmised that Mr. Trotter, in the execution of those transactions, enjoyed the benefit of my confidential knowledge of the secrets of government. Another charge I must notice, and which I had noticed and positively denied before the resolutions of the 8th of April, that I had ever participated in profits supposed to have been made by Mr. Trotter. I have reason, too, to know, that he had he been asked, would have wholly denied such a participation. What, indeed, would at once refute any such insinuation is, that every sum advanced to me by Mr. Trotter, has been repaid to the uttermost farthing." It appears indeed to have been most clearly proved in the sequel, that he had replaced the entire sums which he had himself temporarily used. He gave the history of his first acquaintance and connexion with his paymaster. On first coming into that office, he had found Mr. Trotter already established there. Mr. Trotter had been introduced into that employment in consequence of his relationship to the late Sir Gilbert Elliot and Mr. Coutts the banker. He had found him full of ability and of zeal for the service; and, upon the death of an old paymaster, he had promoted him to the post. Mr. Trotter had first attracted his particular countenance by pointing out the means that were then often used to deprive poor seamen and their families of money that was due to them; and Mr. Trotter had enabled him to make regulations which were afterwards sanctioned by parliament and found to be of great benefit to the service. From being constantly near him, Mr. Trotter naturally became the channel through which he transacted a vast deal of public and private business. Though some parts of his conduct might have recently brought upon him much anxiety, he could not but praise the admirable manner in which Mr. Trotter had conducted the pay-office for a period of fourteen years:—during the whole of that time not one payment had ever been a moment delayed at the treasurer's office; and an account of not less than 134,000,000*l.* sterling had been closed without the loss of one farthing having arisen to the public during the whole of that time. He knew that Mr. Trotter was closely connected with Mr. Coutts the banker, and that he occasionally lodged money in that bank. "But," said he, "if it is meant to say that Mr. Trotter had any authority from me to draw sums indiscriminately from the Bank of England for his own use or emolument, I must deny that to such transactions I was ever privy: but, if it is meant that after the money was drawn from the Bank by assignments, under the orders of the competent boards, it was illegal to put it into the hands of Mr. Coutts, I am yet, after all I have heard, to learn that it was a breach of the statute. That an indiscriminate power of drawing from the Bank was given by me to Mr. Trotter cannot be alleged by any person who attends to the real import of my evidence. The plain import of my answer to the questions of the commissioners is this:—when the money was legally, and in the terms of the act of parliament, drawn from the Bank of England, I permitted Mr. Trotter to lodge such balance of the money assigned as was not called for by the persons entitled to receive it. Now I contend that there is not one clause of the act prohibitory of the permission to lodge assigned money in the hands of a private banker till applied for by the person entitled to it. This point I wish to be considered as at present altogether unconnected with the use made of the money when so lodged. Suppose, that, instead of lodging the money of the description I have stated in a private banker's hands, the practice had been to open a separate account in the Bank of England for the deposit of such assigned money till called for; nobody, surely, would have contended that in such an arrangement the treasurer of the navy would have violated either the spirit or letter of the act; and yet, if no draft could be made except on the general account raised at the Bank in the name of the treasurer, the violation would equally exist in the supposed as in the real case. The fact is, that the law of 1785 was not intended to embrace all regulations for the conduct of that great machine which has now become necessary for the regular payment of the naval service; its single object was to convert the treasurer's account from a personal to an official account, and thereby to obviate an abuse whereby ex-treasurers of the navy *had large balances in their hands, and remained great public accountants and debtors many years after they were out of office.*" He noticed the very great difference existing between the army pay-office and the navy pay-office, and the frequent necessity of the payments of the latter taking place in most minute sums. Would it have been advisable to have drawn checks or drafts upon the Bank of England for 1*l.* 3*s.* 0¾*d.*? He observed that the practice of lodging navy money in Mr. Coutts's private bank had continued for two years after he was out of office, and it was ultimately altered by Mr. Bathurst, not on a clear opinion formed by that gentleman of its illegality, but only because he thought the alteration expedient. His lordship therefore thought that, even if he had violated the law, there could have been no great violation; that, even though there had been a breach, yet there was no high breach of duty. He trusted that the nature and extent of the benefit which he knew the paymaster might derive from lodging the money thus drawn from the Bank of England in the hands of Messrs.

Coutts would be immediately perceived. He conceived the advantage to arise from an understanding between Mr. Trotter and the partners of that house, as to the benefit they might respectively derive from the customary use of money while in their hands; and such an arrangement between them could not prevent the paymaster from drawing, at any moment, from Coutts's house any sum requisite for the discharge of claims to which that deposit money was liable. He had not interposed to prevent the paymaster's enjoying such emolument, because he had not conceived it to be infringing any act of parliament, nor had he felt that he was incurring either for the public or himself the smallest degree of risk in allowing sums to be lodged in such a private bank as Coutts's. He had never felt it to be a clandestine or mysterious arrangement, or one which he might not have put an end to at any moment he found it expedient. It must be remembered that the duties of the paymaster were very laborious, and that his salary was only 500*l.* a-year. An addition had been made, indeed, in the year 1800, but even now that salary was only 800*l.* He had always conceived that a gentleman highly trustworthy, able, and active in the performance of his duty should be allowed some higher recompense than this. Yet the practice of lodging money in Coutts's bank had not arisen in the first instance from any calculation or view to private emolument. Previously to the year 1785 the navy pay-office was in the city, in the neighbourhood of the Bank of England; and it was only in consequence of its removal to Somerset House that the suggestion was made to him of the convenience of keeping some money at some banker's in the neighbourhood. He still thought that both the convenience and the security of the public were gainers by this arrangement. He declared that the real import of his examination before the commissioners had been much misunderstood or purposely and grossly misrepresented. It had been affirmed that he refused to answer the commissioners' question whether he had ever derived profit from the public money placed under his control as treasurer to the navy. He denied that he had ever done any such thing. The state of the case was this. In the month of June, 1804, the commissioners, by letter, called upon him to give them an account of certain details which it was literally impossible for him to do: in his reply he had stated this impossibility; and had added that he should think it his duty to withhold the information they required with respect to some sums which had been occasionally drawn from the navy office for *public* but not *naval* services. He had heard no more from the commissioners for the space of four months; but during that period they had become possessed of all Mr. Trotter's *private* accounts with the house of Messrs. Coutts. On the 2nd of November, 1804, he received a summons from the commissioners, and underwent an examination by questions obviously prepared with much previous consideration. He had no knowledge of Trotter's private accounts: he then received the unexpected information that Mr. Trotter, in the advances he had made to him on the account current of his affairs, had made them without discriminating whether they were from private funds, or from his public balances. From the knowledge of this blended account he had been induced to adopt a degree of reserve beyond what the occasion called for. A great deal of acrimony and ingenuity had been resorted to in the interpretation of another of his answers. When the commissioners questioned him whether he had ever directed or authorised Mr. Trotter to lay out or apply any of the money issued for carrying on the current service of the navy for his own benefit or advantage, he had replied, that to the best of his recollection he never had. But he certainly might and ought to have answered simply that he never had: his having prefixed the other useless words arose out of a mode of expression customary with him in speaking of past transactions. Much asperity, moreover, had been founded on the assertion that he had declined to answer questions to criminate himself. This charge was the more extraordinary, since his accusers had rested the whole of their charges on what they had been pleased to call his own confession. He had most assuredly never made use of the clause in the act of parliament, or the law which protected a man from accusing himself, for any personal reason, but solely to protect himself from any of those irregularities which might be supposed to be committed in applying for a time any of the naval money to some other branch of the public service. "Indeed," said he, "if I had disclosed any of these transactions, I should have felt myself guilty, not only of a breach of public duty, but of *a most unwarrantable breach of private honour.*" [It has been surmised that these sums had been employed in that secret service department which never admitted of any open investigation.] It had been urged against him that he could have had no other motive for remaining treasurer of the navy, after he became secretary of state, except the unlawful gains he made by that first situation. To this he replied, with much earnestness, "There is one who heard me (Pitt), and there are others with whom I have now no connexion in politics, who can bear testimony that I never was one hour secretary of state with my own inclination. Under the original institution of the India board, the treasurership of the navy was understood to be the appropriate situation of the person who was to take the leading part in the management and control of affairs in India. I had acted in that character for many years, and perhaps may have had the vanity to think that, by a successful administration of that great concern, I had done essential service to my country. I had certainly a predilection for the Indian department, and it was the only one in which I wished to be employed. On this ground I declined accepting the seals of the home department at the

time Lord Grenville was appointed; and, when, at a later period, I was induced to accept them, it was with an assurance that I should only hold them for a few months, till the return from abroad of a noble lord, for whom they were destined. He did not return at the time expected, and the state of the country rendered it impossible for me to decline obeying the command of my sovereign, by remaining in the home department. When the Duke of Portland was appointed to that situation, I again made it my request that I might confine myself to the affairs of India, and I again only desisted from being specially commanded by his majesty to do so. The result of my statement is, that I never had any predilection for the office of treasurer of the navy, excepting so far as it was the situation at that time appropriated to the person at the head of the administration of India." But besides, while he had been treasurer of the navy, and at the head of the administration of India, he had been at the same time the confidential adviser of government in everything relating to the affairs of Scotland. "In this last capacity," said he, "every person must feel the impossibility of my not having recourse to the expenditure of *occasional sums* for the purposes of government; and, however satisfied my own conscience may have been, and however clear the necessity and propriety of the expenditure in the instances in which it occurred, every one must be aware that it is impossible they should be detailed without great public and personal inconvenience." [This is almost tantamount to a declaration from Melville's own lips, that he had taken money from the navy pay-office with one hand, and given it with the other hand to be sent into Scotland for secret services.] A reference to the trial at Edinburgh of Robert Watt, the informer and spy, who had corresponded with secretary Dundas (Lord Melville), and had had still closer communications with his relative the Lord Advocate, who had given him money, may throw considerable light on this dark subject, and enable us to conceive that what had been done in one case might have been done in many cases.* It has been stated and re-stated in common accounts of these proceedings, and even in popular histories, that there were some 20,000*l.* which Melville never would and never did account for; and the fact is so put as to leave the impression that this sum he had appropriated. But Melville said, in this speech to the Commons, that it was only on account of the public and personal inconvenience, and of the breach of public duty, and most unwarrantable breach of private honour which his entering into particulars would involve, that he abstained from giving more minute explanations (than that the money was neither used nor meant to be used for any object of personal profit or emolument) touching a sum of 10,000*l.*, which had been used on his first coming into the treasurership of the navy, when the restrictive act had not yet been passed; and about a similar amount which had been taken and employed at a later period: and the fair inference to be drawn from these words, and from evidence on his trial, seems to be that both these sums had been spent in secret services. There was, besides, a sum of 40,000*l.* advanced out of the navy money to Mr. Pitt, for purposes which had been explained to the committee of the House of Commons by Mr. Pitt himself. "And yet," said Melville, "if Mr. Pitt had not thought it expedient to divulge the transaction, I should have thought it my duty never to have made such a discovery from any personal consideration either of fame or safety; although it is obvious to what an extent of additional suspicion and obloquy I should have been exposed by the concealment." Except a very few most determined and implacable enemies, no man knowing anything of the business and of Pitt's character, attempted to insinuate that the chancellor of the exchequer had taken out the 40,000*l.* to accommodate himself; and, when so large an amount was temporarily extracted from the treasury of the navy to be employed on separate and altogether different government service, it was natural to conclude that smaller amounts were occasionally used in the same manner, at the direct order or with the connivance of Pitt. Melville declared that he was himself perfectly well aware of the confidential purposes to which this sum of 40,000*l.* and the two sums of 10,000*l.* each were to be applied; but that Mr. Trotter was wholly ignorant of those appropriations, and that, if Mr. Trotter had endeavoured to form a conjecture concerning them, it would have only served to mislead and confuse him. Hence, in Trotter's complicated running account with him, and in the checks on Coutts's house, many sums might be set down in Melville's name, and look as though they had gone directly into his pocket. Trotter, who figured in the double capacity of paymaster to the navy and private banker (for it is evident that, during a good part of the time, he had had an interest and an authority in Coutts's house, if he had not been an actual partner), had, on several occasions, made advances of money to his superior on his private account; and had, as Melville now declared, received regular interest for such advances. But on the sums advanced by Trotter as paymaster to the government for services not connected with the navy no interest had ever been paid; nor would the same sums have yielded any interest had they remained in the Bank of England; nor, under the circumstances of the case, had Melville ever imagined that the public would look for interest. The 2000*l.* increase of salary to the treasurer of the navy was, as the act of 1785 specified, to be paid out of "the sale of old naval stores," which was certainly not the best or readiest method of paying a public servant of government, or any one else, but one of the worst methods that can possibly be conceived. At times Melville had considerable arrears due to him, and at times he left sums in

* See Robert Watt's trial, Vol. iii. pp. 463—5.

the hands of the paymaster, upon which no interest was ever paid by the one party or expected by the other.*

There were other passages in this long and able, and, at the same time, frank-looking defence into which we cannot enter; but there remains one, relating to a circumstance deemed very suspicious, which seems to demand particular notice. Whitbread, or some friend or friends of that manager, had obtained information of a written release passed reciprocally between Melville and Trotter after the winding up of their affairs, in which there was a clause binding each of the parties to cancel or destroy the vouchers of all pecuniary transactions between them; and Trotter upon being called upon had produced this release, which, after all, was nothing but such a precautionary document as commonly attends the closing of long and complicated accounts, and which seemed more particularly called for when a man was concerned so very careless in his money-accounts as Melville had proved himself to be. Accordingly we find that it was Trotter who proposed the said release and who got it drawn up in London while Melville was at Edinburgh. "I was at the distance of 400 miles," said his lordship, "when this release was prepared and transmitted to me for signature; there was nothing particularly to call my attention to this destroying clause, nor did I think there was anything more in it than a common form, expressive of an obligation on the parties not to keep in their possession any receipts or other vouchers which could be made the ground of a claim by the heirs or either party against the other. I was never consulted about this clause, as indeed my distance from the place where it was prepared has a tendency to show. Mr. Trotter himself has been asked, 'Did Lord Melville give any instructions for inserting the clause to destroy the vouchers?' and he has answered, 'No.'—'Did you know of his having given such instructions to any one else?' and he has answered that he did not. Mr. Spottiswoode, who drew the release, having died within these few months, I am deprived of his evidence; but his partner and his son would probably have heard that particular instructions had been given, were the case so; and they declared they know nothing of it. But, indeed, a charge grounded upon this clause is in itself absurd:—if it means anything, it must mean that Mr. Trotter and I, being conscious of some foul transactions, had resolved to destroy the evidence of them; yet, instead of destroying such evidence silently, we are supposed to be willing to record our intention in a formal deed, and to publish to every person who saw the deed the means we had taken to cover it. The House has been desired (by Whitbread) to attend to the circumstance of the deed being dated soon after the commission of naval inquiry was appointed; but, if the parties concerned were panic-struck by a dread of those commissioners, would they not have immediately destroyed their dangerous documents of guilt, instead of entering into an obligation liable to all the objections and difficulties which have been pointed out? Surely the parties had no ground to imagine that this release would not be produced, as well as the documents meant to be destroyed; and certainly not one of the vouchers could have been dwelt upon with more ingenuity and asperity than this release has been. If indeed it was meant to impose any active obligation upon me, I have certainly been very remiss in the performance of it, since I never have destroyed a single paper from a feeling that I was bound by this deed to do so." In similar releases such a destroying clause was commonly introduced; and, though the respective parties might not burn their complicated accounts, receipts, vouchers, &c., it was held that they were virtually destroyed by this clause, that they no longer existed *de jure*, though they might survive *de facto*, and they could not after this engagement be made the ground of any future litigation. If there were men of business in the House, they ought to have known this, and to have treated with contempt the inferences drawn from the existence of this common clause in the release. In concluding his speech, Melville said, "*As to the act of parliament appointing the commissioners of naval inquiry, no one, I believe, imagined that anything but the abuses in the dock-yards was the object of the appointment.* No one thought it was to go far back into past times, and confine itself to the production of charges against me. At the time I was applied to for the release, I was living with my family, and amongst my friends in Scotland; and, perhaps, if I had continued in that secession from public business, no attack would ever have been directed against me." He hoped he had refrained from any asperity of language. His enemies, however, were much mistaken if they supposed that his spirits were easily to be broken down by any exertion of theirs. But the lashes intended for him had cruelly lacerated the feelings of many valuable friends, and of others more nearly and dearly connected with him. Yet he could hardly believe that either impeachment or indictment was seriously intended. The canvassings which had been made, the public meetings which had been held, and all the other active steps which had been taken out of doors could never have been resorted to, had any legal proceedings been intended against him. Circumstances, not in his power to control, debarred him from the possibility of disclosing what would be most to his personal interest to disclose. But he would not despair of receiving even in his own time ample justice from his deluded country; he yet expected to be considered hereafter as a man who had, during a long life of public service, exerted his unremitting endeavours to promote the welfare and the essential interest of his country.

His lordship having bowed and retired, Whit-

* "Mr. Trotter," said his lordship, "received of my private funds and from my salary not less, and probably much more, than 20,000*l.* during the 14 years he was in the navy-office: the general impression I had of the state of our accounts was such as to make interest upon any balance appear to me of little moment."

bread rose; and, after a long speech, moved that Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Nathaniel Bond, a member of the privy council, and president of the Board of Trade, suggested that impeachment, though the most dignified, was also the most expensive, tedious, and cumbrous mode of proceeding; that a criminal prosecution would answer all the purposes much better; and he therefore moved that the attorney-general should be directed to prosecute his lordship, &c. The master of the rolls pleaded warmly for the party accused: he thought that Lord Melville had already been treated with too much severity; that neither the commission of inquiry, nor the committee of the House, had brought forward facts or proofs sufficient to justify either impeachment or criminal prosecution in the ordinary court; that the release about which so much had been said signified little or nothing; and, finally, that enough had been done, and that all further prosecution would partake of injustice. Lord Temple said he would vote for an impeachment. Mr. Hawkins Browne thought that Lord Melville had suffered *too* much already. Mr. Hiley Addington, the relative of the late premier, who had raised Dundas to the peerage, said he had a most painful duty to perform, because he could not divest his mind of a just consideration of the great services rendered to the country by Lord Melville, and because he could never cease to remember the many marks of private friendship and kindness which he had personally experienced from his lordship; but he was bound to sacrifice private feelings to public duty, and would vote for the amendment as being the more lenient method; adding, however, that, if a criminal prosecution by the attorney-general should not be acceded to, he saw no alternative left but to vote for the impeachment. Mr. Alexander considered the offence of Lord Melville to partake much more of the character of the *malum prohibitum* than the *malum in se*. Previous to the Act 25 Geo. III., the practice with which Lord Melville was charged was not, either by common or statute law, a crime: even by that statute, the practice was merely prohibited, and no penalty annexed to the commission of it: it lay therefore with the House to determine the penalty; and under all the circumstances he thought that a penalty sufficiently severe had been already inflicted, in the deprivation of office, and the expulsion from the privy-council. Mr. Pytches thought that Lord Melville would have done much better, had he requested some friend to tell the House, that he had done wrong and was sorry for it, instead of coming forward himself to make a speech, in which he most pertinaciously asserted his innocence. Had he manifested anything like repentance, had he appealed to the feelings of the House, he might have met compassion; but from the whole of his demeanor, combined with all the other circumstances, he really thought him entirely undeserving of lenity. Lord Henry Petty (the present Marquess of Lansdowne), who had previously delivered a speech on this subject, which Fox had declared to be one of the best speeches he had ever heard, spoke again at some length, and was heard with much attention. And then, the hour being very late, Wilberforce moved and carried an adjournment till the morrow.

When the debate was renewed on Wednesday the 12th, Mr. Leycester, a friend and adviser of Lord Melville, explained most of the money-transactions which had passed between his lordship and Mr. Trotter; stated, with reference to the bond of release, that covenants to give up vouchers were frequent; and called upon the House to stop all further proceedings. Then Wilberforce rose and declared that Lord Melville's own speech had convinced him that some further *criminal* prosecution was necessary before justice could be satisfied. He complained of that silence on sundry points to which his lordship had restricted himself, and declared that all his lordship's arguments had been refuted by Whitbread. He called one of Melville's explanations "a miserable quibble." He would not deny that Lord Melville's conduct, in connexion with India, had been very admirable; but this was not to be admitted as a set-off for delinquencies in another department. He returned to Melville's reservation and secrecy upon matters which he declared he could not reveal without a flagrant breach of public and private honour (and with some of these matters Wilberforce must have known that his friend Pitt was closely connected), and he dwelt upon the silence in a way the best calculated to aggravate dark suspicions. Melville's misconduct, he said, had been characterised by its intensity on the one hand, and by its continuity on the other. The only punishment inflicted had been the striking him out of the list of privy councillors. The resolutions of the House might very properly precede a motion for impeachment; they could not, therefore, be considered as a part of punishment. He thought there would be no inconsistency in adopting a criminal proceeding. He was inclined himself to adopt the amendment of his learned friend (Bond), but those who were agreed as to the substance ought not to differ about the manner of obtaining it; and he therefore wished the amendment not to be pressed. Wilberforce was followed by Lord Castlereagh, who gave his decided negative to the original motion, and expressed his astonishment at the course now pursued. He said that up to the present motion every step taken indicated that no criminal proceeding was to be resorted to; that Fox had distinctly declared that, if Lord Melville were removed from his majesty's councils and presence for ever, he should consider all personal proceedings against him as concluded; and that Whitbread himself had never intimated that he would do more than bring forward a motion for instituting a civil suit. With respect to the secret service money which had been taken from the moneys of the navy, he more than intimated that it had been sent into Scotland; and with regard to

Melville's silence, he urged that, in times like those through which the country had lately passed, money might be applied in secret services, the disclosure of which might endanger the life and honour of those who had placed implicit confidence in the faith of a minister. He showed, too, that not only this sum, but every other sum, had been repaid down to the last farthing. He concluded by reminding the House of the merits and long and active services of Lord Melville, who was not the man to commit, nay shipwreck, his reputation for paltry pecuniary advantages. Mr. Grey insisted that Lord Melville's delinquencies were notorious; that he had not been sufficiently punished; and declared that he would vote for an impeachment, and, if that should not be carried, for a criminal prosecution. Mr. Robert Dundas, Lord Melville's son, complained of the public meetings which had taken place out of doors, and which had been called together by the friends of those who were pursuing his father. These meetings must prejudice the minds of those who might afterwards have to try the cause, and, as jurymen, to decide upon it. After offering various financial explanations, and denying that his father had ever had large sums standing in the funds, Mr. Dundas asserted that the registry of the release had been made in the court of session, and was therefore of necessity a very public transaction, and one which could not have taken place if his father had been seeking that mystery or concealment which was imputed to him. Mr. Bankes and several others recommended the criminal prosecution by the attorney-general. Canning thought that, if his lordship was to be tried at all, it ought to be by his peers; but that a civil action would be enough, or more than enough: and he expressed his perfect agreement with the observation made by Lord Melville, that the time was not far distant when the unnatural magnitude to which the offence, if such it was, had been swelled would subside, and his lordship's character be rescued from the obloquy now cast upon it. After a long debate the House divided on Whitbread's original motion, when there appeared 272 against the impeachment, and 195 for it. They next divided upon Bond's amendment, and the criminal prosecution by the attorney-general was carried by the thin majority of nine, the numbers being 238 against 229.

Lord Melville or his friends, however, thought there were important reasons for preferring impeachment to a criminal prosecution; and on the 25th of June, Bond, who was to have moved on that day for an instruction to the attorney-general to commence, withheld his motion; and his learned friend Leycester, deploring that the House should consider any further proceedings necessary, moved that Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached, and that all other proceedings by the House be stayed. He grounded this motion principally on the almost universal and inveterate prejudice against the noble lord existing in the public mind, and assiduously cultivated there. He asked whether, with such a weight of prejudice against him, Lord Melville could be fairly tried by a jury? The jurors in Westminster Hall were generally composed of tradesmen and shopkeepers—respectable and upright men, no doubt—but most probably in this instance impressed with a prejudice of which they would not be able to get rid on the trial. Pitt warmly supported Leycester. Fox called for the previous question, but was out-voted by 166 against 143; and then the trial by impeachment, against which 272 had voted on the 12th, was carried without a division. A bill was then introduced and carried through the House, to indemnify Mr. Trotter and all others who might give evidence on the trial against any consequences personal to themselves. And on the 26th of June, Whitbread, accompanied by a great number of members, impeached Lord Melville, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, of high crimes and misdemeanors, at the bar of the House of Lords. A bill was brought into the Commons by Whitbread to avoid those differences of opinion which had arisen in the case of Warren Hastings, or to prevent the proceedings in the impeachment of Lord Melville from being affected by any prorogation or dissolution of parliament; and after some slight alteration in the wording it was carried through all its stages without a division. Here the proceedings rested for the present, and before any further progress could be made, Pitt, whose health and spirits were evidently affected by them, was laid in Westminster Abbey.*

On the 12th of May motions founded on a petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to be relieved from their remaining civil disabilities were made, in the House of Lords by Lord Grenville, and in the Commons by Fox. The proposition was rejected in the Lords by 178 against 49, in the Commons by 336 against 124. Many members, not opposed to the granting of further indulgence, professed to think that this was not the moment for pressing the claims. Out of doors, the prevailing sentiment, as Pitt said, was totally against them.

On the 12th of July a message from the king was delivered to parliament, stating that the communications which had taken place, and were still depending, between his majesty and some of the powers on the Continent had not yet been brought to such

* On the 11th of July Windham moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions that there be laid before this House copies of such correspondence as may have taken place between his majesty's government and the government of France, or with that of any other country, relative to the treatment or exchange of Captain Wright, late of his majesty's sloop 'Vincego,' and now a prisoner of war in close confinement in France." The motion was seconded by Sir Sidney Smith, who knew by personal experience some of the horrors of the Temple, and who spoke as if he suspected the foulest play towards his old officer and comrade, who probably was by this time dead. Sir Sidney paid a warm tribute to his gallant friend; and read a letter describing the remarkable engagement in which Wright was captured, and the subsequent hardships to which he and his brave officers and crew had been subjected. He was so overcome by his feelings that his voice failed him several times, and at the end he was obliged to break off abruptly. Some correspondence which had been carried on with the French minister of marine was laid before the House, but it contained no further information than that the French government were determined to keep Wright a close prisoner.

a point as to enable his majesty to lay the result of them before the House, or to enter into any further explanation with the French government, consistently with the sentiments expressed by his majesty at the opening of the session; but that, conceiving it might be of essential importance to have it in his power to avail himself of any favourable conjuncture for giving effect to such a concert with other powers as might afford the best means of resisting the inordinate ambition of France, or might be most likely to lead to a termination of the present contest, on grounds consistent with the permanent safety and interests of his dominions, and the security and independence of Europe, his majesty recommended parliament to consider of making provision for enabling him to take such measures, and enter into such engagements as the exigencies of affairs might require. A sum, not to exceed three millions and a half, was instantly voted for the purposes stated in the message; and, on the same day, parliament was prorogued by commission.

Two days before the prorogation, Lord Sidmouth (Addington) and Lord Buckinghamshire resigned. The cause generally assigned at the time for these resignations was a difference of opinion about Lord Melville; but there were certainly many other differences and other causes which made Sidmouth averse to continuing in office under Pitt. Sidmouth too may have calculated that the impeachment of Melville might entirely break up the cabinet, and realize the ardent hope of Fox and his friends. Sidmouth was succeeded by Lord Camden, and Lord Buckinghamshire by Lord Harrowby. Lord Castlereagh obtained Earl Camden's place of secretary of foreign affairs. The adherents of Sidmouth were distinguished neither by their number nor by their ability, but to the mixed opposition, already so numerous, a slight addition of weight might turn the balance against Pitt, whose personal energy moreover was evidently on the decline.

Although it had not been deemed expedient to communicate the fact to parliament, a treaty had been signed as early as the 11th of April, by which the Emperor of Russia and the King of England reciprocally bound themselves to use the most efficacious means for forming a general league of the states of Europe, for the purpose of putting an end to the encroachments of the French government, and securing the independence of Europe. Sweden and Austria had both entered into the same views. The King of Sweden had signed a separate treaty with the Emperor of Russia, on the 10th of January; but Austria hung back, and recommended that negociations should be attempted with Bonaparte before proceeding to hostilities. A Russian envoy was dispatched for France; but he stopped for a time at Berlin to sound the intentions of the prevaricating cabinet of the King of Prussia, and while he was there intelligence received at Vienna and Petersburgh of Bonaparte's having annexed Genoa to France, and of his having intimated by other proceedings that a state of peace on the Continent was not to prevent his aggrandizing himself still further at the expense of his neighbours, led to the envoy's immediate recal, and to the determination of Austria to try again the fortune of war. By a treaty signed at Petersburgh, on the 9th of August, Austria became a member of the league with England, Russia, and Sweden. But Prussia continued in the same dubious state; increasing her armies, avoiding any direct engagement, or even explanation, and, evidently, waiting events, in order to determine which side to take as the most advantageous to herself. Bonaparte had long been holding out the lure of Hanover, and for the possession of those dominions of their old ally and near relative, the King of England, coupled with certain other advantages to be obtained at the expense of the House of Austria, the court of Berlin, or those who directed its affairs, would have gone hand in hand with the Emperor of the French.

Without taking into account the incidents of the preceding year, and with relation to Austria the incidents of a series of years, or nearly all that had happened since the peace of Lunéville, the provocations given by Bonaparte since the opening of the present year were by themselves of a nature and of an extent not to be tolerated. It is absurd to talk or write about treaties and particular clauses, or about the possibility of remaining at peace with France: there could be no peace with her unless she was allowed her way in all things:—it had come to this, that Europe must fight or submit; and the abundant experience of some years had demonstrated what were the effects of submission to a rapacious, remorseless, insatiable power. "The nature of Napoleon," says the Italian historian, "was restless, disordered, constant only in ambition. Therefore he never remained long at the same point, changing continually to rise the higher. It appeared, and it was even solemnly and with magnificent words said by him and by Melzi, the vice-president of the Cisalpine Republic, that the regulations made at Lyons with the Italian Consulta were to be unchangeable and eternal; but before two years had elapsed those regulations were described as defective, insufficient, and not conducive to anything good or lasting. All this signified that he who had made himself an emperor in France must be made a king in Italy. It was not without a design that so many Italians of note had been invited to Paris to attend, in the name of the Cisalpine *Republic*, the Imperial coronation and ceremonies. Melzi, the vice-president; the councillors of state, Marescalchi, Caprara, Paradisi, Fenaroli, Costabili, Luosi, Guicciardi, together with deputies from the colleges, &c., obeyed the summons, and remained some considerable time in France. They were given to understand that the emperor must be king on the other side of the Alps; that the Italian republic was an anomaly, and that the proceedings at Lyons must be condemned and reversed; and at the sign given by Napoleon these Italians promptly obeyed." *

* Carlo Botta.

Among the deputies were several men illustrious by name, and not obscure in individual character or in talent; but implicit obedience was imposed by the sense of weakness and helplessness, and it might honestly be confessed that the republican system had not worked very well in Italy—and if they did not submit to Bonaparte, they must submit again to the Austrians.

On the 17th of March, the Corsican being on his throne in the Tuileries, the Italian deputies bent the knee before him, and vice-president Melzi delivered a studied and most servile address. The Italian said that, taking all things into consideration, it was clearly impossible that his country should preserve her present form of government; that the republican constitution settled at Lyons was but an accidental circumstance corresponding with other accidents of that time; that common sense and experience showed the necessity of instantly changing that constitution, and erecting a monarchy in Italy; and that it followed as a natural consequence that the Italian throne could be occupied only by the great Napoleon. "Thus is it, O Sire," added Melzi, "you willed the Italian republic to be, and it was: now will that the Italian monarchy be happy—it will be!" We may spare the adulation, and, with still better reason, some idle phraseology about a monarchic constitution which Melzi introduced parenthetically into his discourse. When he had done speaking, he presented to the emperor the public act of the Consulta, which prayed the emperor to accept the crown. This act further expressed that the monarchy should be hereditary; that the style should be Napoleon I. King of Italy; that the two crowns of France and Italy should remain united only on the head of Napoleon, and not on the heads of his descendants and successors in France; that he might, however, appoint his own successor in Italy, provided it were not the same prince that was to fill the imperial throne; and that it was hoped that Napoleon would cross the Alps as soon as he conveniently could to receive the crown, and settle definitive laws for the kingdom. The old and brilliant idea of uniting the whole of the Italian peninsula under one government, separate and independent, may have dazzled the minds of some of these poor statesmen, and have blinded them to the indications and proofs which surrounded them of the improbability of Bonaparte ever aiding to work out this day-dream, or ever treating Italy otherwise than as a dependency and adjunct to France. But he knew the note which would flatter and cajole them most; and, therefore, in reply to their act and to Melzi's harangue, Bonaparte declared from the imperial throne that it had ever been his cherished idea to raise the Italian nation to unity, liberty, and independence; that, even while on the banks of the far-off Nile, he had felt for the misfortunes of the Italians; that, thanks to the invincible courage of his soldiers, he had reappeared at Milan when *his* Italian people believed him to be still on the shores of the Red Sea; that, while still covered with the blood and dust of the field of Marengo, he had devoted his thoughts to the best means of re-organising their beautiful country, and making it happy. He added that he accepted the crown which they offered, but which he would only keep so long as the interests of Italy required it. After this acceptance Bonaparte sent Talleyrand over to the senate to declare that the present union of the crown of Italy to that of France was very necessary. And, following close on the heels of his minister for foreign affairs, he appeared in that august assembly himself, and told the senators that his power, or the power of France, was exceeded only by his or its moderation; that Holland, Switzerland, all Italy, and nearly all Germany, had been conquered; but that in the high tide of prosperity the greatest mildness and moderation had been observed: and then he bade them look at the monstrous usurpations and encroachments of other powers—at the iniquitous partition of Poland, at the provinces torn from Turkey by Russia, at the conquests made by the English in India—and judge whether it were not necessary to throw weight into the French scale. They knew, he said, that France had never taken up arms out of a love of conquest or aggrandizement! The senators did what senators were made to do: they echoed, they applauded; they abused the republican form of government, and gave dinners and balls to celebrate the birth of the Italian monarchy. Bonaparte then appointed his step-son and adopted son, *Prince* Eugene Beauharnais, to be viceroy of Italy, and created vice-president Melzi keeper of the seals for that kingdom with an enormous salary. The other Italian deputies were not forgotten; but in the distribution of honours and places some few of them fared but indifferently, because they were reported to have expressed a high regard for constitutional securities. No time was lost in completing this easy work. With a retinue more numerous and more gorgeous than ever had been witnessed under the old kings or emperors, Bonaparte traversed France and crossed the Alps; and on Sunday, the 26th of May, he was crowned in the magnificent cathedral of Milan. The ceremony was not performed by the pope, although Pius VII. was at Turin at the time, but by the archbishop of Milan. The iron crown of the old Longobard kings, whose dynasty had been overthrown by Charlemagne, had been brought with solemn pomp from its sanctuary in the Abbey of Monza, to serve for the occasion. But at Milan, as at Paris, Bonaparte would let no hand but his own place a crown on his head; and seizing the iron emblem with both his hands (for it was heavy), he put it on his brow, saying in his loudest voice, *Dieu me l'a donnè; Gare qui la touche*—(God has given it me;—Woe to him that touches it).

Being crowned with the iron crown of the Longobards, Bonaparte instituted an Italian Order of the "Iron Crown;" and modelled the new kingdom on precisely the same plan as the French empire. On the 7th of June he opened in person

the session of the Italian legislative body, telling the applauding listeners that now there would be an end to all changes and innovations, and to all the miseries and wrongs of Italy. He established his military conscription, and raised the army of Italy to 40,000 or 50,000 men. These Italian troops were of immense service to him in the ensuing campaign; and without them Massena must have been crushed on the Adige by the Archduke Charles. The whole of Upper Italy furnished hardy and well-framed men, who, under proper officers, soon became as good soldiers as any that followed Bonaparte's eagles. At an opportune moment, the Doge of the Republic of Genoa, the shrunk and shrivelled descendant of the noble Durazzi, who had fought for the independence of their country against kings and kaisers, presented himself to the emperor-king with a deputation of Genoese senators and others, and humbly expressed the wish and prayer that Napoleon the Great would cure the evils of Genoa by uniting it to the French empire. It might have been expected that the prayer would have been for a union with the new kingdom of Italy, and this would have harmonized with the Italian day-dream; but this was not in the instructions previously given by Bonaparte's agents to Doge Durazzo, who, like the clown in a Neapolitan fable, could utter only those words which had been put into his mouth. On the 9th of June an Imperial Decree united the Genoese or Ligurian Republic to France—and, it said, for ever. But the great destroyer of republican institutions had not yet completed his work; and he proceeded to transform the ancient republic of Lucca into a new principality, which was given to his sister Eliza, and her complacent Corsican husband Baciocchi, to be held as a fief of the French empire. After this the only republic that was left in Italy was San Marino, with its hill territory not so extensive as a second-rate English parish, with its population of 6000 souls, and its grape-treaders and vintners for presidents and captains. The annexation of Genoa gave to France one of the finest harbours and one of the richest arsenals in the Mediterranean: that state alone was quite capable of fitting out twelve good ships of the line; and the Genoese are indisputably about the best sailors in those seas. By the treaty of Lunéville, which Bonaparte had concluded with the Emperor of Germany, the independence of Genoa and the other then existing Italian republics had been solemnly guaranteed, together with the independence of the Swiss republics, which the French ruled over as masters, and the independence of the Batavian republic, which they continued to occupy as conquered territory. Bonaparte himself well knew that his taking possession of Genoa must hasten the rupture both with Austria and Russia; but he declared that such a possession was worth the risks of another war. It should appear, however, that he mistook the Austrian slowness for timidity, and deceived himself, down almost to the moment when she took the field, with the notion that Austria would not so soon measure swords with the victor of Marengo. On his return from Italy he gave a new impulse to the preparations for the invasion of England, and spoke of it publicly as an attempt fully resolved upon, and not to be prevented by any occurrences whatever. He repaired again to the coast, and dated several striking and important decrees from "the Imperial camp of Boulogne." The army of England, as it was called, increased rather than diminished, still lay at Boulogne; the flotillas had been increased, and a junction was making between the French fleets and the fleets of Spain. But, to say nothing of the doubt which still exists, and will ever exist, as to the reality of his intention to risk his army and person in this desperate enterprise, as Nelson at Trafalgar annihilated the united fleets, without which the invasion was an absolute impracticability, as that battle would have been fought whether there had been a coalition or not, and as the continental war affected on neither side the forces whose battle-field was the wide ocean, it is absurd to say, as some French writers continue to do, that it was the hostile movement of Russia and Austria, brought about by English gold, that saved England from invasion, if not from conquest. England was safe through the cannon fired at Trafalgar, though not a gun had been fired on the Continent, and though Bonaparte had been left undisturbed to parade his troops on the coast, as he had already done for years. Towards the end of August Bonaparte returned once more to Boulogne, and the 'Moniteur' announced that this journey was the prelude to the invasion of England. But on the 28th of that month it was publicly announced that the army of England was to become the army of Germany, that the Emperor Francis had attacked an ally of Napoleon, that the Emperor Alexander was marching, that the Continent was in flames. And forthwith the 150,000 men collected at Boulogne and along that coast struck their tents, and, forming into five separate corps, marched away with admirable rapidity for the Rhine. At the same time other troops were set in motion from the interior of France, and marching orders were sent to Bernadotte, who commanded a *corps d'armée* in Hanover, and to Marmont, who commanded another in Holland. No mode of excitement had been neglected: all these immense bodies of troops commenced their long march with joyous and confident feelings, the army of England rejoicing at their escape from the miseries and dangers of the sea, and the agonies of sea-sickness.* There was at first a great want of ready money; but Bonaparte remedied this deficiency by seizing 50,000,000 of francs out of the deposits in the National Bank, which his own laws and codes had decreed to be

* Bonaparte thought it would not be a difficult matter to accustom landsmen to the sea; and, whenever the absence of the English ships of war permitted, the soldiers were embarked, a few hundreds at a time, and the flotilla put out to sea, or stretched along the coast. As this generally happened in rough weather, the land heroes suffered severely. They longed for an active campaign on their own element, for forced marches, for battles, for anything rather than this tearing of the viscera.

sacred and unapproachable. This deed, however, which utterly destroyed public credit for a time, created many malcontents, and, in co-operation with other causes of disaffection, it would have led to a revolution at home if Bonaparte had not proved victorious abroad. The imperial throne was as yet new and unsteady, and it may be received as a certainty that it would have been overthrown if he had met with any serious reverse. Such was the decided opinion of Fouché, who knew better than any man the state of the public mind, and how revolutions and counter-revolutions were brought about in France. "We must have splendid victories and glory to dazzle the Parisians," said the minister of police to his emperor, "or all will be lost, and everything undone that we have been doing!"—"You will be responsible for the tranquillity and loyalty of Paris and of France during my absence," said Bonaparte. "Willingly," replied the ex-Jacobin; "but you must gain great victories, and send us good bulletins to put into the 'Moniteur.'" In his kind the minister of police contributed stock and material for facilitating his master's victories; he furnished each of the *corps d'armée* with a well-selected body of spies, some native French, some Germans from the Rhine, some desperate and tried adventurers from other countries; he corresponded directly with all the French diplomatists resident in the neutral, friendly, or fear-subdued parts of Germany; and he particularly pointed out the advantages to be derived from cultivating a close acquaintance with the trading German Jews, who had connexions and correspondents everywhere, and who were ready to do anything for money. And it was by such agencies as these that the progress of the French was facilitated. Every movement made or contemplated by the Austrians was known at French head-quarters with astonishing rapidity; the secrets of the cabinet of Vienna itself were in several instances revealed; and there appears to have been scarcely one *état-major*, or general staff, but had its spy or spies, its traitor or traitors, sold to France. It is notorious that similar practices had been adopted before, and had contributed essentially to the brilliant success of Bonaparte's Italian campaigns; but they were now extended and systematized by the genius of Fouché.

Marshals Soult, Davoust, Ney, Lannes, and Murat led the five great columns which were marching from Boulogne. Bonaparte remained some time longer at Paris; and on the 23rd of September he prefaced his departure by going in state to the senate, and there delivering an exciting speech on the causes of the present war. "The wishes of the eternal enemies of the Continent," said he, "are at last fulfilled; war is begun in the middle of Germany. Austria and Russia have joined England, and our generation is plunged again into all the calamities of war. . . . . The Austrian army has crossed the Inn: the Elector of Bavaria has been driven away from his capital; all my hopes of the preservation of peace have vanished. In this instance the wickedness of the enemies of the Continent has fully revealed itself. They feared the manifestation of my deep love for peace; they feared that Austria, at the sight of the abyss they have dug under her feet, might return to sentiments of justice and moderation, and they have hurried her into war. I sigh in thinking of the blood that this will cost Europe; but the French name shall derive a fresh lustre from it. Senators, when, at your request, at the voice of the whole French people, I assumed the imperial crown, I received of you, and of all citizens, a solemn engagement to preserve it pure, and without stain. My people will rush to the standard of their emperor and of his army, which in a few days will have crossed the frontiers. Magistrates, soldiers, citizens, all are determined to keep our country free from the influence of England, who, if she should prevail, would grant us none but an ignominious peace, the principal conditions of which would be the burning of our fleets, the filling up of our harbours, and the annihilation of our industry. . . . . "

He then travelled post to Mayence or Mainz, and took the command of the "Grand Army," a name which was afterwards always applied to the army while he commanded in person.

After hesitating so long, and thereby occasioning delays on the part of the Emperor Alexander, the cabinet of Vienna precipitated measures, and took the field too soon; for the Russians, who had to perform an immense march before they could reach the banks of the Upper Danube, were still far off when the Austrians commenced operations. By a strange fatality, the Emperor Francis had given the command of his main army to General, now Field-Marshal, Mack, who had the art or knack still to pass with the Aulic Council as a great military genius, and the best of tacticians and strategists. His shameful discomfiture in the south of Italy, in the year 1799, was attributed solely to the bad, unwarlike qualities of the Neapolitan troops; with the steady veterans of the Emperor, the sturdy Austrian infantry, the active light troops of Bohemia, and the brilliant cavalry of Hungary, he would do better, nay, must conquer, and rescue the whole of Germany from the thraldom of the French. Of this confidence he had himself the fullest share, and therefore when he began to move he moved with almost unprecedented rapidity (for an Austrian army), setting at defiance the old national caution and circumspection, which indeed had been the main causes of many a reverse, and seeming more anxious for a battle with Bonaparte without them than for the arrival of the Russians, about whom he was accustomed to speak in rather contemptuous language. Francis's best general, his brother, the Archduke Charles, was detached with a much smaller army into Upper Italy; and his brother, the Archduke John, who had also displayed both bravery and ability, was stationed, with still inferior forces, in the passes of the Tyrol, to keep up a communication between the army of

Germany under Mack and the army of Italy under his brother Charles. An army of reserve, called the army of Bohemia, and being about 40,000 strong, lay in the rear of Mack and covered Vienna and the hereditary states; and another *corps d'armée*, called the army of Gallicia, was disposed so as to meet the Russians on their march and then co-operate with them. The total number of forces to be brought into the field by the allies was estimated by the French at 500,000 men, and might probably amount to 350,000 or 400,000; but a large proportion of the Austrians were raw recruits and levies that not only had never been under fire, but that had not yet mastered the rudiments of the drill-ground; and they were divided and subdivided and scattered over an immense extent of country, with the Alps and other mountains, with the Inn, the Danube, and other rivers, between them. Mack, who was in the van of all, never had under his immediate command more than 80,000 men. Bavaria, one of the hereditary enemies of the House of Austria, had, as much through selfish calculation and ancient antipathy as through fear of the modern conquerors of Europe, devoted itself to France. Before Mack reached the banks of the Inn, the Emperor Francis dispatched the Prince of Schwartzenberg to Munich to negociate with the Elector Maximilian Joseph, to call upon him as a member of the Germanic league to rise against the oppressors of their common country, and to join the Bavarian army to those that were fighting for the independence of Germany. The elector assured Schwartzenberg that his heart was in the great cause, that he had fully decided in favour of Austria, and that he had only a few conditions to propose which, he trusted, the emperor would not refuse. Maximilian Joseph even wrote to the emperor to assure him that he would join the Bavarian troops to the Austrian army; but that he must implore for some little delay and management, as his son was travelling in the south of France, and would be made responsible if he openly joined the coalition. "On my knees," said he, "I implore you to let me remain neutral for a time—it is an afflicted father praying for his son." He solemnly promised never to join his troops to the army of Bonaparte. But at the same time the elector's prime minister, Montgelas, who was wholly in the French interest, and who had probably already touched some of the golden napoleons which had been carried off from the national bank, was holding a very different language with Bonaparte's ambassador, M. Otto; and the elector himself, not many hours after writing to the Emperor Francis, wrote with his own hand a note to Otto stating that the Austrians had already placed their pontoons on the Inn, and were on the point of entering Bavaria; that, if he openly declared that he had concluded a treaty of alliance with France, his army and his country would be lost; that he wished to keep his word with the Emperor of the French without provoking the wrath of the cabinet of Vienna; that nothing but a short neutrality could save him; that he was bewildered and knew not what to do. "If the Austrian minister," said he to M. Otto, "should offer me neutrality on condition that I do not permit my troops to move a step, and that I remain perfectly quiet, what answer would you advise me to give him? I am ready to sacrifice everything, even my liberty, to prove to the Emperor Napoleon that I wish to fulfil my engagements. But, if your army does not come soon, all is lost. The enemy (the Austrians) will have time to take up the best positions in Bavaria, and it will cost a great many men and much trouble to dislodge them." Three days after this, or on the 8th of September, the elector wrote again to the French ambassador. "Have pity on me," said he, "for I am the most unhappy of men..... My situation is more than painful. You know that the Prince of Schwartzenberg was authorised to treat with me. I had therefore no longer an excuse for not sending some one to Vienna. And yet to break my word, to appear double in the eyes of the Emperor Napoleon, my protector, is what, I hope, will soon carry me to the grave. The Austrians are to enter Bavaria to-day; my troops are not yet collected .... I am not sure whether I can quit this place ..... I have lost my head!..... This morning I have written to the Emperor of Germany: I have told him that my son is in France, that he is lost unless he grant me neutrality. I have implored him on both my knees. What would you advise me to do?" Otto's advice was simply this: that the elector should immediately quit Munich and retire to Wurtzberg, collect his troops on the opposite frontier of Franconia, and there await the arrival of the grand army of Napoleon; and this advice Maximilian Joseph immediately acted upon. The secret negociations which had long been carried on between Munich and Paris were not wholly unknown at Vienna; and the sudden departure of the elector and the movement of his troops told a very intelligible story. The Emperor Francis, on the 14th of September, wrote from Hetzendorf a reproachful letter to Maximilian, who had thus failed in what was, or ought to have been, the cause of all Germans: he reminded him of his promise to join his troops to the Austrian army, and told him that he had been ready and was still willing to grant him all the conditions which he had asked for—to permit even the Bavarian troops to serve as a separate *corps d'armée*, although he thought it would be more advantageous to intermix them with his own army. Was this a moment, when the French were collecting on the Rhine, for the princes of Germany to quarrel about trifles? "The recent conduct of the French," said Francis, "in Baden, at Cassel, and Stuttgard, will enable your serene highness to judge whether the neutrality of Bavaria was a thing possible to be obtained, and even whether you, my brother and cousin, would have had it in your power to fulfil your promise never to employ your troops against me." The emperor further

told the elector that, if a courier had been dispatched at the moment that he pledged himself to the Prince of Schwartzenberg, his son might have quitted France before any measures could have been taken against him. But the truth appears to be that the elector had no desire to recal his son, that his son was anxious rather to remain in France than to quit it; and that the matrimonial alliance which soon connected the ancient line of Bavaria with the family of Bonaparte formed a part of the elector's secret engagements with France, or had at least been verbally agreed upon. Moreover, to induce Maximilian to quit Munich and withdraw his troops, Otto held out the lure of a kingly crown in lieu of an electoral coronet, and the tempting offer of a great increase of territory to be taken from Austria; assuring him at the same time that the occupation of Bavaria by the Austrians would be but a temporary evil or accident, which would soon be remedied by the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon at the head of the grand army. The Emperor Francis conjured Maximilian to retrace his steps while there was yet time, and to send his troops to co-operate with him and the Emperor Alexander, who would both be deeply grieved to find themselves obliged to treat his serene highness otherwise than as a friend, brother, and cousin. To this letter, which certainly betrays no violence of urgency and no harsh conditions, no stipulations but such as the emperor as suzerain of Germany had a right to demand, and as a German to expect, from the elector, Maximilian replied, on the 21st of September, in an evasive and most paltry manner. He was anxious to retain the emperor's friendship, but still more anxious to preserve his own unhappy provinces from the horrors of war; he owed it to his unfortunate subjects and to himself not to lavish their blood in a quarrel which did not concern them, and in a war against the French, who had never done the Bavarians any injury;—this was the original motive of the absolute and complete neutrality which he had claimed of the emperor;—he had withdrawn his troops because they had been threatened with the dishonour of being disarmed by the Austrians, but he would never join them to the French army;—this was his unalterable resolution, from which no menaces of France should ever drive him. The Bavarian army counted from 18,000 to 20,000 men, well disciplined, well armed and accoutred, the cavalry being particularly excellent. Such a force thrown into either scale was highly important; if arrayed on the side of the French it weakened the Austrians to the extent of 36,000 or 40,000 men; it therefore behoved the emperor to make every effort to secure it on his side. Under a mere military point of view the occupation of Bavaria was a serious fault;—the Austrians would have done much better to have remained far behind the Inn, on the Danube, and to have awaited the arrival of the Russians on their own territory and in well-chosen positions;—but, under a political and even under a moral point of view, we can see nothing to blame in the occupation, or in any part of the correspondence and conduct of the court of Vienna. Such an un-German line of conduct as that which had long been pursued by the court of Munich would not have been practicable but for the popular antipathies, the old quarrels, jealousies, and grudges between the Bavarians and their neighbours the subjects of the emperor; and the same inveterate feelings, in full action in so many other parts of Germany, were what kept weak and disjointed the great and ancient confederacy, and offered in so many states sympathy, welcome, and co-operation to Bonaparte. The oppression and insolence of years, the acme of Gallic tyranny, was required to scourge this madness out of Germany, and really to unite that manly people in one common cause. Not only did Prussia remain neutral, but the Elector of Baden, in whose territory the Duke d'Enghien had been kidnapped, and the Elector of Wurtemburg, followed the same line of conduct as his serene highness of Bavaria. If Prussia had fallen upon the French in flank as they were advancing against the Austrians, the consequence must have been fatal to the invaders; but she professed to be neutral and impartial; the daring violation of her own territory by French troops could not rouse her; and she kept her splendid army of 200,000 men in perfect inactivity. In vain Pitt offered his subsidies, in vain the Emperor Alexander repaired in person to Berlin; that selfish, paltry cabinet would do nothing, or nothing yet; and this indecision lasted until the coalition was ruined.

Not satisfied with the advance he had already made, Mack, that fatal tactitian, left the Inn and the capital of Bavaria far behind him, and, approaching the Rhine and the frontiers of France, took possession of Ulm, Memmingen, and the line of the Iller and the Upper Danube, where he fortified himself with great care, as if to watch the defiles of the Black Forest, and as if fully persuaded that the French could take no other route than that, and could attack him only in front. But the front was precisely where Bonaparte never meant to attack: his plan of campaign was to turn Mack's flank, to cut him off from his own country and resources, then to close the French columns upon him, envelope him, and reduce him to the alternative of surrendering without fighting or of fighting without a chance of success against concentrated forces far superior in number to his own. And to execute this brilliant conception the seven columns of the grand army marched in separate lines, which all converged towards one point, and each of which was to be followed without any regard to the neutrality of intervening states. These combined movements were admirably executed; but the wide separations of the French forces were such as would have afforded many an opportunity for attacking them singly, and as did afford to Prussia a most tempting opportunity for crushing and annihilating the column which Bernadotte was leading from Hanover, and which was charged

with the most important operation of all—that of picking up the Elector of Bavaria's troops and acting in union with them on Mack's rear. Bernadotte could not pursue his appointed line of march without traversing Anspach, which belonged to the King of Prussia, and Hesse Cassel and other territories whose neutrality his Prussian majesty had guaranteed; and some of the most important military blunders which Mack committed may be excused by the dull credulity which induced him and the court of Vienna to believe that the French would not dare to set the law of nations at defiance and so grossly insult Prussia; or that, if they should so dare, the provocation would bring the Prussian army into the field to bar the road to Bernadotte and destroy him; and that thus in either case Mack's right wing would be covered, and the roads on that side which led to his rear and to the Bavarian army be blocked up at their heads to every enemy. But, after so long an experience of the degree of respect which the French paid to the law of nations, and of the extent of the baseness of which the court of Berlin was capable, this fatal credulity, which furnished in a manner the basis of Mack's strategy, was unaccountable, unpardonable. Bernadotte, obeying his emperor's instructions to the letter,* and meeting with no obstruction whatever from the Prussians, passed rapidly on his way, effected his junction with the Bavarians, threw himself in Mack's rear, and, from that moment, the fate of the campaign was decided! But, though Prussia had been so complacent to the French, she was transported with a zeal for the observances of neutrality when the Russians came upon her territories or those of her neighbours; and, through this zeal and the delicate scruples of the czar and his generals, the march was lengthened by a *détour*, and eight or ten precious days were lost. The plan of the coalition, indeed, encountered everywhere obstacles to its strategetical development, whereas Bonaparte's plan was everywhere seconded; that which was an obstacle to his enemies was no obstacle to him; scruples which made them weak made him strong; he had trampled under foot the principle of neutrality.†

To confirm and keep Mack in his error, Murat, who had crossed the Rhine at Kehl, approached the Black Forest and manœuvred in the Austrian front. In the meanwhile Soult, who had crossed the Rhine at Spires, directed his march upon Augsburg, on the river Lech, immediately in Mack's rear and about midway between the fortress of Ulm and the capital of Bavaria; and Davoust, Vandamme, and Marmont, who had entered Germany from different points considerably to the northward of Mack's positions, turned his right wing and gave the hand to Soult at Augsburg. Some of these corps manœuvred over the ground which had been made memorable by the British campaign of Blenheim, and fought victoriously on precisely the same spots where the French had been so thoroughly beaten by our great Marlborough. The very first encounter took place at Donawerth, on the bank of the Danube, where one Austrian regiment most gallantly defended a bridge against the entire column of Vandamme. A second affair took place on the same spot between a division of French dragoons and an Austrian regiment of cuirassiers. But the most important action was fought at Wertingen, between Ulm and Augsburg, where Murat and Lannes with eighty squadrons of horse encountered twelve battalions of Hungarian grenadiers and four squadrons of Austrian cuirassiers. The combat was long and terrible; the loss of the French in killed and wounded was great; the grenadiers formed into squares and threw the French cavalry off at the point of the bayonet; the squares were not to be broken by cavalry charges; nor would they have been broken at all, but for the timely arrival of some artillery and General Oudinot's grenadiers, who, when they were wearied by their long exertions, plied them with grape-shot, charged them with the bayonet, and put an end to the combat. Bonaparte, who by this time had joined Soult at Augsburg, where he quietly directed that circumvallation which was to embrace Mack with a circle of fire and steel, made a great deal of the affair of Wertingen, and sent crosses of the Legion of Honour to those who had most distinguished themselves in it. Yet the brave Hungarian grenadiers retired in excellent order, and with their faces to the foe. It was only the united imbecility and treachery of their commanders that could rob these superb troops of victory, and dishearten and demoralize them. If a detachment had been at hand to support them, the French cavalry must have been routed at Wertingen; but the French always had such reinforcements to throw into action at the opportune moment, and the Austrians, whatever might be the strength of their army, never, or most rarely, had anything of the kind. This was on the 10th of October. A day or two after, Soult surprised and captured an entire Austrian division at Memmingen; Dupont repelled an attack made upon him by the Archduke Ferdinand; and Ney routed that archduke at Elchingen and at the bridges over the Danube at Guntzburg, taking from the archduke most of his guns and nearly 3000 men. If, instead of attacking by divisions, Mack had concentrated all his forces at Ulm, he might, with comparative ease, have burst through the ring which Bonaparte was drawing round him, have re-established his communications with the Archduke John, who was now descending from the Tyrol by forced marches, have thrown himself between the French and Vienna, and have waited there for the arrival of the Russians, who were now in full march for Moravia; or, if unable to maintain himself in front of Vienna, he might have crossed the Danube below that city, and have gone

* Bonaparte's instructions to Bernadotte as to Hesse Cassel, or any other neutral territory he might find on his way, were very concise: "*Pass on*, by all means; pass, by ruse, force, or good will; only pass!"

† Capefigue.

into Moravia to meet the advancing columns of the Russians; and in this case a battle might have been fought on the plains of Austerlitz, with a very different force, and under far better auspices than subsequently attended the terrible conflict on those plains. But Mack was betrayed by others even more than he was duped by his own egregious folly: Schulmeister, a German spy in the pay of Fouché, was "the tempting demon" of the Austrian staff; he glided through the postern gates of Ulm more than once during the approach of the French; and it appears that the lying information he gave to some, and the money he distributed to others, conduced more than anything to Mack's blindness and final catastrophe. After the affair of Guntzburg there was scarcely any more fighting, but a system of capitulations was commenced, and detached masses of troops surrendered to the French without firing a musket. In every case the men were sent into France as prisoners of war; but the officers, after being treated with an affectation of kindness, were liberated upon their parole not to serve again during this war. Within twelve days after Bonaparte had crossed the Rhine Mack's doom was sealed—he was shut up in Ulm, as old Marshal Wurmser had been in Mantua, without a hope or a possibility of being relieved. Ulm, however, was a fortress of some strength, and something might be expected from Mack's despair: if bread and other provisions were rather scanty, there were 3000 or more horses in the place, and brave men would have done what Mack once talked of doing—they would have killed and eaten their horses before they capitulated. Even a siege of short duration would have been fatal to Bonaparte, for the advanced season of the year was unfavourable to such operations, and he would soon have had the Russians upon his rear, and the united armies of the Archdukes Charles and John upon his flank. To take such a place with such an immense garrison in it by storm, must have cost him some thousands of men: the desperate attempt too might have failed; and then would have followed discouragement and confusion. It might have been that Mack's very blunder should have served the cause of the coalition better than the best generalship; but for this chance a hero would have been required, and Mack's courage appears to have been upon a par with his military genius. Bonaparte certainly expected some desperate conflict, for it was difficult to conceive that such a force, so well placed, would surrender without fighting. He delivered one of his stirring addresses to the French soldiers, calling upon them to avenge themselves at Ulm for the loss of the plunder of London, of which (so he told them) they would have been in possession before now, if it had not been for this new, and by the French unprovoked, continental war. But when he had dispatched the Count de Segur with a flag of truce to propose terms of capitulation to Mack, or when that alert, sagacious, and quick-sighted envoy had returned to headquarters, every apprehension of a protracted resistance, or of a desperate conflict, vanished; and Bonaparte saw that Ulm and all in it would be his without risking the life of a man, or burning one cartridge more. Mack blabbed and babbled to Segur like an old woman, betraying his imbecility, his timidity, his hopelessness, his total want of the heart and energy of a man. The Frenchman proposed that he should capitulate at the end of five days, unless the Russians should appear to relieve him: Mack asked for eight days, telling Segur that he really had provisions for *ten* days. Bonaparte sent Segur back again, and ordered Marshal Berthier to accompany him. Mack admitted both the civilian and the French general into Ulm, without resorting to any of the precautions usual on such occasions. The un-bandaged, quick, and practised eyes of Berthier saw at a glance that there was no preparation for, or intention of, fighting; that the commander-in-chief had infected his officers and men with his own dastardliness. Segur now told Mack that the Emperor Napoleon would graciously grant him the eight days he asked him; but that they must date from two days back, or from the time that the French took up positions in front of Ulm. Mack, however, struggled hard for the eight days; and at last an agreement was signed that there should be an armistice until the 26th of October at midnight; and that if, during this interval, an Austrian or Russian army should appear to raise the blockade, the army at Ulm should have liberty to join it, with arms and baggage: this was late in the evening of the 17th of October; and the time stipulated would have been in various ways advantageous to the allies, even though no fresh force should arrive. But on the 19th Mack rode out of Ulm, and had a private interview with Bonaparte in the ancient abbey of Elchingen. All that passed at that interview is not likely to be ever known; but the result was that Mack consented to a revision of the terms which had been granted on the 17th, and signed a second capitulation, wherein he agreed to evacuate Ulm, and give up his army and everything in the town on the very next day, the 20th of October. In coming out of Bonaparte's apartment in the abbey, Segur heard Mack say, "It is cruel to be thus dishonoured before so many brave officers. I have, however, in my pocket my opinion in writing, and signed, wherein I objected to the scattering of my army: but I never really commanded that army; the Archduke Ferdinand was there!" This throwing the blame upon another was characteristic of the man, and a termination quite in keeping with the whole affair.

On the morning of the 20th the Austrians came out of Ulm, and defiled before Bonaparte: the infantry then threw down their arms at the back of the ditch; the cavalry dismounted, and delivered up their arms and their horses to some of the French cavalry who had lost their own horses in the campaign. The poor Austrians, in the act of surrendering their arms, shouted, Long live the Emperor Francis! Mack, who was there, replied

ULM. From an original Sketch by Batty.

to some French officers, who addressed him without knowing who he was, "Messieurs, you see before you the unhappy Mack—*vous voyez devant vous le malheureux Mack.*" Bonaparte, who had been humming an opera air, as was his wont in his moments of extasy and triumph, said to some of the Austrian generals, "Messieurs, it is very unfortunate for brave men like you to be the victims of a cabinet which dreams but of insensate projects, and makes a traffic of your services to England and Russia. It was iniquitous to think of seizing me by the throat without a declaration of war; but it was betraying you, your country, all civilized Europe, to bring in the barbarous hordes of Russia to meddle in our quarrels. Instead of attacking me without motive, your Aulic Council ought to ally itself with me, in order to drive back the Russian army. This alliance of your cabinet with Russia is a thing monstrous in history! . . . . Your master, the emperor, is waging an unjust war with me. I tell you frankly that I do not know why I am fighting, or what they would have of me. My resources are not limited to this single army:—even if they were, this army and I would go a long way yet! But I will appeal to the report of your own prisoners, who are going to be marched through France, and who will see what a spirit animates my people, and with what eagerness they will rush to my banner. This is but the vanguard of my nation! At a word 200,000 men will willingly and joyfully rush to join me, and in six weeks they will be good soldiers; whereas your recruits will march only upon compulsion; and it will require years to make soldiers of them! I will still give a bit of advice to my brother the Emperor of Germany—let him hasten to make peace! This is a moment for him to recollect that all empires have an end! The idea of the approaching ruin of his dynasty ought to terrify him. I want nothing on the Continent:—ships, colonies, commerce, these are what I want, and these will be as advantageous to you as to me!"

A very few days after this he received intelligence of the annihilation of his fleets at Trafalgar, which happened on the 21st of October, on the very day after Mack's surrender. It clouded his triumph, and for a time depressed his spirits. He peevishly remarked, "I cannot be everywhere!"

But his presence at Trafalgar, in a ship of the line, would have been much more useless than that of Nelson on horseback would have been in this campaign on the Danube. Great sea-battles are not to be won by soldiers. Bonaparte knew next to nothing of sea affairs; and his Admiral Villeneuve, an excellent sailor, and a brave man, had done all that mortal man could do when contending with Nelson. Yet he spitefully censured Villeneuve's conduct, and easily made the French believe that, if he could only have been with the combined fleets, Nelson would have been beaten, and the way opened to the invasion of England.

Different accounts are given of the number of the troops which Mack delivered up at Ulm. Segur says that Mack told him he had 24,000 fighting men, and 3000 sick and wounded; but Segur adds that on the morning of the 20th the Austrians that surrendered amounted to 33,000. Other accounts give 25,000, 28,000, and 30,000; and it appears certain that the number far exceeded 20,000. There were, besides, immense trains of artillery, a depôt of arms and military stores, a prodigious quantity of gunpowder, baggage, &c. &c., which all became the easy prey of the conqueror. All the officers were liberated on parole; but the men and the captured standards were all sent into France. Including the scattered detachments which had capitulated on other points, from 40,000 to 50,000 Austrians were carried across the Rhine before the campaign was a month old. In dismissing the Austrian officers, who were not naturally disposed to look with a very friendly eye on the Russians, Bonaparte dwelt again on the evil consequences which must attend the alliance of Austria with George III. and the Emperor Alexander; he again spoke of his own earnest desire to have peace with the Emperor Francis; and he bade them observe that he was constantly followed by his chief diplomatist and minister for foreign affairs, M. de Talleyrand, who was ready at every moment to open conferences, and arrange the conditions of a treaty. These artful addresses made a considerable impression; and the notion was rapidly communicated by these returning officers, that liberal terms would be granted to Austria, and that the wrath of Bonaparte was directed solely against Russia and England.*

Having re-instated the Elector Maximilian Joseph in Munich his capital, Bonaparte, in proclamations, bulletins, and Moniteur articles, called upon the world to notice his unvarying respect for treaties and for the law of nations, his moderation in the hour of victory, his disinterested attachment to his Bavarian ally, on whose account alone he had undertaken this war. At the end of October he quitted Munich to advance upon Vienna; but his aide-de-camp, Duroc, brought intelligence from Berlin of a very disquieting nature; and that cabinet now seemed really to threaten to join the coalition, and throw its fine army on the French left flank and rear. Nevertheless he marched forward, having in his rear the fresh division of Augereau, who had advanced from France at the head of an army of reserve, a force altogether unequal to have contended with the Prussian army, if the cabinet of Berlin had given that army fighting orders. Ney manœuvred upon Bonaparte's right, and was ready to repel any descent which might be made from the Tyrol; and Murat was on his left, watching the motions of an Austrian division under the Archduke Ferdinand, who, indignantly refusing to join in the capitulation of Ulm, had gallantly cut their way into Bohemia, and there united themselves with the army of reserve stationed in that kingdom, and with fragments of detachments and of regiments who, like themselves, had escaped from the mortal circle of the French. Full in his front Bonaparte found a mixed army of Russians and Austrians, who had been pressing forward to relieve Mack, but who now had nothing left to do but to retreat behind Vienna and the Danube into Moravia, where the main army of the Russians was collected with their young emperor at their head. But, though through the great inferiority of their number this retreat was imperative, the allied forces retired fighting; the presumptuousness of the French van met with several sanguinary checks, and the grand army discovered that the Russian infantry was an enemy far more terrible than any they had recently contended with.* As the French approached Vienna, the Emperor Francis and his family fled from it into Moravia, leaving strict but scarcely necessary orders to the Viennese not to bring down ruin upon themselves and their city by attempting to defend it. It was on the 7th of November that Francis took his departure from his capital; and late on the evening of that day his envoy, Count Giulay, reached Bonaparte's headquarters then established at Lintz, on the Danube, and only four or five days' march from Vienna, to propose an armistice as the prelude to a general negotiation for peace. Although now more seriously alarmed than ever at the countenance Prussia was assuming, the conqueror refused to listen to any proposals, unless Venice and the Tyrol were given up to him, and the alliance with Russia and England instantly broken. "Separate yourselves from the Russians," said he, "and all will go well. I want nothing better than a good treaty of peace, although I am at the head of 200,000 men. I have delivered Bavaria in execution of my engagements; and I would now deliver Austria from the Russians, who are occupying your country like conquerors." Disheartened as was the Austrian cabinet, and anxious as was the emperor to preserve his beloved subjects of his hereditary states

* The St. Helena Mémoires—Savary (Duc de Rovigo), Mémoires—Bourrienne—Rapp.

* Bonaparte was exceedingly incensed at the rashness of his brother-in-law Murat, who, as usual, was in the van, and flourishing away with his cavalry, without due attention to the infantry behind him, or to the other divisions of the army. "That Murat," said he, "is rushing on like a blind man! He will get us into a scrape. He is leaving the columns of Mortier exposed to the enemy. Other columns may be crushed. Berthier, give him orders to stop! These Russians are devils." Mortier was in fact all but sacrificed.

VIENNA.

from the woes of war and a military occupation, Count Giulay refused to accept these hard conditions: he drove back to his master; and on the following morning the heads of Bonaparte's columns were all put into motion, and pointed towards Vienna. On the 13th of November the French took undisputed and quiet possession of that proud capital, which had stood in former ages so many sieges, and which had seen the Moslem conquerors twice retreat from before its walls. There had been an abundance of time to allow of the removing of all such things; the grand united army in Moravia was very badly provided; the Russians were in want of almost everything; but the Austrian managers of these matters appear to have thought it better to keep their military stores, arms, clothing, and provisions for the use of their enemies than to send them to their friends, for the French found in the magazines of Vienna and its suburbs an immense quantity of all these things. Bonaparte gave a part of the spoils to the Elector of Bavaria, whose troops were fighting under his banner, and whose un-German heart was triumphing in the calamity and humiliation of Austria. The new Emperor of the French took up his abode in Schonbrunn, the splendid palace of the far-descended Emperor Francis; he appointed one of his generals governor of Vienna; and conducted himself in all things like the sovereign of the country. And so spiritless were the burghers of Vienna, that they looked on with a quiet and apparently not unpleased astonishment; and lived in a very neighbourly manner with the French officers and troops. Many times the report was confidently spread that peace had been concluded between Napoleon and Francis; and this, connected with other occurrences and indications, was likely to damp the spirit and embarrass the councils of the Russians, who had marched so far only to meet a beaten, disheartened, unsteady ally.

In the meanwhile, the Archduke Charles, after fighting some desperate battles on the Adige, at Caldiero, and other points, had been driven out of

ARCHDUKE CHARLES.

Italy by the superior forces of Marshal Massena; one of his blundering or traitorous generals had allowed himself to be surrounded, and had then surrendered with 5000 men, and without firing a shot; and, on the 1st of November, the archduke had commenced his retreat through the mountain passes of Carinthia, with the intention of throwing himself into Hungary. He was hard pressed in the rear by Massena; but he kept his army in admirable order, checked and severely punished his pursuers, and reached Laybach, and there waited the arrival of his brother the Archduke John, whom Ney was driving out of the Tyrol. After some hard fighting and rapid and brilliant movements, the Archduke John formed the junction; but several Austrian detachments which had been left on insulated positions were compelled to surrender, and the whole of the Tyrol or its passes, as well as the whole of Upper Italy, were left to the undisturbed possession of the French. The united armies of the two brothers were rapidly increased by volunteers from the Tyrol, from Croatia, and those other mountainous regions which lie between the head of the Adriatic and the banks of the Danube, and which had so long supplied the Austrian army with the finest light troops in the world.* The two archdukes, moreover, were in communication with Hungary, where a brave and warlike population was flying to arms. On the other side Massena established himself at Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, and there came into direct communication with the grand army in the valley of the Danube. But Massena had been compelled to leave a large portion of his forces behind him to secure Upper Italy, and was not in a state either to annoy the Archdukes Charles and John, or to give any weighty co-operation to Bonaparte.

The Court of Berlin had dispatched Count Haugwitz to Vienna to confer with Bonaparte; but they had given him instructions to loiter on the road to wait events, and to do nothing that should commit Prussia until it was seen more clearly what was likely to be the result of a general battle between the Emperor of the French and the two allied emperors. In their calculation of chances the shuffling statesmen of Berlin appear to have fancied that crossing the Danube, and penetrating into the heart of Moravia, and into the very midst of Bohemians, Hungarians, and Croatians, all in arms, would be fatal to Bonaparte, and finish this war, and his astonishing career, without any exertion or sacrifice on the part of Prussia. Tired of waiting for the tardy Haugwitz, and determined to wait no longer, Bonaparte dashed across the Danube on the 22nd of November and established the main body of his army on the frontiers of Moravia. He next pushed boldly forward to the very centre of that country, and fixed his head quarters at Brunn, its little capital. The Emperors Francis and Alexander retreated before him as far as Olmutz, nearly at the opposite extremity of Moravia; but this retrograde movement was made only for the sake of forming a readier junction with a fresh Russian division which had entered the province under the command of General Buxhowden. When this junction was effected the army of the allies amounted to about 80,000 men; but unhappily most of the Austrian portion of it were either men discouraged and militarily demoralized, or raw levies. The slow-moving Haugwitz now presented himself in Bonaparte's camp with the offer of his master's mediation, but with the alternative of a declaration of war and the march of the Prussian army if the mediation should be refused. But the cunning Corsican well knew the miserable vacillations and temporisings of the cabinet of Berlin, and the character of the man he had to deal with—and a character more base and depraved than that of Count Haugwitz could not easily have been found, even at this base period. He had written before this to Talleyrand; "I know that this mission of M. de Haugwitz has a double face. Peace or war with Prussia will depend on the battle I am going to fight. If I am beaten, Prussia will declare against me, and reveal the treaty which already binds her to England and Russia;—*cela va sans dire;* but if I conquer?—Ah! then we shall see Prussia very humbly at my feet, and M. de Haugwitz will talk of nothing but the pacific intentions of his court! ..... Only keep de Haugwitz at Vienna till the battle is fought." But, as the count had persisted and ventured, among hostile columns and squadrons, into Moravia, Bonaparte told him that the best thing he could do was to return forthwith to Vienna and wait. "You see," said he, "our outposts are engaged; it is a prelude to the battle that I am about to fight. Say nothing to me at present. Return quietly to Vienna, and wait the events of the war." Haugwitz, as Bonaparte said, was no novice: he went back to the Austrian capital, and there amused himself while waiting the result of a general battle. The inevitable consequence and the proper punishment of this contemptible conduct of Prussia on the eve of the battle of Austerlitz, at the end of the year 1805, was the disastrous battle of Jena in October, 1806, which reduced the Prussian monarchy to a condition infinitely more deplorable than that of Austria. Talleyrand and his *corps diplomatique* at Vienna laboured very ingeniously to create doubts and suspicions in the minds of the allies, and to aggravate the antipathies which really existed between the Austrians and Russians. Talleyrand's *mot* was: "Let us deliver Europe from the barbarians, or let us keep the Russians within the limits of their old territories:" and he held out to Austria the hope of aggrandizing her at the expense of that ancient ally of France, the Ottoman empire,—of putting Austria in possession of the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, of all the countries on the lower Danube down to the Black Sea, &c. There had always been a strong French party in Vienna, and these men were enchanted and dazzled by the

* Walter Scott.

fanciful perspective; and nothing was more common in the *salons* and coteries than to hear praises and laudations of the French conquerors, coupled with sneers and reproaches against the Russian allies.

On the other hand Bonaparte dispatched Savary to endeavour to cajole the young czar, and, failing in that, to spy out what he could in the condition and disposition of the Russian army, which evidently caused him more serious thoughts than any enemy with whom he had hitherto contended. He gave Savary an autograph letter, signed Napoleon, in which he expressed how ambitious he was of obtaining the friendship of the Emperor Alexander, &c. According to Savary's own account he made very good use of his eyes in traversing the Russian bivouacs, and was very graciously received by the czar, who told him that he was naturally inclined to follow the same political system as his father the Emperor Paul; that he had only abandoned that system because France had shaken the equilibrium of Europe; but that now he could on no account abandon his unfortunate ally the Emperor Francis. Savary protested that the Emperor Napoleon, his master, was very desirous of peace, was not an implacable enemy to Austria, and that this was demonstrated by the terms he had already offered to the Emperor Francis. Alexander said mildly that these terms were too hard, that such conditions were not to be accepted, that he was sorry the want of moderation in Savary's master would oblige him to order the Russian troops to do their duty. He gave Savary a letter addressed to Bonaparte not as emperor and king, but as "Chief of the French Government." This imperial epistle signified nothing; but there was a deal of meaning and of use in the information brought back by the executioner of the Duke d'Enghien from the Russian camp, which he never ought to have been allowed to traverse at all. But Savary was even allowed to return thither and to make still better use of his eyes and ears. Nature had made the man for a spy, and habit and long practice had perfected him in the art. This time he was the bearer of a verbal message requesting that the Emperor Alexander would consent to a personal interview with the Emperor Napoleon, when all differences might be arranged with so much ease. But Alexander was found to be firmer than ever in his resolution not to separate himself from his unfortunate ally. He refused the interview, but he sent one of his aides-de-camp, the Prince Dolgorouki, to Bonaparte's head-quarters with an offer to treat upon the following conditions: the independence of Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy; the evacuation of Naples, and indemnity to the Prince of Orange, and the full and entire execution of the treaty of Lunéville—conditions which Bonaparte rejected with scorn and anger.

As Bonaparte was getting farther and farther from his own frontiers and resources, as warlike populations were beginning to rise *en masse* all round him, as a few weeks would have brought thousands of jagers from Bohemia and Croatia, and thousands of horse from Hungary, it behoved the allied emperors to avoid a general action; and this they probably would have done but for the very significant fact that the Russians, whose commissariat has ever been the most thievish in the world, were already in a half-famished state. That which would have produced a plenty in the Russian camp had been left in Vienna for the French; Moravia was but a poor and hungry country;—they must therefore move forward, were it only for rations and quarters. And, quitting their strong positions at Olmutz and their entrenchments, behind which the French would not have ventured to attack them, the Russians and their spiritless allies advanced upon Brunn. Bonaparte retreated to the plain of Austerlitz, which he had very attentively surveyed several days before, and which he had found to be the best battle-field in those parts. The encounters which had taken place had given the French soldiers a very exalted notion of the Russian infantry. It was no longer possible to tell them that the Russians were a set of undisciplined barbarians; it was better to pique the susceptible French pride: and therefore Bonaparte told his army that "they were now going to meet a new enemy who had been brought from the ends of the world by the gold of England;" that "this contest was of much importance to the honour of the French infantry; that the question must now finally be settled whether the French infantry were the first, or the second, in Europe."

Marshal Kutusoff, who was the real commander-in-chief of the allied army, began his movements for attack on the morning of the 1st of December. The movements were beautifully executed, with order and precision; but the exercised eye of Bonaparte saw that, in order to execute his plan of turning the right wing of the French, Kutusoff would extend his lines too much; that there were a great many recruits, particularly among the Austrians; and he is said to have exclaimed, "By to-morrow evening that army is mine!" The day was passed in active preparation, in disposing in the most advantageous manner the tremendous trains of artillery which the French had dragged with them; and the night, for Bonaparte, was one of intense anxiety. He went from bivouac to bivouac—the night being bitterly cold and stormy—conversing familiarly with his soldiers, and uttering short and easily retained sentences to keep up their courage and serve as rallying words. Then, worn out with fatigue, he snatched a half-hour's sleep by the side of one of the bivouac fires. On the morrow morning—it was the first anniversary of his imperial coronation in Notre Dame—he was on horseback long before daylight. Thick fogs and mist hung over the plain and the neighbouring heights on which the allies were encamped: the sun could scarcely break through the vapoury and cold obscurity; but at last it appeared, red and lurid, like a globe dipped in blood. Then Bonaparte galloped along

the line shouting, "Soldiers, we must finish this campaign with a thunderbolt!" and the soldiers waved their caps in the air and shouted, *Vive l'empereur! vive le jour de sa fête!* It was time to be moving and doing, for the artillery of the allies was heard thundering on the French right. To give any details of the general action which immediately ensued would occupy more space than we can spare. The fatal result fully corresponded with Bonaparte's calculation. Kutusoff's line, too far extended, was broken through by a concentrated attack made by Marshals Soult, Lannes, and Murat, with all the French cavalry; the Russian divisions were separated; the Austrian recruits fought without energy or intelligence; and, after a terrible conflict on the part of the imperial Russian guards, the allied army was routed in detail, and pushed off the field. Its loss was tremendous; thousands were drowned in the frozen lakes in the rear of their position, the ice, though thick, not being strong enough to bear so great a weight. Entire lines of Russian infantry were mowed down by the numerous French artillery; but other lines sprung up to supply their places, and the best part of Kutusoff's army retired in admirable order, being covered by clouds of Cossacks, who, with their irregular charges and their long lances, repeatedly drove back Murat's regular cavalry. By one or two o'clock in the afternoon the victory of the French was decided; but it was near midnight ere the Russians entirely left the field; and then they marched off with such a countenance that the French did not dare to follow them. In the course of the morning, once at least, Soult was in the greatest danger; Kutusoff nearly succeeded in re-uniting his divisions; and the fate of Bonaparte seemed to hang by a thread: but a charge made by all the cavalry of his guard, and then a terribly sustained fire of grape-shot on the Russian squares, turned the scale, and allowed him to hum his opera air—"*Ah comme il y viendra!*" The two armies which engaged were nearly equal in number; but the French had a decided superiority in artillery, both as to number and quality; and it was on the employment of that arm that they principally relied for their victory. The Russian infantry made a great use of the bayonet: most of the French that were wounded were wounded by that weapon, and in nearly every case those wounds proved mortal. In the lying bulletin and Moniteur, the French loss in killed and wounded was reduced to about 2500 men; but in reality it appears to have exceeded 5000. Such was the battle of Austerlitz, or, as the French soldiers called it, the battle of the Three Emperors. At ten o'clock in the evening the conqueror issued one of his proclamations or addresses to his troops, in which, as usual, truth gave way to rhetoric, and figures were exaggerated *ad libitum*. "Soldiers of the grand army!" said the proclamation, "before this day be plunged into the sea of eternity, your emperor ought to speak with you, and express his satisfaction to all those who have the good fortune to fight in this memorable battle. Soldiers! you are the first warriors of the world! The memory of this day, and of your exploits, will be eternal. Yes, so long as history and the world shall exist, it will be repeated, after millions of centuries, that, in the plains of Austerlitz, an army bought by the gold of England, a Russian army of 76,000 men, has been destroyed by you. The miserable remains of that army, in which the mercantile spirit of a despicable nation had placed its last hope, are in flight, and are going to announce to the savage inhabitants of the north what Frenchmen can do; to announce to them that you who, after destroying the Austrian army near Ulm, have said at Vienna, *That army is no more!* will tell them also at Petersburgh, *The Emperor Alexander has no longer an army!* Soldiers of the grand army! it is not yet four months since your emperor said to you at Boulogne, 'We are going to march to annihilate a coalition plotted by the gold and intrigues of England;' and now the result is the destruction of 300,000 men in the campaign of Ulm, and of the forces of two great monarchs, &c. &c." As the French could never have enough of this sort of declamation, another address was issued *on the morrow morning*. "Soldiers," it said, "I am satisfied with you; you have decorated your eagles with an immortal glory! An army of *100,000* men, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four days, cut to pieces or dispersed; what escaped from your steel has been drowned in the lakes. Forty flags, the standards of the imperial guard of Russia, 120 pieces of cannon, 20 generals, more than 30,000 prisoners, are the result of the day for ever memorable. That boasted Russian infantry, though superior in number, could not stand your shock; and henceforward you have no rivals to be jealous of. Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been conquered and dissolved." . . . . On the same day, and from the battle field still strewed with the dead, Bonaparte dictated and signed a circular letter to the bishops and priests of France, commanding them to sing *Te Deum* for the glorious successes he had obtained, and which he declared to be a visible proof of the favour and protection of Almighty God. The exaggeration employed was altogether monstrous; but the French soldiers were not the men that would critically examine facts and figures; and it was rolling, roaring bulletins in this style that Fouché wanted to enchant the Parisians, and keep the French at home quiet. According to General Kutusoff's official account, his loss in killed and prisoners did not exceed 12,000 men; and nothing is more certain than that the Russians had retired in perfect order, in solid bronze-like masses, and that the French had shown no inclination to follow them. The coalition was not destroyed by this battle—the case of the allies could have been hopeless only to cowards. General Benningsen was on his way from the Russian frontier with another *corps d'armée*; the Archdukes Charles and John were

so near that eight or ten days of forced marches, and by a route where none could stop them, would have brought them with their united forces on the eastern edge of Moravia, and on Bonaparte's flank: on one side of Moravia, Bohemia had not been touched, and was full of loyalty and spirit; and on the other side of it the brave Hungarians, who had succoured the Empress Maria Theresa when, in the extremity of her distress—driven from her capital by the generals of Louis XV., and by Frederick the Great of Prussia—she presented herself to them in her widow's weeds, and with her infant son in her arms, and implored their help, having no help or hope but in God and them, were as ready now as then to swear to die for their sovereign, and as sure to keep their oath. That nation was rude, but heroic; serious, melancholy, determined, and eminently patriotic or national. The Hungarians could not, like the burghers of Vienna, and the unimpassioned boors of the duchy of Austria, see without excitement and without agony the march of foreign armies over their native plains and hills. Though coarser in their exterior, they were a people of finer imagination; they were a people of traditions and oral legends, and their legends were filled with the staple commodity of the poetry of all free and spirited nations, the victories obtained by native swords and native ranks over the proud invaders of their country: and without this finer imagination, without this species of national poetical temperament, without traditions and legends wound round the hearts as well as memories of the popular masses, no country is fitted for heroical warfare. By a side-movement the Russians, and what remained of the Austrians who had fought at Austerlitz, might have got to the Hungarian frontier, might there have awaited the junction of Benningsen, and the two archdukes, and the Hungarian levies that were being brought up by good officers; and that war might have been prolonged, until Bonaparte was ruined, in the great basin which lies between the left bank of the Danube and the Carpathian mountains. But there were traitors as well as cowards round the Emperor Francis; and by various means he was made to shudder at the horrors which must attend a protracted warfare in his own countries, and to hope that his conqueror would be magnanimous in the hour of victory, or be induced by the aspect of his own critical situation to grant such terms as he might accept. The Emperor of Russia refused to join in the humiliating measure; but Francis, the very day after the battle, dispatched Prince John of Lichtenstein, who had all along appertained to the French or peace party, to demand an interview of Bonaparte. "You want a suspension of arms," said the victor; "but before I grant you an armistice you must break with the Russians. The Russians must retire. We will then treat separately. I will afterwards make a separate peace with the Emperor Alexander, or if not I will beat him again! As for the house of Austria, I must have guarantees that she will not again take up arms against me. It was not I that began this war. But, first of all, no more Russians! no more of your levies *en masse* in Hungary and Bohemia!" Lichtenstein appears either to have sold himself or to have allowed his own fears and the fortunate soldier's hurried and passionate rhetoric to overwhelm him: in the course of a few hours, and seemingly without a struggle, he agreed to give up far more than Bonaparte could have gained in two or in even three of the most successful campaigns. Lichtenstein returned to his master loaded with the compliments and eulogiums of his master's enemy; and on the following day the Emperor Francis had himself a personal interview in the French camp with Bonaparte, whom he embraced

FRANCIS, EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

and called "Sir, my brother." It is added that Francis in a very illogical speech meanly threw the whole blame of the war upon the English, saying they were a set of selfish traffickers, who would set the Continent on fire in order to secure to themselves the commerce of the world; but this rests solely upon French authorities, which are scarcely any authority at all. On the 6th of December an armistice was signed by Marshal Berthier and the Prince of Lichtenstein, the Austrians engaging to give up Presburg on the frontiers of Hungary, Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Venice; not to allow the Russians to remain on any part of their territories; to stop the levy *en masse* in Hungary and Bohemia, and not to admit into their territories any foreign army whatsoever. The last clause seemed to have reference to the Prussians, although the battle of Austerlitz, and still more this wretched armistice, must have removed from Bonaparte's mind any serious apprehension on that subject. In fact, as soon as might be after the battle, Count Haugwitz, the Prussian envoy, had waited upon him to offer his congratulation on the glorious victory which he had obtained. Bonaparte said with a sneer, that the Prussian compliments had been intended for others, but that fortune had transferred them to him. He had however shown that he felt the insecurity of his own situation—there, isolated in the centre of Moravia,

and in the midst of an inclement winter—and the ruin which any hostile movement on the part of Prussia might yet bring down upon him; and, to keep that power quiet, he had promised Haugwitz to cede and assign to it for ever the electorate of Hanover, the lure which had been so often held out before, the prize for which the cabinet of Berlin had been so long sighing and longing. The Emperor Alexander retired by regular day marches into his own territories: Bonaparte returned to Vienna and the palace of Schönbrunn to complete with Talleyrand the draft of a definitive treaty of peace with Austria. This treaty was signed by the Emperor of Austria at Presburg, whence it takes its name, on the 26th of December. Not less but more than Lichtenstein had agreed to give was extorted from Austria. By this treaty of Presburg she ceded, nominally to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, not only Venice and the Venetian provinces in Upper Italy, but the Venetian provinces in Istria, in Dalmatia, and on the coast of Albania, which she had possessed ever since the treaty of Campo Formio; she ceded to the Elector of Bavaria the whole of the Tyrol, with the bishopric of Passau and other territories; she ceded to Wurtemberg and Baden, those other liege vassals of France, other districts; she recognised the regal titles of the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and the grand ducal title of the Elector of Baden,—for the Emperor Napoleon had resolved that the first two should have the rank of kings, and that the Elector of Baden, who had taken the kidnapping and murder of the Duke d'Enghien in such good part, and who, like the other un-German princes, had rendered important services during this campaign, should have the rank of grand duke; and, in addition to these and other sacrifices, Austria in a secret article agreed to pay to the French a military contribution of 140,000,000 of francs. The population thus turned over to the conqueror by a few strokes of the pen was estimated at about 3,000,000. But there was worse than a loss of population, and a limited surrender of territory: by being made to give up Trieste, which had long been her only sea-port, and all that she had obtained by the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville on the Adriatic, Austria entirely shut herself out from the sea, and became an inland power, without the faculty of exporting or importing directly a bale of goods or a cart-load of produce —she became *enclavée*, cooped in on every side; and on the Adriatic side, where she most wanted freedom and extension, a hostile state, a strip of the kingdom of Italy, which was merely a province of France, was interposed between her and the sea. The fracture made of the independence of Switzerland and of the Grisons had weakened her frontier on the side of France; and now the disseverance of the Tyrol, the cradle of the imperial house, and the oldest of its possessions, completed this ruin of frontier and bulwarks, and gave the French the entire command of the best routes which connect Upper Italy with Germany. But still more loss of influence and honour!—all the smaller German states of the Rhine were formed by Bonaparte, who put himself at the head of it as "Protector," into what was called the Confederation of the Rhine: the old Germanic empire was thus dissolved: the influence of the French was fully established over a great part of Germany; and very soon after this treaty the Emperor Francis formally renounced his title of Elective Emperor of Germany, and assumed that of Hereditary Emperor of Austria, &c. The King of Prussia, who had been the only king in Germany until Bonaparte chose to give kingly crowns to his vassals of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, was recommended by the cabinet who were leading him to his ruin to take the title of Emperor of Prussia, but he did not. Less than three weeks after the signing of the treaty of Presburg, Eugene Beauharnais married Augusta Amelia, daughter of the king of Bavaria: and shortly after Mademoiselle or Princess Stephanie Beauharnais, Eugene's cousin, was given in marriage to the son and heir of the Grand Duke of Baden, who had earnestly solicited the honour of an alliance with the august family of Bonaparte. Another matrimonial alliance was contemplated with the family of the King of Wurtemberg. There was scarcely one of all those petty, long-pedigreed potentates, but would have consented to mix his blood with that of the Corsican soldier of fortune, or of those connected with him: their fears destroyed their pride: and, in order to have and to hold what the conqueror might choose to leave them or give them, they would have thrown their once prized genealogical books into the fire, and have declared the Napoleonic dynasty the most ancient in Europe.

Other parties connected with the coalition were to blame besides Mack and the Aulic Council; and the government of Pitt, who had made the Convention, had made a very injudicious use of the resources of their country. That system of petty expeditions which had so long disgraced England, or which, at the least, had deprived her of the honour she might otherwise have gained, had again been resorted to; and for the present saving of a few millions the necessity had been incurred of a future expenditure of very many millions. If the King of Sweden, whose zeal in the cause was depressed only by his poverty, had been liberally supplied with money, if 25,000 or 30,000 British troops had been sent to the Baltic in the autumn, a great movement might have been effected in the north of Germany, the vacillations of Prussia might have been brought to an end by those best of all arguments, the presence of a great allied army and the exceeding great probability of the French being the losing party, and Prussia would have carried with her into the coalition Saxony, Brunswick, and one or two other minor states; Bonaparte would have been obliged to divide and subdivide his grand army; he might have been attacked on his left flank and on his rear, and the Hanoverians, and probably the Dutch, whose

countries had been left with hardly any French troops in them, would have risen *en masse* and have overthrown their temporary Gallican governments; for the Hanoverians were heartily attached to their old line of sovereigns, and the Dutch were by this time heartily sick of French domination, and of that system which had led to the almost entire destruction of their foreign trade, the one great source of their wealth, as of their former political greatness. If this course had been pursued in good time, Bernadotte would not have quitted Hanover at all, or if he had done so he must have been compelled to retrace his steps; and in either case the catastrophe at Ulm, which he so essentially contributed to, would not have taken place. But precious time was lost, money was withheld, and the very small number of native British forces which Pitt's government thought they might spare for foreign service was divided, and sent to two opposite extremities of Europe; only 5000 or 6000 British troops were sent to the Baltic, and, counting the king's German legion and other foreign corps, the entire force which landed in Swedish Pomerania (*and not before the month of October*), under the command of General Don and Lord Cathcart, fell short of 16,000 men. This force was joined by 12,000 Swedes, and by about 9000 or 10,000 Russians. The supreme command was rather nominally than really intrusted to the King of Sweden, who, after recovering Hanover, was to advance upon Holland. But there could be no advance of this extensive kind without securing, at the very least, the neutrality of Prussia; and a mixed army of less than 38,000 men, and the delays which had occurred, and the differences of opinion which were known to exist among the officers in command of it, were but little calculated to give to Prussia those convictions she wanted. Pitt had dispatched Lord Harrowby to Berlin, and the English generals were disposed to rely upon the effects of his lordship's diplomacy; but his Swedish majesty, who better knew the character of that cabinet, and who forgot that he had not a force sufficient to dictate to Prussia with her 200,000 men, wrote some impatient and rather violent notes to his Prussian majesty. The court of Berlin complained; the English and the Russians too remonstrated: a quarrel was the consequence; and his Swedish majesty, throwing up the command of the allied army, retired with his own forces to Stralsund. After more than three weeks had been spent in waiting the result of the negotiations at Berlin, and in explaining away the words and letters which had given offence to his Swedish majesty, Gustavus resumed the command, and the petty allied army began to shake itself; but it was now beyond the middle of November; and in the interval Mack had surrendered at Ulm, and Bonaparte had entered Vienna—events which made the Berlin cabinet more vacillatory than before, and more tenacious of the rights of neutrality with regard to the belligerent party that was so evidently succumbing in the present struggle. Gustavus marched into the Electorate of Hanover, and even laid siege to the town of Hameln, where Bernadotte had left a considerable garrison; but then came the news of the battle of Austerlitz; and thereupon the allies conceived that no alternative was left them but to get back with all speed to their respective countries. The British re-embarked; the Swedes retired again to the shelter of the well fortified Stralsund; and the Russians retreated into Mecklenburg, there to await the arrival of their shipping.

The operations of the 3000 British troops, who were sent to the south of Italy, will be noticed in the following year in connexion with the French conquest and entire occupation of the kingdom of Naples—an event which would have happened about the time it did, whether the allies had or had not induced the Neapolitan court to break its treaty of neutrality with the French, although our sending and landing of troops certainly furnished Bonaparte with good materials and colours for excusing his ambition, and his pre-determined aggrandisement. In making himself King of Italy, the conqueror had resolved not to leave the fairest and richest portion of that beautiful country in quiet possession of a branch of the House of Bourbon.

We gladly escape from these continental disasters, and disgraces on shore, to our victories and glories at sea. But for our successes on our own element, woeful indeed must have been the close of this year, 1805! Nelson had been appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet in the autumn of the year 1803. He had been blockading the French Toulon fleet, superior in number to his own, from the 21st of January till the 25th of February, ever ready for battle, without a bulkhead up, night or day. He was then compelled, by terrible gales of wind, to run to Sardinia and anchor in the friendly Gulf of Cagliari. Here, and in the Gulf of Palma, he was detained a considerable time by stress of weather. Afterwards, to tempt the Toulon fleet out to sea, he bore away for the coast of Spain, and ran down as far as Barcelona. He knew that the French fleet had land forces on board; but he was divided between the surmises of whether these troops were destined for Egypt, or for Ireland, or for the West Indies; and the intelligence he picked up was very contradictory and perplexing. Profiting by Nelson's absence, Villeneuve put to sea on the 31st of March, with ten ships of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, steering from Toulon right across the Mediterranean, as though intending to make the opposite coast of Africa. Nelson, who did not get this intelligence until the 7th of April, bore up for Sicily, watching the channel between Sardinia and the African coast, and the channel between Sardinia and Corsica and the Italian coast, and scattering his frigates and tenders in all directions. Five days after this he received intelligence that Villeneuve and his Toulon fleet had been seen far down the Mediterranean, off

Cape de Gatte; and the next notice he got of them was, that they had run through the Straits of Gibraltar into the Atlantic ocean. Knowing that they might already be halfway to Ireland or to Jamaica, Nelson exclaimed that he was a miserable man,—that his good fortune seemed to have flown from him! To add to his calamity, he could not get a fair wind, nor even a side wind, to go in pursuit of the foe. Foul, dead foul were the breezes which blew; terrible was the tacking and the straining his old sea-worn ships sustained: it was the 30th of April before he gained sight of the tall gray rock of Gibraltar; and then, it being utterly impossible to get through the narrow Straits with the wind and the strong current both in his teeth, he cast anchor on the Barbary coast, and obtained some supplies of provisions, very requisite for the long voyage he contemplated, from the Moors at Tetuan. He now thought that Villeneuve must have slipped away for the West Indies; and he vowed he would follow him thither, or, if needful, round the whole globe. On the 7th of May a breeze from the eastward allowed him to run through the Straits of Gibraltar, and round the coast to Cadiz. Donald Campbell, an adventurous and sagacious Scotchman, an admiral in the Portuguese service, imparted to Nelson his certain knowledge that Villeneuve was gone to the West Indies. The French admiral, on descending the Mediterranean from Toulon, had looked into Carthagena, but, finding that the Spanish ships there were not ready to join him, and not daring to wait lest Nelson should be upon him, had scudded through the Straits with a fine wind which was then blowing from the north-east. As Villeneuve showed himself in the Atlantic, Admiral Sir John Orde, who had been watching in Cadiz with a small squadron, and who was much more of a prize-seeking, money-making than a fighting officer, had retreated, and Admiral Gravina, with six Spanish ships of the line and two French ships of the line, had come out of Cadiz Bay and had joined Villeneuve, who thereupon had sailed away to the westward without a moment's delay. This combined fleet now counted eighteen sail of the line, six 44-gun frigates, one 26-gun frigate, three corvettes, and a brig. But Nelson resolved to pursue them with his ten ships of the line and three frigates; nor doubted for one moment that he should be able to stop their career, and prevent their doing any serious mischief to our colonies. All of his ships stood in need of repairs: one of them, the 'Superb,' not having been in a home port since January, 1801, was in a very crazy state; and it was only upon the urgent solicitation of its captain, the gallant Keats, that Nelson allowed the 'Superb' to accompany him.* One of his most powerful ships, the 'Royal Sovereign,' Nelson left behind him on the Spanish coast, to give additional protection to the convoy that was carrying the 3000 British troops up the Mediterranean. There were other ships of the line in those seas which he might have added to his pursuing fleet, but he considered his ten quite enough, and he expected, on reaching Barbadoes, to be joined by five or six sail of the line. Villeneuve had had more than a month's start of him. The Spanish ships which came out of Cadiz Bay, like those that came from Toulon, had troops on board: Villeneuve's orders (or some of them, for he appears to have had many) were to proceed straight to Martinique, and, with the 5100 men on board the combined fleet, to capture Sainte Lucie, leave a garrison there, and reinforce the garrisons of Dominique, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, which still remained to the French: he was then to wait about a month among the Antilles, in order to afford Admiral Gantheaume an opportunity of joining with his twenty-one sail of the line (if he should be able to get out of Brest and cross the Atlantic), and this month or so was to be pleasantly and profitably spent in doing all the mischief he could to the English—"*à faire tout le mal possible à l'ennemi.*" According to one of the series of orders, or at least according to one of Bonaparte's reported schemes, Villeneuve and Gantheaume, having drawn the English fleets in search of them into the West Indies, were to make a sudden start back for Europe and the British Channel, to take on board the army of invasion at Boulogne, and then pounce upon England or upon Ireland. This scheme bore the impression of a landsman's mind: little or no allowance was made for the uncertainties of wind and weather, tides and currents, but the fleets were to be manœuvred like columns of a land army. Owing to an alternation of contrary winds and calms, and the bad sailing qualities of one of the Spanish ships, it was the 12th of May before Villeneuve reached Martinique, and he did not enter the harbour of Fort Royal without sustaining, in passing, a smart cannonade from the Diamond rock—a perpendicular rock, lying off Fort Royal bay, which had been taken possession of at the end of 1803 by Capt. Murray Maxwell, who had landed three 24-pounders and two 18-pounders, and had left on it 120 men and boys with four months' supply of provisions and water. One of the great Spanish ships, getting close under the lee of this rock, sustained some very considerable damage from our guns. Villeneuve lay in Fort Royal bay, doing nothing except quarrelling with his Spanish allies, until the end of May, when he sent out two ships of the line, a frigate, a corvette, a schooner, and eleven gun-boats, to retake the Diamond Rock. Capt. James Wilkes Maurice, who commanded the British sloop-of-war's company on the rock, seeing that it was impossible to defend his lower works against such a formidable force, abandoned them, spiking two of his 24-pounders and retiring to the top of the rock, where he bravely replied to the

* When the British fleet disappeared from the southern coast of France and from the Mediterranean, Bonaparte felt quite certain that it must have gone home to refit, or to put its crews into other ships, "for," said he (and truly), "Nelson's ships have need to go into dock, and his squadron may be considered as in a very bad state." But Napoleon did not reflect upon the extent of daring of such a man as Nelson.

fire of the French squadron with one 24-pounder and his two eighteens. This little episode is every way deserving of record. Having sustained a tremendous bombardment for three days, having killed and wounded some seventy Frenchmen who landed at the foot of the rock, besides a good many more that were killed and wounded in the ships and boats, having sunk three gun-boats and two row-boats, and having burned nearly his last grain of gunpowder, Maurice threw out a flag of truce, and, on the evening of the 2nd of June, obtained honourable terms of capitulation. Disease had thinned his little garrison, though not considerably, and his people had been so well placed that he lost only two in killed and one wounded during the long bombardment. On the 1st of June, while the Governor-General Lauriston, Villeneuve, the Spanish Admiral Gravina, and other officers, were superintending from the contiguous shore this siege of the Diamond Rock, a French 40-gun frigate arrived, bringing intelligence that two new seventy-fours had also arrived from France as a reinforcement to the combined fleet, and were now lying at Guadaloupe. These ships had escaped out of Lorient and Rochefort during the absence of our squadrons in a gale of wind, and had fortunately succeeded in avoiding pursuit; but, unfortunately for Villeneuve, they brought other orders from Bonaparte which still more perplexed him, and which apparently kept him longer than he had intended in the West Indies. On the 4th of June the combined fleet quitted the harbour of Fort Royal and repaired to Guadaloupe, where it was joined by the two new seventy-fours. Then, with his twenty sail of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, Villeneuve doubled Antigua, as if with the intention of capturing some of the British islands; but on the 8th, having received intelligence from an American schooner (our American brethren were always so ready to give intelligence that might favour the French and injure us) that he would find, a little to windward, a homeward-bound British convoy, which had sailed from Antigua on the 7th, Villeneuve started in pursuit, and, before night, overtook fifteen sail of merchant-vessels, under the protection of a small frigate and a 14-gun schooner. Our men-of-war escaped; but the merchantmen, with their rich cargoes, were all captured. But some of the prisoners in our merchant-vessels told the French admiral that Lord Nelson had arrived in the West Indies in search of him: it may be that, as they had invented the fact, so they had exaggerated the number of Nelson's ships; but, however this may have been, no sooner had the French admiral received the intelligence than he sent four frigates to land some troops which had been withdrawn from Martinique and Guadaloupe, and without leaving the troops which his fleet had carried out he set sail for Europe. He had not even the satisfaction of saving the fifteen West Indiamen, which, with their cargoes, were estimated at the value of 5,000,000 of francs: the frigate which had charge of them, while sailing in company with four other frigates, came in sight of two British 18-gun ship-sloops, and gave chase; the English captains (R. W. Cribb and Timothy Clinch) hoisted signals and fired guns, as if to a fleet a-head, and the French frigates, dreading that Nelson was there, immediately bore up, and, to prevent the re-capture of their prizes, set fire to them all, and away they burned and blazed—ships, sugars, molasses, rum, coffee, and all.*

In the meanwhile, although his arrival was certainly not known at Antigua on the 8th, Nelson had reached Barbadoes on the 4th of June, the day on which Villeneuve quitted Martinique. Here he found Rear-Admiral Cochrane with only two ships of the line, the other four English ships of the line in those seas being detained by Rear-Admiral Dacres at Jamaica for the defence of that most important island. A false report, circulated no doubt by some Yankee skipper, induced Nelson to believe that the French were making for Tobago and Trinidad; and, taking on board his ships 2000 land-troops, he set sail for those islands on the morning of the 5th. On the 7th, having been further duped on the way by an American brig, he passed the Bocas of Trinidad and entered the bay of Paria, "hoping and expecting to make the mouths of the Orinoco as famous in the annals of the British navy as those of the Nile."† But not a ship was there; and he discovered, to his inexpressible vexation, that artifice and accidents combined had led him far to leeward. It took him nearly two days of excessive toil to beat up to Grenada; but Nelson was at that island some time on the 9th, and there he obtained authentic information of the enemy having passed the island of Dominique on the 6th and having steered away to the northward. Nelson beat across the Caribbean Sea to Antigua, which he reached on the 13th of June, without seeing the enemy or hearing anything of him. He rightly concluded that Villeneuve had started for Europe; and, having thrown the land-troops ashore at Antigua, he instantly started after him. The unimpassioned and excellent historian of our navy says that he did not absolutely go in pursuit of an enemy, whose force he knew to consist of at least eighteen sail of the line, but in the hope, by superior seamanship, to reach the shores of Europe before him; but few Englishmen will doubt that Nelson would have fought this superior force if he had come up with it, or will question the words which his eloquent biographer puts into his mouth when first starting from Europe for the West Indies, in pursuit of the combined fleet:—"Take you a Frenchman a-piece," said he to his captains, "and leave me the Spaniards: when I haul down my colours I expect you to do the same, and not till then." We know he counted the Spaniards but for very little. Very possibly, he might not have sought a battle in line with the whole combined fleet; but he would as-

* James, Naval History.
† Southey.

suredly have skilfully seized some favourable opportunity of attacking if he could have reached it, and no thought of his inferiority in number would have induced him to change his course or slacken his sail in pursuit. His intentions are best expressed in his own words, and they fully justify this view of the case, and all that his enthusiastic biographer, Southey, says about it. Mr. James, the historian, is sometimes too phlegmatic, and his anxiety for mathematical accuracy now and then leads him into an inaccuracy of sentiment. "I am thankful," said Nelson, "that the enemy has been driven from the West Indies with so little loss to our country. I had made up my mind to great sacrifices, for I had determined, notwithstanding his vast superiority, to stop his career and to put it out of his power to do any farther mischief. Yet do not imagine I am one of those hot-brained people who fight at immense disadvantage, without any adequate object. My object is now partly gained. If we meet them we shall find them not less than eighteen, I rather think, twenty sail of the line; and therefore do not be surprised if I should not fall on them immediately. We won't part without a battle. I think they will be glad to let me alone if I will let them alone, which I will do either till we approach the shores of Europe, or they give me an advantage too tempting to be resisted." He took with him one of Cochrane's ships, so that on his return he had eleven ships of the line; but Villeneuve, who could not venture to leave a vessel behind him, had really twenty ships of the line besides the additional 40-gun frigate. On the 17th of July, after a run of 3227 miles, he came in sight of Cape St. Vincent, and he then steered for the Straits of Gibraltar to take in provisions for his fleet. On the 18th he fell in with Vice-Admiral Collingwood with three sail of the line, who was cruising off Cadiz. Collingwood

Lord Collingwood.

had little intelligence to communicate, except that Sir Robert Calder was on the Spanish coast blockading Ferrol. But Collingwood was a thinking and most able man in other matters besides those of his profession; and he assured Nelson that he had always had an idea that Ireland alone was the object the French had in view, and that he still believed Ireland to be their ultimate destination. There was a considerable force of French and Spanish ships in Ferrol, and some thousands of land-troops were there ready to embark. Collingwood thought that Villeneuve would now liberate this Ferrol squadron from Calder, make the round of the Bay of Biscay, take up the Rochefort ships and people, and appear off Ushant at the head of the English Channel, perhaps with thirty-four sail of the line, there to be joined by twenty more. At this moment the grand army was not in Germany, but at Boulogne. Collingwood felt convinced that Bonaparte would not have subjected Villeneuve's fleet to the chance of being destroyed, unless he had some rash attempt at conquest in view. "The French government," said he to Nelson, "never aim at little things while great objects are in view. I have considered the invasion of Ireland as the real mark and butt of all their operations. Their flight to the West Indies was to take off the naval force, which proved the great impediment to their undertaking. This summer is big with events: we may all, perhaps, have an active share in them; and I sincerely wish your lordship strength of body to go through it, and to all others your strength of mind."* The mind was stronger, the spirit higher than ever; but Nelson's bodily strength was fast sinking from the effects of his many wounds, his amputations, his severe services ever since his boyhood, and his wearing anxieties: before he started for the West Indies in pursuit of Villeneuve his health was so bad that the physician of the fleet declared that he must return to England before the hot weather set in. On the 19th of July he brought his fleet to anchor in Gibraltar Bay; and on the 20th, as he says in his diary, "I went on shore for the first time since June the 16th, 1803, and from having my foot out of the 'Victory' two years wanting ten days." But even now he had short time for shore-rest: on the 22nd he stood across to Tetuan to water; on the 24th he was steering for Ceuta and the Straits of Gibraltar; and on the 26th he was again off Cape St. Vincent. The only information he had received was that a brig-sloop, on her direct way homeward from the West Indies with his dispatches, had seen, on the 19th of June, Villeneuve's and Gravina's fleet, in latitude 33° 12″ north, longitude 58° west. By the 3rd of August Nelson and his fleet were in latitude 39° north, longitude 16° west. By his marvellous acuteness Nelson extracted from an accidental circumstance and a dirty old log-book,† the

* Note from Admiral Collingwood to Lord Nelson, July 21st, 1805, in 'A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood; interspersed with Memoirs of his Life,' by G. L. Newnham Collingwood, Esq., F.R.S.

† "He proceeded off Cape St. Vincent, rather cruising for intelligence than knowing whither to betake himself: and here a case occurred, that more than any other event in real history resembles those whimsical proofs of sagacity which Voltaire, in his Zadig, has borrowed from the Orientals. One of our frigates spoke an American, who, a little to the westward of the Azores, had fallen in with an armed vessel, appearing to be a dismasted privateer, deserted by her

certainty that the combined fleet must have followed a northern course; and on this course he proceeded against northerly winds and in hazy weather. On the 12th of August the 'Niobe' frigate from our Channel-fleet fell in with him; but she brought no intelligence of Villeneuve and the Spaniards. On the 15th Nelson himself joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, and then, for the first time, learned that the enemy he had been looking for, far out to sea, from the 3rd till the 12th of August, had been engaged much nearer in-shore by Sir Robert Calder on the 22nd of July, or during the time that Nelson was within the Straits of Gibraltar. Upon this news he set sail for England with the 'Victory' and 'Superb,' sending one ship of the line to Plymouth and leaving all the rest of his fleet to reinforce Admiral Cornwallis and the Channel fleet. On the 18th of August the 'Victory' and 'Superb' cast anchor at Spithead, and Nelson shortly afterwards struck his flag and went on shore, in the same deplorable state of health in which he had been for some months.

Sir Robert Calder, who had been sent out to intercept Villeneuve on his return from the West Indies, had only fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a lugger, and a cutter. On the sudden clearing up of a fog about the hour of noon on the 22nd of July, at about 39 leagues to the north-west of Cape Finisterre, he discovered Villeneuve and Gravina with their twenty sail of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, and instantly made the signal for action; and a few minutes afterwards the signal to form the order of sailing in two columns. Villeneuve, or Gravina, or both of them, showed an anxiety to avoid the battle, and pushed onward for Ferrol; but this was impracticable. The action began in earnest at about half-past four: it lasted till half-past nine in the evening, when the smoke and a thick fog rendered all objects indistinct, and, together with the scattered position of some of his ships, induced Sir Robert to make the night private signal to cease fighting. He had captured an 84 and a 74-gun ship (both Spaniards), and had caused the enemy an additional loss of 500 or 600 men in killed and wounded. His own loss in men and officers was 39 killed and 159 wounded; but two or three of his ships had suffered rather severely in their masts and rigging. At daybreak, on the 23rd, the hostile fleets were about seventeen miles asunder: Sir Robert Calder was anxious to preserve his two prizes, and preserved them; Villeneuve was making demonstrations as though he would renew the combat, which he might have done, but did not. No attempt of the kind was made either on this or on the following day, although during the whole of that time he had the advantage of the wind. On the afternoon of the 24th each fleet pursued its own route, as if the other were not present, or as if no hostility existed between them. If Nelson had been there instead of Calder, and with Calder's force, more would have been done, and the parting would not have been so peaceful: if it had been his good fortune to have fallen in with Sir Robert, or with one-half of his fleet, it was certainly not into Ferrol that Villeneuve and Gravina would have gone. But still, considering the disparity of force, the disadvantage of being to leeward in the action, which left his ships covered and smothered with the smoke of the enemy's guns as well as with that of their own, Calder had not done amiss, but had gained a victory, though neither a decisive nor a brilliant one. "To have made the action decisive, one way or the other, was exclusively in the power of M. Villeneuve; but he kept his wind, and the firing ceased, owing principally, if not wholly, to his having hauled out of gun-shot."* Sir Robert Calder might, moreover, have apprehended an attack from the French and Spanish ships which had been so long blockaded in Ferrol, but which were now blockaded no longer; and this force by itself was at least as strong as own, and he had been expressly ordered by the admiralty to be on his guard in case of a junction between these Ferrol ships and the fleet of Villeneuve. Five ships of the line, moreover, had actually got out to sea from another port of which the blockade had been temporarily raised, and, from information received before the battle of the 22nd began, Sir Robert Calder had every reason to believe that this force was seeking Villeneuve. And, in effect, on the 23rd of July, these five fresh French ships of the line came up to the very spot where the battle of the preceding day had been fought. But these and other facts were not known at home at the time; and some of them were not properly understood by landsmen when they were known: the admiralty very injudiciously and not very honourably suppressed an important paragraph in Sir Robert's official letter; the French official accounts in the Moniteur, dictated by Bonaparte himself, laid claim to the victory, and, though this was scarcely a claim to be seriously attended to, as the British had captured two ships of the line and had not lost any vessel, it irritated the public mind, which, moreover, had been accustomed, by Nelson's wonderful perform-

crew, which had been run on board by another ship and had been set fire to; but the fire had gone out. A log-book and a few seamen's jackets were found in the cabin, and these were brought to Nelson. The log-book closed with these words: 'Two large vessels in the W. N. W.;' and this led him to conclude that the vessel had been an English privateer cruising off the Western Islands. But there was in this book a scrap of dirty paper, filled with figures. Nelson, immediately upon seeing it, observed, that the figures were written by a Frenchman; and, after studying this for a while, said, 'I can explain the whole. The jackets are of French manufacture, and prove that the privateer was in possession of the enemy. She had been chased and taken by the two ships that were seen in the W. N. W. The prize-master, going on board in a hurry, forgot to take with him his reckoning; there is none in the log-book, and the dirty paper contains her work for the number of days since the privateer last left Corvo; with an unaccounted-for run, which I take to have been the chace, in his endeavour to find out her situation by back reckonings. By some mismanagement, I conclude, she was run on board of by one of the enemy's ships and dismasted. Not liking delay (for I am satisfied that those two ships were the advanced ones of the French squadron), and fancying we were close at their heels, they set fire to the vessel and abandoned her in a hurry. If this explanation be correct, I infer from it that they are gone more to the northward; and more to the northward I will look for them.' This course, accordingly, he held, but still without success."—*Southey.*

* James.

ances, to disregard inferiority of numbers and every thing else, and to expect a decisive victory in every encounter. Sir Robert Calder finally thought himself compelled, by evil rumour, to demand a court-martial upon his conduct. By that court he was "severely reprimanded" for not having done his utmost to renew the engagement on the 23rd and 24th of July; but the sentence admitted that his conduct had not been actuated either by cowardice or disaffection. An eminent French writer, who has written about military affairs since the time of Bonaparte, thus frankly and correctly states the whole case: "Admiral Calder, with inferior forces, encounters the combined French and Spanish fleets; in pursuing them, he brings on a partial engagement and captures two ships. He is tried and reprimanded because it is supposed that, by renewing the action, he might have obtained a more decisive victory. What would they have done with Calder, in England, if he had commanded the superior forces, and had lost two ships in avoiding an engagement which must have presented so fine a chance to skill and valour? What would they have done with the captains?"*

As for Villeneuve and his victory, that officer was but too happy at being allowed to run into Ferrol and Corunna, and there land the numerous sick he had brought with him from the West Indies, and the wounded who had been hit in the battle. Nor did he get there without leaving exposed, on the Spanish coast, to the chances of capture, three of his ships of the line, that were far too much injured to be able to keep up with him, with such a press of sail as he was carrying. And, when he received positive orders from the minister of marine to sail from Ferrol towards Brest, where Gantheaume was ready to join him with the Brest fleet, which counted twenty-one ships of the line, he hesitated in his obedience, and, upon learning that Calder had joined Admiral Cornwallis, instead of sailing for Brest he ran round the Spanish coast and took refuge in Cadiz. He carried with him twenty-nine sail of the line, leaving behind him at Ferrol the ships which had been disabled in the battle of the 22nd, and some other ships that were not quite ready for sea. Admiral Collingwood, who had been blockading Cadiz Bay with only four ships of the line and some frigates, was obliged to retire to the southward; but he soon returned, and kept watching that bay and port, in which five-and-thirty sail of the line were now collected. On the 21st of August Collingwood writes to his wife: "To-day we have been looking into Cadiz, where their fleet is now as thick as a wood. I hope I shall have somebody come to me soon, and in the meantime I must take the best care of myself I can." In order to conceal the slenderness of his force, Collingwood stationed one of his ships in the offing, which from time to time made signals as if to an English fleet in the distance; and this little artifice, with Villeneuve's unpleasant reminiscences of the late battle, kept the combined fleet asleep on their anchors. No attempt was made to attack or disperse the small blockading squadron; and, when Collingwood was reinforced, he established a strict blockade of all the Spanish ports lying between Cape St. Mary on Cadiz Bay, and Algeziras in the Bay of Gibraltar—a measure to which he attributed the ultimate sailing of the combined fleet, as it prevented the carrying in of supplies to it at Cadiz.* His force continued to be far inferior in number to that of Villeneuve; but this only raised Collingwood's spirits. "A dull superiority," said he, "creates languor; it is a state like this that rouses the spirits, and makes us feel as if the welfare of all England depended upon us alone."

On the 21st of August, the day on which Villeneuve got into Cadiz Bay, Admiral Gantheaume, who was expecting him at Brest, stood out of that harbour with twenty-one sail of the line, as if to meet him a little way out at sea. Admiral Cornwallis, who was watching Gantheaume, had at this moment only fourteen ships of the line with him; but with this inferior force he moved in to attack, and, after a distant cannonade, Gantheaume, who strained his eyes in vain in looking out to the south for Villeneuve's fleet, retired to the protection of the land batteries, and at nightfall returned again into Brest harbour. The other movements of our fleets were of little importance—as the French and Spaniards would not move—until Nelson again took the chief command. On quitting the 'Victory,' his old flag-ship at Spithead, he had hastened to his pleasant villa at Merton, in Surrey, hoping there to recruit his shattered health. He caused all his private stores to be brought up from the 'Victory,' and he seemed to intimate to all his friends that he was determined to go to sea no more. But the nation at large felt, and loudly expressed the opinion, that there could be no long rest for the hero of the Nile until he had achieved one victory more, and that Nelson was the man that must give the *coup de grace* to the navies of France and Spain. In a day or two he was observed to be restless and absent-minded; and not many days had passed ere Captain Blackwood, one of his favourite officers, who was travelling from Portsmouth to London with dispatches, called upon him at Merton, and acquainted him that Villeneuve had brought out the squadron which had been so long preparing at Ferrol, and had run into Cadiz. Although it was only five o'clock in the morning

* M. Dupin.

* Bonaparte had caused great quantities of biscuit and stores to be collected at Rochefort and at Brest; but, as he had never contemplated the fleet under Villeneuve being turned to the southward and entering Cadiz, which was one very important result of Sir Robert Calder's action, he had made no provision at that port for the supply of so large a force; and the people of Cadiz, whose trade was ruined by the war, had no zeal in the common cause, and the poverty and general ill humour of the Spaniards offered few resources of the sort wanted. Neutral vessels were indeed employed in transporting the necessary stores from the coast of France to the small ports in the neighbourhood of Cadiz; but Collingwood's extension of the blockade stopped the supplies, and left the combined fleets in a state of privation, which at last compelled them to put to sea—to be destroyed not many leagues from Cadiz, off Cape Trafalgar.

Nelson was up and dressed. The moment he saw the captain he exclaimed, "I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish fleets! I think I shall yet have to beat them!" and he afterwards added repeatedly, "Depend on it, Blackwood, I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing." But, when Blackwood had left him, he wanted resolution to declare his intention to Lady Hamilton and his sisters. He even spoke again as if he were determined to stay quietly at home; but the fascinating woman, who was both his good and his evil star, saw his uneasiness and read his real thoughts. She told him that she did not believe the words he was uttering—that she knew he was longing to get at the combined fleets—that he would be miserable if any man but himself did the business; and that he ought to have them, as the price and reward of his two years' long watching, and his hard chace. "Nelson," said she, "however we may lament your absence, offer your services; they will be accepted, and you will gain a quiet heart by it: you will have a glorious victory, and then you may return here, and be happy!" He looked at her with tears in his eyes, and exclaimed, "Brave Emma! good Emma!—if there were more Emmas there would be more Nelsons."* A few words on the other side from Lady Hamilton would probably have deprived the country of the services of her greatest hero at one of her greatest crises, and have left Nelson to die a less glorious death, after a few years, or perhaps only a few months, of languor, uneasiness, and suffering. In reaping glory, and in rendering the highest of public services, he had certainly not collected the materials for private happiness; his constitution was broken beyond the reach of medical repair—in every respect it was better to go and die at Trafalgar in the last rapturous embrace of victory.

The government accepted his proffered services most willingly; and Lord Barham, formerly Admiral Sir Charles Middleton, and now at the head of the admiralty board, giving him the list of the navy, desired him to choose his own officers. "Choose yourself, my lord; the same spirit actuates the whole profession; you cannot choose wrong," was Nelson's noble reply. Unremitting exertions were made by Lord Barham to equip the additional ships which Nelson chose; but it has not been so generally noticed that, but for a bold innovation made by his lordship's official predecessor, it might be doubted whether the great battle of Trafalgar could have been fought at all. Mr. Snodgrass, the surveyor of the East India Company's shipping, had invented a method of strengthening ships by means of diagonal braces, to be placed transversely from the extremities of the gun-deck beams down to the kelson; and Lord Melville, on comparing the decayed state in which he found a great part of our navy with the condition of the newer ships of France and Spain, whose combined fleets in Europe exceeded any force that we could in any reasonable time be able to bring against them, determined to vamp up, in the speediest way, or in the way recommended by Mr. Snodgrass, some of our old ships that required large repairs; and by adding a double outside planking to the diagonal braces, he had made many an old craft fit to brave again the battle and the breeze, and had set an example which could easily be followed in any emergency.* These temporary expedients—and they were only intended by Melville as such—answered the purpose most effectually; and to that ex-minister, now lying under the impeachment of parliament, and the rancorous abuse of a large part of the nation, the country was in part indebted for the crowning glory of Trafalgar. The system of diagonal braces and double plankings interfered with the stowage of the ships' holds, and has otherwise been found to be liable to serious objections; but after Nelson's greatest victory we had leisure allowed us to build new ships, and to repair our old ones upon a better principle.

On the 13th of September the hero quitted Merton for the last time; early on the morning of the 14th he was at Portsmouth, and walking again the quarter-deck of the 'Victory;' on the morning of the 15th he sailed, accompanied only by the 'Ajax' and 'Thunderer,' and the 'Euryalus' frigate; and, on the 29th of September, his birthday, he arrived off Cadiz. On passing through Portsmouth, he had received all the pleasure that could be derived from the admiration and transports of the people, many of whom dropped on the knee as he passed, and blessed him; and on his arrival at Cadiz he was received by the whole fleet with enthusiastic joy: but, fearing that Villeneuve would not venture out to sea if he knew he was there and with reinforcements, he kept out of sight of land, and desired Collingwood to fire no salute, and hoist no colours.† He soon found reason to complain—as he had done on many previous and critical occasions—of the few frigates which the admiralty had attached to the fleet. He always called frigates the eyes of the fleet; and much did he want these sharp eyes now; for on one side there was the strong Spanish squadron to be watched at Carthagena, and on the other there were the Brest fleet, the Rochefort squadron, and the ships left at Ferrol, which all required attention. It was also necessary to keep up communications with the British blockading squadrons that were scattered along an immense line of coast. Yet Nelson was left, for some time, with only two or three frigates. At the same time, although he well knew the numerical superiority of the enemy, he obliged Sir Robert Calder, who was going home to stand his trial by court-martial, to take his passage in his own 90-gun ship. While Collingwood kept his old cruising ground, Nelson chose a station some twenty leagues to the west of Cadiz, behind Cape St. Mary. In a letter written to an old

* Southey.

* Quarterly Review, vol. xii., Article on Sepping's improvements in Ship-building.

† Note from Lord Nelson to Lord Collingwood, in Memoirs, &c., by G. L. Newnham Collingwood, Esq.

friend in Italy, he said, "Here I am watching for the French and Spaniards like a cat after the mice. If they come out I know I shall catch them. I am sure I shall beat them; but I am also almost sure that I shall be killed in doing it."* To Collingwood he wrote on the 6th of October:—"We shall have these fellows out at last, my dear lord. I firmly believe that they have discovered that they cannot be subsisted in Cadiz: their supply from France is completely cut off." On the 9th he wrote again to his second in command, enclosing his plan of attack. "They surely cannot escape us," said he. "I wish we could only get a fine day. I send you my plan, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in: but, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at your ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll, have no little jealousies: we have only one great object in view—that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you; and no man will render your services more justice." The plan of attack, which agreed in principle with that adopted in the great battle, was a masterpiece of nautical skill, and is engraven on the memory of every true British sailor. The order of sailing was to be the order of battle: the fleet in two lines of sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-decked ships. The second in command, having the entire direction of his line, was to break through the enemy about the twelfth ship from their rear, or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced: Nelson himself would lead through about the enemy's centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four a-head of the centre. This plan was to be adapted to the numerical strength of the enemy, and to the number of the English ships that should be able to get into action. "The enemy's fleet," said Nelson, "is supposed to consist of forty-six sail of the line; British forty: if either is less, only a proportionate number of the enemy's ships are to be cut off. British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy they cut off. Something must be left to chance. Nothing is sure in a sea-fight: shot will carry away the masts and yards of friends as well as of foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear; and then that the British fleet would, most of them, be ready to receive their twenty sail of the line, or to pursue them should they endeavour to make off. If the van of the enemy tack, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet; if the enemy wear, the British must place themselves between the enemy and the captured, and disabled British, ships; *and should the enemy close I have no fear for the result.* The second in command will, in all possible things, direct the movements of his line by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line, as their rallying point; but, in case signals cannot be seen clearly or understood, NO CAPTAIN CAN DO VERY WRONG IF HE PLACES HIS SHIP ALONGSIDE THAT OF AN ENEMY." Gun-shot distance was recommended as the best for beginning at.

The intended plan of attack had the most cordial concurrence of Collingwood, who had long been in the habit of repeating, that, with a great number of ships, to act in one line was a positive disadvantage, both in loss of time and in application of power.* One of the last orders Nelson gave was that the name and family of every officer, seaman, and marine in the fleet, who might be killed or wounded in action, should be returned to him, in order to be transmitted, with a proper recommendation, to the chairman of the Patriotic Fund. Officers and men, by whom Nelson was universally beloved, were in the most buoyant and confident spirits. While they lay under Cape St. Mary's, plays or farces, as sailors play them, were performed every evening in most of the ships: and the entertainment always concluded with God save the King, sung in chorus loud enough to shake the oaken ribs of the argosies, and to re-echo among the rocks and cliffs of that Spanish coast.

On the 19th of October it was a beautiful day, and the commander-in-chief wrote a note to his worthy second—the last note he ever wrote—to give some information, and to ask whether he would not be tempted to leave his ship for a few hours, and pay a visit on board the Victory. But, before Collingwood's answer could reach Nelson's ship, the signal was made that the enemy's fleet was coming out of Cadiz; and at that joyous long-expected sign the whole British force immediately gave chace. As Villeneuve sailed with light winds westerly, Nelson concluded that his destination was the Mediterranean; and in effect the French admiral, whose orders from Paris were incessantly changed, had been commanded more than a month ago to pass the Straits of Gibraltar, to land the very considerable body of troops he had on board on the Neapolitan coast (in order that they might

* This letter, with many other autograph letters of Nelson, was shown to us some years ago by the late well-known Abbé Campbell of Naples, to whom it was addressed a few days before the battle of Trafalgar. It contained a passage which strongly depicted the irritability and domestic unhappiness of the great sailor; but which, on account of the feelings of some surviving members of Nelson's family, it would not be proper to quote. Campbell, an Irishman by birth, and a priest by profession, though not in manners and habits, had been an old friend of Nelson, and a still older friend of Sir William and Lady Hamilton. His influence at the Neapolitan court, for many years, was great and extraordinary. When it depended on Nelson's getting or not getting supplies for his fleet from Sicily in 1798, whether he should or should not destroy the French at the mouth of the Nile, the Abbé joined his intercessions to those of Lady Hamilton, and aided in obtaining the orders which the Neapolitan court sent to Syracuse to victual and water Nelson's ships.

* Besides, to act in one line with a great number of ships was always difficult, and might in many cases be altogether impracticable. Nelson had opened his plan by saying,—"Thinking it almost impossible to form a fleet of forty sail of the line into a line of battle, in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing (with the exception of the first and second in command), that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, &c."

act against the English troops and their Russian allies who had been dis-embarked in that country), to sweep the Mediterranean of all British trading ships and cruisers, and then run into the port of Toulon, from which he had first started on the last day of March. Nelson, making all sail for the Straits' mouth, was there by day-break on the 20th; but the combined fleet was not to be seen, and he was informed by Captain Blackwood, of the fast-sailing 'Euryalus' frigate, that it certainly had not yet passed the Straits. Nelson then returned to the northward, greatly fearing that Villeneuve would have returned into Cadiz, for the wind then blew very fresh from the south-west. But a little before sunset Blackwood reported that the enemy seemed determined to keep the sea, and to go away to the westward. "And that," said the admiral in his diary, "they shall not do, if it is in the power of Nelson and Bronte to prevent them." It is said that Villeneuve was still ignorant of Nelson's being with the fleet—that an American, lately arrived at Cadiz from England, maintained that it was impossible, for he had seen him only a few days before in London, when there was no rumour of his going again to sea. On Monday, the 21st of October, at day-light, when Cape Trafalgar bore east by south about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind being about west and very light, but the swell being long and heavy. It was an anniversary and festival in Nelson's family, for on that day, in the year 1779, his maternal uncle, Captain Suckling, with three line of battle ships, had beaten off four French sail of the line, and three frigates. Yet that presentiment, and perhaps half-wish, which had for some time haunted his mind, and which had been expressed in various ways, returned upon him as he saw the enemy within reach—he felt as though he were as sure of death as of victory. After making the signal to bear down upon the enemy, he retired to his cabin and wrote a prayer; and, after writing the prayer, he added to it, on the sheets of the same diary, a remarkable appeal to his king and country in favour of Lady Hamilton and his adopted or real daughter, who, both of them, had long had no dependence but on him, and to whom he had almost nothing to leave, his titles and his pensions going to his brother and his family in legitimate order of descent. About six o'clock in the morning, when Blackwood went on board the 'Victory,' he found him in good spirits, but very calm; not in that exhilaration which he had shown on entering into battle at Aboukir and Copenhagen.* His whole attention was now fixed on Villeneuve, who was wearing to form the line in close order upon the larboard tack; thereby to bring Cadiz under his lee, and to facilitate, if necessary, his escape into that port. This induced Lord Nelson to steer a trifle more to the northward than he had been doing, and to telegraph Collingwood,—"I intend to pass through the van of the enemy's line to prevent his getting into Cadiz." The reversed order of Villeneuve's line had produced another danger—it had brought the shoals of San Pedro and Trafalgar under the lee of both fleets; and to guard against this danger the 'Victory' made the signal for the British fleet to prepare to anchor at the close of day. Nelson told Blackwood that he would not be satisfied unless he took twenty of them. He asked whether he did not think there was a signal wanting. Blackwood replied that he thought the whole fleet understood what they were about. But Nelson gave his last signal—"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY"—and, as the telegraphic message was communicated from the mizen top-gallant-mast-head of the 'Victory,' it was greeted with three cheers on board of every ship in the fleet. Owing to the lightness of the breeze, the British fleet, after bearing up, made very slow progress, although studding-sails were set. Nelson was leading the weather column. Considering that the 'Victory,' as the van ship of a column, and as bearing the flag of the commander-in-chief, would draw upon herself the enemy's most murderous or most concentrated fire, and thereby doubly endanger the life of him to whom all looked up for victory, some of the principal officers expressed among themselves a wish that his lordship might be persuaded to allow the 'Temeraire,' then close astern, to pass and go ahead. Captain Blackwood undertook the delicate task of expressing this general wish to his lordship, who, smiling significantly at Hardy, the captain of the 'Victory,' said, "Oh! yes, let her go ahead;" meaning, if the 'Temeraire' could. But shortly after, when Lieutenant J. Yule, who commanded forwards, observing that one of the 'Victory's' lower studding-sails was improperly set, caused it to be taken in, for the purpose of setting it better, Nelson ran forward, and rated the lieutenant severely, for having, as he fancied, begun to shorten sail without orders. As every stitch of canvass was kept up, the 'Temeraire' could not pass and lead the van—and the admiral certainly never intended that she should. From the change in the disposition of sailing, the lee line led by Collingwood was, however, the first to get into action. The entire British force consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, four frigates, one schooner, and one cutter; the French and Spaniards united, counted thirty-three sail of the line, five frigates, and two brigs. The largest ships on our side were the 'Victory,' the 'Royal Sovereign,' which carried Collingwood's flag, and the 'Britannia,' which carried the flag of Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk; they mounted 100 guns each: the largest ships on the opposite side were the 'Santissima Trinidad' of 130 guns, the 'Principe de Asturias' of 112 guns, the 'Santa Anna,' of 112 guns, and the 'Rayo' of 100 guns. The English had four 98-gun ships, and one 80-gun ship; the enemy had six 80-gun ships: of the smaller line of battle ships mounting 64 guns the English had three and the enemy only one: the

* Southey.

English had sixteen 74's, the enemy twenty-two. Leaving out of the account the frigates and small craft on both sides, Nelson had but 2148 guns to oppose to Villeneuve's 2626 guns: his numerical inferiority in men was much greater: his patched-up ships too were inferior in quality; but his immense superiority lay in the quality of his crews, in the long practised skill and bravery of his officers, in his own ready resources, and in the zeal and enthusiasm with which he had inspired every man and boy in the fleet.* The French admiral had foreseen that Nelson would not confine himself to forming a line of battle parallel to his, and engaging by a distant cannonade: but that he would endeavour to turn his rear, to pass through his line, to surround and reduce with clusters of his own ships such of the ships of the combined fleet as he might succeed in cutting off: and in this case he had told his officers, in a style and with a theory not unlike those of Nelson, that a captain would do better to trust to his own courage and ardour for glory than to the signals of the commander-in-chief, who, himself engaged and covered with smoke, would perhaps be unable to make signals. But Villeneuve, adhering to the ancient rules of naval tactics, persisted in ordering the movements of his fleet to be conducted in close line of battle, even while admitting that his enemy, in all probability, would adopt an entirely different mode of attack. It appears to have been through accident rather than design that his fleet fell into that crescent form, which has been so often admired, and which, added to other circumstances purely accidental, or resulting from a want of skill, certainly proved more formidable to the assailants than would have been the straight and compact line which it had been his intention to form, and for which he had made his signals. "Owing to the lightness of the wind, the partial flaws from off the land, the heavy ground swell, and the incapacity or inexperience of some of the captains, the Franco-Spanish line was very irregularly formed; so much so that, instead of being straight, it was curved or crescent-like; and, instead of the ships being in line ahead, some were to leeward, others to windward of their proper stations. For the most part, indeed, the ships were two, and in a few cases three, deep; thus accidentally presenting more obstacles to the success of the plan of attack decided upon by the British admiral, than if each French and Spanish ship had been in the wake of her leader."†

While gradually approaching the formidable crescent, Nelson dressed himself, putting on the same coat which he had commonly worn for weeks, and on which the Order of the Bath was embroidered, as was then usual. The captain of the 'Victory,' Hardy, observed to him that he was afraid the badge might be marked by the enemy; to which Nelson replied that "he was aware of that, but that it was too late then to shift a coat."* Being thus equipped, he visited the different decks of the 'Victory,' and addressed the men at their several quarters, cautioning them not to fire a shot without being sure of their object. The French now began to fire single guns to ascertain whether their foes were within range. As soon as Nelson perceived that their shots were reaching him he desired Captains Blackwood and Prowse to repair to their frigates, and on their way to tell all the captains of the line of battle ships that if, by the mode of attack he had laid down, they should find it impracticable to get into action immediately, they might adopt whatever other plan they should think best, provided only it led them quickly and closely alongside an enemy. At the same time Nelson's customary signal on going into action, "Engage the enemy more closely," was fast belayed at the 'Victory's' main-top-gallant-mast head. As Blackwood was about to step over the side of the 'Victory,' he took his commander-in-chief and friend by the hand, saying, he hoped to return to him soon and find him in possession of twenty prizes. Nelson replied, "God bless you, Blackwood; I shall never see you again." Not only did Villeneuve not show stars or embroidery on his coat (albeit, he must have known that the British had no soldiers in their tops), but he did not even venture to show his flag. At about the same moment that the firing with single guns commenced, all the ships of the combined fleet hoisted their ensigns, and all the admirals, with the exception of Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, hoisted their flags. This not very honourable precaution concealed, for some time, Villeneuve's real whereabout, and at one moment led Collingwood into the mistake of reporting by signal that the French commander-in-chief was on board one of the frigates in the rear—a practice not uncommon with French admirals. In addition to her ensign every Spanish ship hung out, at the end of her spanker-boom, a large wooden cross. Both divisions of Nelson's fleet, in addition to the respective flags of the ships, hoisted the white or St. George's ensign, in order to prevent any confusion from a variety of national flags; and furthermore, each British ship of the line carried a union-jack at her main-top-mast stay and another at her fore-top-gallant stay.

* Villeneuve, in attempting to give to his officers and men a degree of confidence which he certainly never possessed himself, had told them some time before that there was nothing to alarm them in the sight of the English fleet, that their 74-gun ships had not 500 men each on board; that the seamen were harassed by a two years' cruise; that they were not more brave than the French, had infinitely fewer motives to fight well, and possessed less patriotism or love of country than the French seamen. He had been obliged to confess that they were very skilful at manœuvring; but he had confidently and most absurdly assured his men that in a month's time they would be just as skilful as the English—and that, in fine, everything united to inspire the French with hopes of the most glorious success, and of a new era for the imperial navy.

† James's Naval History.

* This trifling variation from the more striking and better known account given by Southey is derived from a note in the late Dr. Arnold's 'Lectures on Modern History.' Capt. Sir T. Hardy gave this account to Capt. Smyth, and Capt. Smyth communicated it to Dr. Arnold. Long before its appearance Mr. James had said that Nelson was dressed in the same threadbare frock uniform-coat which was his constant wear, having for its appendages, sewed amidst the folds of the left breast, the same four weather-tarnished and lack-lustre stars always to be seen there. The difference between Mr. James and Dr. Arnold, or his informant, Capt. Smyth, is merely that between dim stars and worn and dim embroidery; and both these variations from Southey are of very little consequence, it being quite certain that Nelson disregarded the precaution suggested to him, and that the stars or the embroidery on his coat attracted the bullet which killed him.

It was about ten minutes past the hour of noon when Collingwood, in the 'Royal Sovereign,' got close astern of the 'Santa Anna' the flag-ship of Vice-Admiral Alava, the Spanish second in command, and fired into her so closely with guns double shotted, and with such precision, as to kill or wound nearly 400 of her crew and to disable fourteen of her 112 guns. This was larboard-broadside work; with her starboard broadside, similarly charged, the 'Royal Sovereign' raked the 'Fougueux,' a French seventy-four. Nelson, who was still at some distance from the horn of the crescent which he meant to attack, on seeing his second thus engaged, cried out in a transport, "See how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action!" and Collingwood, just as his ship was passing between the two ships of the enemy, about midway in their curved line, called out to his captain, "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here?" In a few minutes more Collingwood found his position still more enviable, or at least much hotter; for, having put the 'Royal Sovereign' close alongside the 'Sant' Anna,' so close that the guns were nearly muzzle to muzzle, the 'Fougueux' bore up and raked her astern; the 'San Leandro,' a 64, raked her a-head; and the 'San Justo,' a Spanish 74, and the 'Indomptable,' a French 80, ranged on her starboard bow and quarter, within less than 300 yards' distance. Collingwood was, in fact, almost surrounded, and so incessant and thick was the fire maintained by all these assailants that the people of the 'Royal Sovereign' frequently saw the cannon-shots come in contact with each other in the air. But the French and Spaniards soon found that they were injuring themselves by this cross-firing, and, seeing that the 'Belleisle,' 74, and some other British ships, were fast approaching to support the gallant Collingwood, four of them drew off, one by one, leaving the 'Royal Sovereign' to combat alone with her first antagonist, the 'Sant' Anna.' Mr. Chalmers, Collingwood's sailing-master, a worthy man and valuable officer, was hit on the quarter-deck, as he was standing close by the admiral's side. A great shot almost divided his body; he laid his head upon Collingwood's shoulder and told him he was slain. The admiral supported him till two sailors carried him below. He could say nothing to his admiral but bless him! but as they carried him down, he said he wished he could but live to read the account of the action in a newspaper. Chalmers lay in the cockpit among the wounded until the 'Sant' Anna' struck; and, joining in the cheer which they gave her, expired with it on his lips.* For more than a quarter of an hour the 'Royal Sovereign' was the only British ship in close action; but then, when Collingwood had taken a position upon the lee-bow of the 'Sant'Anna,' the 'Belleisle,' hauling up, fired a broadside into the lee-quarter of that unlucky Spaniard, and then bore away and closely engaged the 'Indomptable.' Villeneuve's line was now more irregular than ever. Collingwood had made a mighty crash in it. And now Nelson was getting into close action, was trying to bring the muzzles of his guns to grate and rattle against those of the 'Santissima Trinidad,' that huge four-decker which he had encountered before now, and which he was wont to call his old acquaintance. As he approached, the enemy opened their broadsides, aiming chiefly at the rigging of the 'Victory,' in the hope of disabling her before she could close with them. A shot going through one of the 'Victory's' sails afforded proof that she was well within reach of shot, and thereupon seven or eight French and Spanish ships opened such a fire upon the 'Victory' as perhaps had never before been directed at a single ship. The fire must have been much more murderous than it was if the enemy had not aimed rather at the masts and rigging than at the hull and decks. A round shot killed Mr. John Scott, Lord Nelson's public secretary, as he was standing on the quarter-deck of the 'Victory' conversing with Captain Hardy. A commendable attempt was made to remove the body and conceal the fate of a worthy man for whom Nelson entertained a high regard; but the one quick eye of the admiral saw him fall. "Is that poor Scott that 's gone? poor fellow!" Nelson had scarcely said the words ere a double-headed shot killed eight marines on the poop and wounded several others. Nelson, careful for every body but himself, ordered Captain Adair to disperse his marines round about the ship, that they might not suffer so much by being together. A few minutes after, a shot struck the fore-brace bitts on the quarter-deck and passed between Nelson and Hardy, a splinter from the bitts tearing off Hardy's shoe-buckle and bruising his left foot. Each looked anxiously at the other, supposing him to be wounded. Nelson then smiled and said, "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long." The 'Victory's' mizen-top-mast was shot away; every studding-sail-boom on the foremast had been shot off close to the yard-arm; her new foresail had from 80 to 100 yards of it stripped from the spar, and every sail was riddled with shot; the wheel was struck and knocked to pieces, so that they were obliged to steer the ship in the gun-room; twenty officers and men had been killed, and thirty wounded; the French and Spanish ships a-head closing like a forest, thus leaving a gap of three-quarters of a mile between this part of the combined line and that part which Collingwood had attacked, nineteen ships of the line being here in a mass and fourteen there. Hitherto the 'Victory' had not returned a single gun, but a little before one o'clock in the afternoon the men were relieved from this trying state of inaction by the word of command to fire. The enemy had got so closely wedged together that it was found impossible to break through the line without running on board one of the ships. Apparently because it was now discovered or suspected that Admiral Villeneuve was on board that ship which lay next to the 'Santissima Trinidad,' the 'Victory' was instantly

* Collingwood, Letter to his Wife.

brought close up to the 'Bucentaure' of 80 guns, and then out went Nelson's terrible 68-pounder carronade from the 'Victory's' forecastle, discharging her usual loading, or one round shot and a keg filled with 500 musket-balls, which were fired right into the cabin-windows of the 'Bucentaure.' And, as the 'Victory' slowly moved a-head, every gun of the remaining fifty upon her larboard broadside, all double, and some of them treble shotted, was discharged deliberately and closely. So close indeed were the ships, that the ensign of the one trailed over the peak of the other, and, when they rolled, their spars touched. The British crew were nearly suffocated by the dense black smoke that entered the 'Victory's' port-holes. Before two minutes had passed nearly 400 men were killed or wounded in this French ship, twenty of her guns were dismounted, and she was almost put *hors de combat*. But the 'Neptune,' a fine French 80-gun ship, managing to open clear of the 'Bucentaure's' stern, poured a destructive fire upon the 'Victory's' bows; and the 'Redoutable' 74 raked the same ship with her foremost guns. As the French 'Neptune' receded, and as the 'Bucentaure' was almost silenced, the 'Victory' ran on board the 'Redoutable,' which was showing a very bold countenance. The French ship received her with a broadside; then instantly shut most of her lower-deck ports, for fear of being boarded through them, and fired from them no more. The 'Victory' ran foul of the 'Redoutable,' the sheet anchor of the one striking the spare anchor of the other; and the hooks and boom-irons getting intermixed or catching in the leash of the sails, held the two ships together. Almost as soon as the two ships got thus hooked together, Nelson's boatswain fired the starboard 68-pounder carronade, loaded as the larboard one had been, with one round shot, and the mortal keg of 500 bullets right upon the 'Redoutable's' decks; and this cleared the French ship's gangways. The guns of the middle and lower decks of the 'Victory' continued to be fired occasionally into the 'Redoutable,' who, on her part, fired her main-deck guns, and made a great use of musketry, chiefly from her tops, which were filled by soldiers. And, in addition to these muskets, the 'Redoutable' had in her fore and maintops some brass cohorns which fired langridge shot, and did great execution upon the 'Victory's' forecastle. While Nelson's starboard guns battered the sides of the 'Redoutable,' his larboard guns hammered the 'Santissima Trinidad,' which huge leviathan was now exposed, and which was soon in case to return the 'Victory's' fire. The 'Redoutable' took fire; the flames spread to the 'Victory,' threatening both ships with a flight into the air; but the English sailors put out their own fire, and threw buckets of water into the 'Redoutable' to help the French to put out theirs. Everything was going as well as his heart could desire, when, at about half-past one o'clock, as Nelson was walking on the larboard side of the

Death of Nelson.

quarter-deck with Captain Hardy, he was hit by a rifle or musket ball fired from the mizen-top of the 'Redoutable,' which was not more than fifteen yards from the spot: and he fell on his knees, but supported himself for a few seconds with his left hand which touched the deck. Then the strength of his left arm (his only one) failed him, and he fell on his left side, upon the very spot where his secretary had fallen dead; and his clothes were besmeared with poor Scott's blood. Hardy stooped to him, and expressed a hope that he was not wounded severely. Nelson replied, "They have done for me at last, Hardy."—"I hope not," said the Captain. "Yes! my backbone is shot through." A serjeant of the marines and two sailors, who had come up on seeing the admiral fall, now, by Hardy's direction, carried their beloved chief down to the cock-pit. As they were carrying him down the ladder he took out his handkerchief and covered his face and the stars or embroidery on his coat with it, in order that the crew might not be discouraged or afflicted. The cock-pit was crowded with the wounded and the dying, over whose bodies he was carried, to be laid upon a pallet in a midshipman's berth. Upon examination it was found that the ball had entered the left shoulder, through the fore-part of the epaulette, and lodged in the spine, and that the wound was mortal. The sad fact was concealed from all except Captain Hardy, the chaplain, and the surgeons. His sufferings from pain and thirst were very great: he frequently called for drink, and to be fanned with paper; saying, "Fan, fan, drink, drink:" and they gave him what is generally ready in British ships while in action, lemonade, to quench his burning thirst. He kept pushing away a bed-sheet, the only covering upon him, laying bare his slender limbs and emaciated body. He begged Dr. Beatty, the chief surgeon, to attend to others, as his attention to him was useless. As soon as the 'Victory' was somewhat disengaged from the crowd, Captain Hardy sent an officer to inform Collingwood that Nelson was wounded. Collingwood asked the officer if the wound was dangerous. The officer hesitated; then said he hoped it was not. "But," says Collingwood, "I saw the fate of my friend in his eye; for his look told what his tongue could not utter."*

Meanwhile the battle was going on well, although the 'Victory' continued to be beset most sorely. Every time a ship struck the crew of the 'Victory' hurraed; and then joy sparkled in the eye of the dying hero. He was, however, very impatient to see Captain Hardy, and sent for him repeatedly; but it was more than an hour before the captain could leave the quarter-deck, and go down to the cock-pit. They shook hands affectionately. Hardy was too much overcome by his feelings to be able to speak. But Nelson said, "Well, Hardy, how goes the battle?—how goes the day with us?" Then Hardy spoke, and said, "Very well, my lord; twelve or fourteen of the enemy's ships have struck; but five of their van have tacked, and shown an intention of bearing down upon the 'Victory.' I have therefore called two or three of our fresh ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."—"I hope, Hardy, that none of *our* ships have struck."—"No, my lord, there is no fear of that!"—"Hardy, my dear Hardy, I am a dead man. I am going fast; it will be all over with me soon."* Hardy returned to the quarter-deck: the ship continued to fire, and to be exposed to the fire of several enemies at once. The concussion of the firing so affected the dying man, that, apostrophising his ship, he muttered, "Oh, 'Victory,' 'Victory,' how you distract my poor brain!" and, after a pause, he said, "How dear is life to all men!" The 'Victory' now ceased firing, for she had done her work, and gloriously, and the last of her opponents were passing to windward and trying to escape. In about fifty minutes Captain Hardy descended a second time to the cockpit, and, again taking the hand of his dying friend, congratulated him on having obtained a brilliant and complete victory. He could not say how many of the enemy were taken, as it was impossible to see every ship distinctly: but he was certain that fourteen or fifteen at least had surrendered. "That 's well," murmured Nelson, "that 's well: but I bargained for twenty." And then he said, in a stronger voice, "Anchor, Hardy, anchor!" Hardy hinted that Admiral Collingwood would now take upon himself the direction of affairs. "Not while I live, Hardy," said Nelson, ineffectually endeavouring to raise himself from the bed; "No! do you anchor." The captain then said, "Shall *we* make the signal, sir?" "Yes," answered Nelson, "for if I live I 'll anchor." By which he is supposed to have meant that, in case of his surviving until all resistance was over, he would, if at all practicable, anchor the ships and the prizes, as the surest means of saving them in case of a gale of wind arising. As the captain was leaving him, with big tears in his eyes, Nelson called him back, and said in a low faint voice, "Hardy, take care of my dear Lady Hamilton; take care of poor Lady Hamilton! Kiss me, Hardy." The captain knelt and kissed his cheek; and Nelson said, "Now I am satisfied. Thank God! I have done my duty." Hardy stood over him in silence: then knelt again and kissed his forehead. The film of death was gathering over the eye of the expiring hero: and he said, "Who is that?" on being told, he added, "God bless you, Hardy!" and the captain then left him, and for ever. Nelson now said that he wished he had not left the quarter-deck, where he had received his death-wound. Some minutes before this all feeling below the breast was gone; and now death was rapidly approaching. He said a few scarcely articulate words to the chaplain; bidding him remember that he left Lady Hamilton and his daughter as a legacy to his country. He then said more distinctly, "Thank God, I have

* Letter from Collingwood to H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence.

* Dr. Beatty's Narrative.

done my duty!" He was heard to repeat these words several times: and they were the last words he uttered. His previous sufferings had been great; but they were now over, and he expired without a struggle or a groan at about thirty minutes after four, or three hours and a quarter after receiving his wound.*

Captain Blackwood coming on board the 'Victory' soon after, and learning the death of his patron and friend, carried the whole of the dismal news to Collingwood, together with Nelson's dying request, that the fleet and prizes should be brought to anchor as quickly as possible. Collingwood was deeply affected, and it was with tears in his eyes that he now first took the command of the whole fleet. During the greater part of the battle almost every captain had acted on his own judgment, and according to circumstances and accidental changes of position, even as Nelson had desired they all should do.† The great interest of the combat disappears with Nelson's disappearance from the quarter-deck of the 'Victory,' which happened about the middle of the action, but not before the defeat of the French and Spaniards was made certain. The 'Redoutable,' from whose top the fatal shot had been fired, made a gallant resistance. As the 'Victory' had the huge 'Santissima Trinidad,' and at times one or two more adversaries to contend with, Captain Eliab Harvey in the 'Temeraire' fell on board the 'Redoutable' on the other side; and during a long interval four or five ships, friends and enemies, formed a compact tier, lying head to head, and stern to stern, with the muzzles of their guns grating against each other. The greatest precaution was necessary to prevent the ships taking fire and being all blown into the air together: and on board the 'Victory' the firemen of each gun stood ready with a bucket of water. The 'Redoutable' struck her colours about twenty minutes after Nelson was carried below. The 'Temeraire' then got loose and went in search of other opponents, and she soon had two or three to her own share. As the British ships came through the gap which had been made in Villeneuve's line or crescent, as they broke through the forest of masts he had formed on his right, and as they got into close action, the last hope of the Frenchman vanished; several of his ships were attacked larboard and starboard, fore and aft, experiencing the fatal effects which the foremost English ships had braved and borne during the earlier stages of the action. Neither Spaniards nor French could bear it; many of the French, on being engaged muzzle to muzzle, let down their lower deck ports and deserted their guns; the Spaniards on board the 'Santissima Trinidad,' being no longer able to stand the fire of the 'Victory,' and not knowing whither else to fly to, leaped overboard and swam to her bow and sides, and were actually helped up her sides or taken in at her lower ports by the crew of the 'Victory.' The masts of the 'Santissima Trinidad' fell with a terrible crash, and she was taken possession of by a lieutenant who had only a boat's crew with him. Before this time the 'Bucentaure,' which had never recovered from the effects of Nelson's terrible 68-pounder and first broadside, had hauled down her colours; and, as a captain of English marines took possession of her with a corporal, two privates of his own corps, and two seamen, he had found on board Admiral Villeneuve, who had tendered him his sword as he stepped on the quarter-deck. Before three o'clock ten ships of the line had struck. The 'Sant' Anna,' which had sustained the first tremendous broadside of Collingwood's ship, the 'Royal Sovereign,' hauled down her flag at about half-past two. But the 'Royal Sovereign' herself had been so much injured in her masts and yards by the fire of the 'Sant' Anna,' and the fire of the other ships that lay on her bow and quarter, that she was unable to alter her position. Collingwood therefore called up the 'Euryalus' frigate to take the 'Royal Sovereign' in tow, and to receive on board the frigate the Spanish Vice-Admiral Alava and the other officers that belonged to the 'Sant' Anna.' Captain Blackwood found that poor Alava, who had behaved heroically in the action, was dangerously, if not mortally, wounded, and could not be moved; but he brought away the captain of the ship. This officer had already been to the 'Royal Sovereign' to deliver up his sword; on entering he had asked one of the sailors the name of the ship; and, upon being told that it was the 'Royal Sovereign,' he had replied in broken English, "I think she should be called the 'Royal Devil.'"* The Rear-Admiral Cisneros had been taken on board the 'Santissima Trinidad.' One Spanish 74, the 'Sant' Agostin,' was utterly ruined by one broadside from the 'Leviathan,' which carried away her mizen-mast, wounded her captain, and killed or wounded 160 of her crew. In all these terrible broadsides most of the English guns were double shotted, and some of them were treble shotted. The conflicts which took place yard-arm to yard-arm appear to have been the most destructive to the English, as all the enemy's ships had musketry in their tops, and most of them also cohorns like the 'Redoutable.' Admiral Gravina, in the 'Principe de Asturias,' a 112-gun ship, fell away to leeward of the rear, and made off with four other ships. Five other ships, four French and one Spanish, under Villeneuve's second, Rear-Admiral Dumanoir, which had taken little or no part in the action, and which, consequently, had sustained little or no damage in their masts and sails, while hardly any of the hard-fought English ships had a stick left standing, hauled off to windward; but, as Dumanoir passed the 'Royal Sovereign,' the 'Conqueror,' and the 'Victory,' which were lying like logs upon the water, he and the three French ships with him

* Southey.—Dr. Beatty, Narrative.

† "Few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down."—*Letter from Collingwood to W. Marsden, Esq., of the Admiralty.*

* Collingwood's Memoirs and Correspondence.

poured their shot not only into those English ships, but also into the Spanish prizes they had made. Both Gravina and Dumanoir escaped from the battle; but Gravina had been mortally wounded, and Dumanoir and his squadron fell in, in their flight, with Sir Richard Strachan, who was cruising in search of the Rochefort squadron, and were all taken on the 4th of November. Nineteen ships of the line struck at Trafalgar. The 'Achille,' a French 74, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of her crew took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by English tenders, who picked them out of the water. The total number of prisoners taken, including the land forces on board, amounted to nearly 12,000. The total British loss in the battle was 1587, including many officers, besides the greatest of all. Captain Duff of the 'Mars,' and Captain Cooke of the 'Bellerophon,' were among the slain. The French, out of eighteen sail of the line, preserved only nine, and the Spaniards, out of fifteen sail of the line, preserved only six; the moral effect was as great as the physical one; between the two the marine force at the disposal of Bonaparte might be said to be annihilated.

Nelson's crowning glory rescued England from all chance of invasion, and left her sovereign of the seas. After the battle of Trafalgar the task of the British navy, which had attained under Nelson to a degree of perfection which it had never approached before, was of the easiest execution: nor could reverse, defeat, or disgrace have possibly attended our flag in any seas, if our changing boards of admiralty and variable governments had known how to make use of the mighty powers and energies at their disposal, and had discarded on one hand their proneness to jobbery or to political trafficking in promotions, and on the other hand their incidental fits of economy.

At the end of the battle very few of the English ships were in a condition to carry sail, and fourteen of them, besides having their masts knocked to pieces, were considerably damaged in hull: of the prizes they had taken, eight were wholly dismasted; the rest were partially dismasted, and some of them were almost in a sinking state. In the evening they were all huddled together, and in a most perilous situation, for the shoals of Trafalgar were only a few miles to leeward, and the wind was blowing dead on the shore. When Collingwood made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their anchors having been shot away, or their cables all ruined. "But," adds Collingwood, "the same good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points and drifting the ships off the land." Four of the dismasted prizes, however, having good anchors and cables left, anchored off Cape Trafalgar. But on the morrow a gale came on from the south-west; the 'Redoutable,' French 74, went down; the 'Fougueux,' another 74, drove on shore; the 'Bucentaure' was wrecked on the coast; and the 'Algesiras,' one of the four prizes which had anchored, was carried into Cadiz by the crew, who rose upon the English lieutenant and prize party, after they had ordered the hatches to be taken off in order that the prisoners might have an opportunity of saving their lives. On the morning of the 23rd, favoured by a north-westerly wind, five of the ships of the line which had escaped came out of Cadiz, with the five French frigates and two brigs which had suffered nothing in the action, with the intention of recovering some of the scattered prizes, or of taking some of the crippled English ships. These uninjured frigates recaptured the 'Sant' Anna' and the 'Neptune,' and carried both safe into port. But the enemy lost more than they gained by this sortie, for another storm arose, and the 'Indomptable,' which had taken on board the crew of the 'Bucentaure' in addition to her own, was wrecked at the head of Cadiz Bay, and of 1100 or 1200 souls not above 100 were saved; a Spanish 74 went on shore in the bay near Fort Santa Catalina, and then to pieces, but the greater portion of her crew were saved; and a Spanish 100-gun ship rolled away her masts and became a mere hulk. The damage which all these vessels had sustained in the great battle rendered them unfit for sea. Captain Pulteney Malcolm, coming round from Gibraltar with the 'Donegal,' 74, which had not been in the action, captured the 100-gunned Spaniard; and the 'Leviathan' captured a Spanish 74 which had been in the action, and which had struck her colours, though she was now endeavouring to escape; but both the 100-gun ship and the 74 were in a sinking state, and they both went on shore, not without loss of life to the English prize-parties in possession of them. The bad weather continuing, and Collingwood apprehending that the French frigates in Cadiz Bay might make another dash at his unmanageable prizes, the huge 'Santissima Trinidad' was cleared, scuttled, and sunk. The 'Aigle,' French 74, drifted into Cadiz Bay and got stranded on the bar off Fort Santa Maria. On the 28th, and not sooner, Collingwood got his fleet and his shattered prizes to anchor on the coast between Cadiz and San Lucar. But even here it was found necessary to burn one French 74 and one Spanish 74, and to scuttle a Spanish 80-gun ship; while another French 74, owing, it is said, to the frenzied behaviour of a portion of the French prisoners on board, who cut the cables, struck upon the shoals, and was lost. On this occasion, as on many others, noble efforts were made by the English sailors to save the lives of their enemies and prisoners. Captain Pulteney Malcolm put out all his boats to rescue the drowning French; but, although many were thus saved, above 200 perished: In all fourteen of the prizes were burnt, sunk, or run on shore, and only three Spanish ships of the line and one French were saved and kept as trophies. "Our own infirm ships," says Collingwood, "could scarce keep off the shore;

the prizes were left to their fate; and, as they were driven very near the port, I ordered them to be destroyed, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the enemy." The Spaniards generally had fought bravely in the action; but the heart of the Spanish people was not in that cause; some humane and politic conduct of Collingwood, being superadded to the very unfavourable effects produced by Dumanoir's conduct, and by various other deeds of their French allies, produced a sudden popular reaction favourable to the English. "To alleviate," says Collingwood, "the miseries of the wounded as much as was in my power, I sent a flag to the Marquis de la Solano (captain-general of Andalusia) to offer him his wounded. Nothing can exceed the gratitude expressed by him for this act of humanity: all this part of Spain is in an uproar of praise and thankfulness to the English. Solano sent me a present of a cask of wine, and we have a free intercourse with the shore. Judge of the footing we are on when I tell you he offered me his hospitals, and pledged the Spanish honour for the care and cure of our wounded men. Our officers and men who were wrecked in some of the prize-ships were most kindly treated; all the country was on the beach to receive them; the priests and women distributing wine and bread and fruit amongst them. The soldiers turned out of their barracks to make lodging for them; whilst their allies, the French, were left to shift for themselves, with a guard over them to prevent their doing mischief."* All this tended to obliterate the recollections of the melancholy affair of the four treasure-frigates, and to qualify the Spaniards for that close alliance with the English into which they were so soon driven by Bonaparte; and enabled Collingwood to exercise a powerful influence over the people of Spain at the commencement of their great rising.

Admiral Villeneuve, who acknowledged that the French could no longer think of contending with us at sea, was brought over to England, but was almost immediately liberated on parole, and allowed to return to France. Perhaps it would have been better for himself to have been retained a close prisoner; for scarcely had he reached Rennes on his way to Paris when his name was added to that ambiguous list of suicides which was headed by the names of Pichegru and Wright. There is a very suspicious variety in the French accounts given of his death: some say he shot himself with a pistol upon receiving information that the government had prohibited his appearing at Paris; others say that he fell upon his own sword; others that he poignarded himself; while by still another account, which is reported to have been in after years Bonaparte's own account of the matter, he put himself to death in a studied, scientific manner with a curious pin-propelling machine.† In the first instance the imperial Corsican had tried to make light of the battle of Trafalgar, and to varnish over the terrible defeat with bold lies. He caused to be inserted in the Moniteur the most mendacious accounts of the movements and operations of the combined fleets of France and Spain, together with allusions to the great exploits his navy was to perform, when that navy no longer existed; and when he opened the session of the legislative body of Paris, only a few weeks before Villeneuve's death, he declared with his own mouth that "a tempest had deprived him of some few ships, after a battle imprudently entered into." This was all he said there; but in other places he had flown out violently against the unfortunate admiral, and had asserted and maintained that Villeneuve had disobeyed his instructions, and that victory and triumph must have ultimately attended the French flag if that admiral had only adhered to the orders which he had sent him. Now, these orders, as we have stated, were in themselves embarrassing and contradictory—they were orders such, perhaps, as might be expected from a land officer, ignorant of the sea;—and, besides, the last order which Villeneuve received at Cadiz, instead of enjoining him not to sail, was imperative as to his putting to sea immediately; and this, indeed, Villeneuve could not long have avoided doing, as Collingwood's extended blockade had cut off all his supplies, and as Cadiz and its neighbourhood, denuded, and in no friendly humour, offered him scarcely any resources. If Villeneuve had survived he could have told his own story, and have convicted Bonaparte both of imprudence in meddling with sea matters, and of gross falsehood afterwards; and, to save their emperor from this painful exposure, many of Fouché's secret agents would have been quite ready to commit a secret murder, and make it pass off as suicide. In spite too of the Moniteur, and of public speeches to the so-called legislature, it was found impossible to conceal for any length of time the real nature and results of the battle of Trafalgar: soldiers and sailors who had been in the action returned home from Spain; merchants and bankers received full intelligence in private letters; and, as English newspapers continued to be smuggled into France notwithstanding all the efforts made by Bonaparte and Fouché to prevent it, and as many of the Bourbon party in the Faubourg St. Germain took a pleasure in translating such English articles, and in reporting the substance of them wherever they went, the fearful catastrophe became known in its full ex-

* Letter to J. E. Blackett, Esq., 2nd Nov., 1805.

† This last account seems to us the most suspicious of all. "Villeneuve," says Bonaparte, "when taken prisoner and carried to England, was so much grieved at his defeat, that he studied anatomy on purpose to destroy himself. He bought some anatomical plates of the heart and its regions, and compared them with his own body in order to ascertain the precise situation of the heart. On his arrival in France I ordered that he should remain at Rennes, and not proceed to Paris. Villeneuve, afraid of being tried by a court-martial for disobedience of orders, and consequently losing the fleet, for I had ordered him not to sail, or to engage the English, determined to destroy himself, and accordingly took his plates of the heart and compared them with his breast. Exactly in the centre of the plate he made a mark with a large pin, then fixed the pin as near as he could judge in the same spot in his own breast, shoved it in to the head, penetrated his heart, and expired. When the room was opened he was found dead; the pin in his breast, and a mark in the plate corresponding with the wound in his breast. He need not have done it, as he was a brave man, though possessed of no talent."—*A Voice from St. Helena.*

FUNERAL OF LORD NELSON.

tent; thus rendering the emperor the more eager to throw the whole blame upon Villeneuve, and prevent the possibility of that admiral's replying. Suspicions were excited by the measures taken to prevent Villeneuve's appearing in Paris; they were confirmed by the contradictory accounts promulgated about the manner of his death; and it appears to have been very generally believed at the time that Villeneuve did not perish by his own hand. Among the Bonapartists, however (and the great majority of the French people were now of this party, even as they had once been Robespierrists), the reverses at sea were easily forgotten in the successes on shore; the dazzling glories of Ulm and Austerlitz filled their eyes and imaginations; and the opening of the campaign against Prussia, and the grand and successful battle of Jena, made them forget that there was or ever had been such a place in the world as Trafalgar Bay. They indeed henceforward renounced all hope of invading and conquering England; nay, even of contending with her as a maritime power; but they flattered themselves that they found more than an equivalent in the easy subjugation and plunder of the continent; and that the continental system, which began to occupy Bonaparte's mind, as soon as his navy was destroyed, would, by closing all the ports of Europe to English commerce, reduce the proud rival of France to poverty and despair.

In Great Britain the intelligence of the battle of Trafalgar, which came as a seasonable relief to the gloom created by Mack's surrender at Ulm and Bonaparte's advance upon Vienna, was received with deep and mingled emotions, of joy for the victory, and grief for the death of the victor. All honours were paid to Nelson's remains; there was lying in state in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, there were funeral processions by water and by land of unexampled solemnity and magnificence: but —and we know not why—the body was not interred in the sacred place for which he had a preference, and the name of which had been often on his lips while rushing into action. Instead of being buried in Westminster Abbey his remains were deposited under the noble dome of St. Paul's; a fitting and glorious resting-place, yet still not that which he had himself in a manner selected. But dying requests to which he attached more importance were disregarded: his brother, a retired country clergyman, who succeeded to his titles,

NELSON'S SARCOPHAGUS.

was raised in the British peerage from the rank of a viscount to that of an earl; 6000*l.* a year, and the sum of 100,000*l.* for the purchase of an estate, were granted to him by parliament, which furthermore voted 10,000*l.* to each of his sisters; but not one farthing was ever granted either to his adopted or real daughter Horatia, or to Lady Hamilton, whose essential services to the country ought to have secured some reward, in spite of the immorality of her connexion with Lord Nelson—a connexion which had been winked at by the admiral's sisters who got the 10,000*l.* a-piece, and who, as we have seen, were living under the same roof, at Merton, with their brother and (it is best to speak plain) his mistress, when, at the call of his country, he flew to fight and die at Trafalgar. What Lady Hamilton's public services had been was distinctly and correctly stated in the last words Nelson ever wrote;* they were personal services, and benefits procured to the British fleet, by means of her close and bosom friendship with Caroline of Austria, the proud Queen of Naples; they were services which none but she could have achieved; and it was assuredly a squeamish sort of morality in the court, cabinet, and parliament of Great Britain, which withheld a recompense for these public services, and condemned an erring but an interesting, a patriotic, and high-minded woman, to poverty and absolute misery for the rest of her days, on account of irregularities in her private life and conduct. Even at that day when rigid morality was in fashion at court (although Queen Charlotte had received Warren Hastings's dubious wife), if the pension-list had been gone over, more than one person would have been found living on the bounty of the nation, who had all Lady Hamilton's faults, frailties, or vices, without any of her abilities, spirit, and public services to plead in their favour. The "good Emma," the "brave Emma"—and to the fascinated Nelson she ever appeared both good and brave—after struggling for some years with affliction and poverty (for, though Nelson left her all he could, he had been so careless about money and property of any kind, that he had scarcely anything to leave),* after having recourse to several questionable means of getting money, and injuring the memory of her idol by selling his love-letters to a bookseller, died in France, in or near the town of Calais, without a friend near her, without a shilling, without a comfort; and her body was denied Christian burial, and treated like that of a dog by the bigoted Catholic clergy of the restored Bourbons.† And yet her moral domestic irregularities had not prevented the beautiful, graceful, fascinating woman from obtaining the homage and the close intimacy of the great and high-born, when she could, as the wife of a British ambassador and the friend of a foreign queen, and the *chère amie* of a British admiral, the favourite of victory, bestow splendid hospitalities, procure favours and advantages, and open some of the roads to employment and promotion: the obscurity of her birth, the notorious history of her early life, when she lived with painters and served them as a living model, had not been any impediment to the incense offered up to her by lords and ladies, colonels, generals, captains, admirals, chaplains, deans, bishops: for many years her saloons at Naples had been filled and crowded by the aristocracy of Europe, and what is called the *élite* of the English fashionable world; many were the favours and honours, and substantial benefits she had obtained for others—but when her hour of need came she found not one to help her, and her former intimates excused their want of generosity—even as the nation excused its want of liberality—by canting about Lady Hamilton's immorality.

In the course of the year several great advantages were obtained by our arms in the East Indies.

*October 21st, 1805. Then in sight of the combined fleets of France and Spain, distant about ten miles.

"Whereas the eminent services of Emma Hamilton, widow of the Right Honourable Sir William Hamilton, have been of the very greatest service to my king and country, to my knowledge, without ever receiving any reward from either our king or country.

"First, that she obtained the King of Spain's letter, in 1796, to his brother, the King of Naples, acquainting him of his intention to declare war against England; from which letter the ministry sent out orders to the then Sir John Jervis to strike a stroke, if opportunity offered, against either the arsenals of Spain or her fleets. That neither of these was done is not the fault of Lady Hamilton; the opportunity might have been offered.

"Secondly; The British fleet under my command could never have returned the second time to Egypt, had not Lady Hamilton's influence with the Queen of Naples caused letters to be wrote to the governor of Syracuse, that he was to encourage the fleets' being supplied with everything, should they put into any port in Sicily. We put into Syracuse, and received every supply; went to Egypt, and destroyed the French fleet.

"Could I have rewarded these services, I would not now call upon my country; but, as that has not been in my power, I leave Emma Lady Hamilton, therefore, a legacy to my king and country, that they will give her an ample provision to maintain her rank in life.

"I also leave to the beneficence of my country my adopted daughter, Horatia Nelson Thompson; and I desire she will use in future the name of Nelson only.

"These are the only favours I ask of my king and country, at this moment when I am going to fight their battle. May God bless my king and country, and all those I hold dear! My relations it is needless to mention; they will, of course, be amply provided for.

"Nelson and Bronte.

"Witness { Henry Blackwood, T. M. Hardy."

*Her husband, Sir William Hamilton, had left her nothing. This was not on account of any resentment, for Sir William, from the first dawn of their acquaintance with Nelson, had behaved rather like an Italian than an English husband, and had lived with them (and for long intervals the three lived under the same roof) in undisturbed harmony down to the day of his death, on the 6th of April, 1803; but it arose from the state of poverty and embarrassment in which he died.

† She died on or about the 17th day of January, in the year 1815, when Bonaparte was Emperor of Elba, but preparing that return to France which lasted the hundred days, and led to the battle of Waterloo. The French Catholic priests, or those of them among whom it was Lady Hamilton's lot to fall, had learned no moderation or tolerance from persecution and long suffering; like all parties in France, they were immoderate and rabid as soon as there appeared a prospect of their becoming a dominant or strong party. They knew and cared nothing about Emma's moral irregularities; they only knew that she was an Englishwoman and a Protestant (or, in their language, a heretic), and therefore it was that they refused her the rites of Christian burial—

"Denied the charity of dust to spread
O'er dust!"

It is said that she was even refused a coffin, and buried in a sack; till an English gentleman, hearing of this brutal bigotry, interfered, and had the body taken up, placed in a coffin, and interred respectfully, though not in consecrated ground. But here, we believe, the priests have been charged with what was really the effect of the poverty in which she died. In most Catholic countries on the Continent it was, and still is, the custom to bury the poor without coffin, shell, or shroud, without even so much as a sack. Coffins are reserved for those who can pay for them: but in some of these countries (as all through the south of Italy) the richest, as well as the poorest, are consigned to the grave without any coffin or shell: they are carried, indeed, to the place of interment upon trappings of the most gaudy kind, but nothing of all this is buried with them, the bier, the mort-cloths, and every thing else being kept to serve for many another occasion, and nothing being put into the tomb except some old clothes.

HILL FORTRESS.

Notwithstanding the victories of Generals Lake and Arthur Wellesley in 1802-3, a fresh Mahratta war broke out in 1804. The great chief Holkar, who had remained inactive during the war against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, and who had been strengthening himself while they had been rushing to their ruin, suddenly assumed an attitude which excited alarm or suspicion. Having refused to enter into an amicable negotiation, General, now Lord Lake, and General Fraser were sent against Holkar. One or two hill-fortresses were stormed, a skirmish or two were fought, and then, on the 13th of November, 1804, Holkar's infantry and artillery, strongly posted near the fortress of Deeg, in the midst of tanks, topes, and morasses, were entirely defeated by General Fraser, who charged them with the bayonet, under a terrific fire of round, grape, and chain shot. Unfortunately a cannon ball took off Fraser's leg, and he died of his wounds a few days after. The number of killed and wounded in his small army amounted to 643; but 87 fine pieces of artillery of European fabric, well mounted on field carriages, and furnished with every requisite apparatus, were captured; and the best disciplined part, the flower of Holkar's army, twenty-four disciplined battalions, were dispersed. On the 17th of November, Lord Lake, after a rapid and brilliant movement, surprised and thoroughly defeated the whole cavalry of Holkar, who was himself in the field, and had great difficulty in escaping from it after the battle. The scene of this affair was Furruckabad. The war would have been finished by it but for an alliance which Holkar contracted with the powerful Rajah of Bhurtpore. On the 1st of December, 1804, Lord Lake having resolved to reduce all the forts within the Bhurtpore territory, joined his army to the forces which General Fraser had brought into the country, and which were now commanded by Colonel Monson. The fortress of Deeg was garrisoned by the troops of Holkar, in conjunction with the troops of his ally, the Rajah of Bhurtpore; it was well furnished with artillery before, and since the battle all the pieces which Fraser's army had not taken had been carried within the walls and placed in battery. The British were in possession of the town and all the outworks by the morning of the 24th of December; and on the morning of Christmas-day, 1804, the Mahrattas evacuated the citadel, flying in a panic, and leaving everything behind them. Deeg was a town of considerable size and importance, and had been considered as almost inaccessible to an enemy during the greater part of the year, from its being nearly surrounded by lakes and marshes. It had been a royal dwelling: it had massy gateways and tall towers surmounted by very heavy artillery. But the importance of this place was far inferior to that of the celebrated maiden fortress of Bhurtpore, which stood amidst jungles and water at the distance of about thirty English miles from Agra. On the 1st of January, 1805, Lord Lake and Colonel Monson moved from Deeg to this well-defended capital of the rajah; and on the 3rd the British took up their encampment-ground for the prosecution of a siege which has scarcely a parallel in the history of modern India, and which witnessed minings and explosions of unprecedented magnitude. Lake found that report had not exaggerated the strength of this place: Bhurtpore

was amazingly strong, both naturally and artificially, and its garrison was a numerous and a resolute army. When breaches were made, several assaults were most successfully repelled by the Indians. In one of these affairs Lake lost nearly 300 Europeans and 200 Sepoys: the enemy butchered in cold blood all the wounded who fell in the ditch or beyond the outer wall; and several of Lake's best officers were slain. With great alacrity strong stockades were formed behind the breaches. No progress was made until the 18th of January, when Major General Smith arrived at camp with three battalions of Sepoys belonging to the garrison of Agra, and 100 convalescent Europeans, who had performed a march of fifty miles, by a circuitous route, in twenty-four hours; and when Ishmael Beeg deserted from Holkar and joined the English with 500 native horse. Better advances were then made, and the batteries of the besiegers renewed their fire with greater vigour. By the 21st of January a very wide breach was effected; but the enemy, fearful that their guns would be dismounted, if they were at all exposed, drew them behind their parapets, and kept them in reserve to pour destruction upon the English, whenever they should advance again to storm the place; and, lured by the present of six lacs of rupees, and by the tempting prospect of plunder, Meer Khan, a great chieftain, who was then in Bundelkund, marched with all his forces towards Bhurtpore to assist the rajah. On the morning of the 21st, before daybreak, dispositions were made by Lake for trying another storm. Portable bridges had been made for traversing the ditch; but the head of our storming column found that the enemy had dammed up the ditch below the breach, and caused a great body of water that had been kept above it to be poured in, by which means the ditch was widened and deepened almost instantaneously. As the portable bridges were now too short, and as there was eight feet water in the ditch, Colonel MacRae, who commanded the column, ordered an instant retreat, although some of his people had swum across the water and had even mounted the breach. This was another murderous affair, for during the whole time that Colonel MacRae was advancing towards the walls, or hesitating at the brink of the ditch, or retreating across open ground towards Lord Lake's trenches, the enemy kept up a heavy fire of grape, round shot, and musketry, and nearly six hundred men and eighteen officers fell at different points killed or wounded. And when this was over Meer Khan from Bundelkund appeared in the rear of the besiegers' encampment with clouds of cavalry, partly his own and partly the well armed and mounted people of Holkar. The British cavalry, however, held these forces in check, and towards night-fall the English artillery dispersed them, and killed some fifty of them with the galloper guns. Lake had commenced the campaign with gigantic material, with 200 elephants, 2000 camels, and 100,000 bullocks, for carrying grain, equipage, and baggage: he was already in want of provisions and stores, and a convoy of 12,000 bullocks, loaded with provisions, was anxiously expected. As this convoy was guarded only by a small body of matchlock-men, a regiment of native cavalry and a battalion of a European regiment were detached, under the command of Captain Walsh, to meet it on its way and escort it from Mutra to the camp. Walsh joined the convoy without any difficulty; but on the morning of the 23rd of January, when only a few miles from the camp, he was beset and attacked by Meer Khan at the head of 8000 horse. Captain Walsh retreated into a large open village with the greater part of the convoy intact; but some of the bullocks were of necessity abandoned. Though assailed on all sides, his musketry and field-pieces repeatedly beat off the assailants, but, two of his guns getting disabled, the enemy made a desperate push on that point and gained possession of part of the village. Walsh's guns were heard in the English camp, and forthwith Colonel Need sounded boot and saddle, and, with an English regiment of dragoons and a regiment of native cavalry, galloped towards the spot. The Sepoys in the village, on perceiving the clouds of dust which marked Need's advance across the plain, set up a loud and joyous shout, and, sallying forth upon Meer Khan's guns, they carried them at the point of the bayonet just as Need arrived with his two regiments of horse, who then dashed among the Mahrattas, and put them to flight. Six hundred of the Khan's people were left dead on the field, and he himself escaped with the utmost difficulty, leaving behind him forty flags, all his artillery and tumbrils, his own palanquin, arms, armour, and splendid attire, and flying in the disguise of a common soldier. On the 24th another detachment was sent from the camp for the protection of another and greater convoy coming from Agra, with many thousand bullocks carrying grain, and about 800 hackeries laden with stores, ammunition, 18-pound shot for the battering guns, and six lacs of rupees. On the 29th Holkar, the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and Meer Khan, having united for the purpose all the forces they could collect, threatened an attack on this rich convoy; but Lake had sent out a second detachment to meet the other on the road; and, although the convoy was repeatedly surrounded, it was brought into camp without the loss of a single bullock, for the rajah's infantry fled on the first appearance of the second English detachment, and the cavalry would not venture near enough for a real attack. A good many of the latter were killed in the jungle by grape-shot and the swords of some of our dragoons.

As the number of the enemy within the walls of Bhurtpore was increased rather than diminished, and as the two attempted assaults had cost so great a sacrifice of life, Lake resolved to proceed with more caution. On the 6th of February his army changed ground, and, after clearing the vicinity of the enemy's cavalry, which still came round about in clouds, he established a strong chain of posts,

and then leisurely made his preparations for pressing the siege. Boats, or coracles, made of wicker-work and covered with hides, such as are described by Cæsar as used by the ancient Britons, and such as are still seen paddling on the river Wye and other Welsh waters, were constructed to serve as pontoons; and, as an additional means of crossing the broad deep moat, a portable raft was made about 40 feet long and 16 feet broad, which was to be buoyed up by inflated oilskins and casks. But while this was doing in front of Bhurtpore Meer Khan wheeled round with his flying horse, rushed into the Dooab, and invaded the Company's own territories, being accompanied or followed by clouds of Pindarries, the freebooters and moss-troopers of India, who made war solely for the purpose of plunder. The Rajah of Bhurtpore had calculated that this unexpected invasion would induce Lord Lake to raise the siege; but his lordship merely detached Major-General Smith with a part of his cavalry, and with the horse artillery, and continued his operations as before. Smith executed the duty entrusted to him with spirit and rapidity, and with complete success, crossing and recrossing the Jumna and the Ganges, and plunging through other streams which intersected the country, climbing lofty mountains, the off-shoots of the stupendous Himalaya chain, and making marches which were never surpassed by any army. The burning villages and the wasted country showed him the way which Meer Khán had taken. He came up with that chieftain on the afternoon of the 1st of March, near the town of Afzulghur, and routed him with great loss. The khan's principal officers were killed or captured, and a band of stout, hardy, and brave Patans, the pride of his army, were literally cut to pieces on the field of battle, for they would neither fly nor surrender. Meer Khan went off like the wind, evacuating the Company's territories, and recrossing the Ganges with a very diminutive force. General Smith, after restoring order to the country, returned to Bhurtpore, the point from which he had started. His chase had lasted him a month, during which he had ridden over 700 miles of the roughest country.* If the energy and activity of our Indian armies had been infused into the armies of Europe that were contending with the French, or if the British government had learned from them the reliance which might be placed on the English soldier, and had thrown at once upon one proper part of the European continent a force deserving of the name of an army, the career of Bonaparte might have been checked as early as 1805 or 1806.

During the absence of General Smith Lord Lake had been joined by a division of the Bombay army, under Major-General Jones. This division, consisting only of four battalions of Sepoys, one entire British regiment, and eight companies of another, a troop of Bombay cavalry, 500 native irregular horse, and a few field-pieces, had made another dashing and extraordinary march, having traversed the whole of Malwa, and having penetrated through the very heart of the Mahratta empire, including the hereditary dominions of Holkar and Scindiah. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, however, Lord Lake found that to take Bhurtpore by storm or by siege was no easy work. When wider breaches were made, and when arrangements were being made for a fresh assault, the rajah's people unexpectedly sallied out in great force, and slew a heap of the besiegers with their long pikes and tulwars: when the assault was made by several storming parties who were to rush simultaneously on different parts of the works, some fatal mistakes were committed, the Sepoys lost heart, and, after being enfiladed right and left by the enemy's guns, and witnessing the terrible effects of a mine which was sprung, the attacking columns retreated with a terrible loss, nearly 1000 Europeans and Sepoys being killed or wounded. One of the attacking columns, however, gained possession of eleven of the enemy's guns, and succeeded in carrying them all off to the camp. But the army was now suffering greatly by the want of supplies of every description; the cannon ball and powder were nearly all spent; and, therefore, on the very next day Lake ordered a fresh assault. This time he threw the whole of his European force and several battalions of native infantry against those obstinate and fatal walls. Some of the English soldiers were seen driving their bayonets into the wall, one over another, and endeavouring by these steps to reach the top; but they were knocked down by logs of wood, large shot, and other missiles from above. Others attempted to get up by the shot-holes which the battering guns had made here and there; but, as only two at the most could advance together in this perilous climbing, those who ventured were easily killed, and when one man fell he brought down with him those who were immediately beneath. Some few got to the top. Lieutenant Templeton, who headed the storming parties, was killed just as he had planted the colours near the summit; and Major Menzies, who had followed him, and had actually gained the dangerous eminence, was slain as he was cheering on his men. And all the while the enemy, who appear to have been aided by some French artillerymen, and by men who had studied the art of war under M. Perron, kept up an incessant fire of grape-shot, and the

* Major Thorn, who had accompanied General Smith on these flying marches, says, "The detachment after this expedition was somewhat the worse for wear; but, though many of the horses were completely knocked up, the state of the whole was far better than what might have been reasonably expected. It merits remark, that the Bengal cavalry, throughout the campaign, endured trials and hardships almost surpassing conception. Independent of their previous long marches up to Delhi, they had pursued Holkar closely for above 500 miles, till they overtook him and completed his overthrow at the battle of Furruckabad, shortly after which they were called off unexpectedly to the chase of Meer Khan, whom they followed through all his doublings and windings, over rivers of great magnitude, and to the mountains of Kemaou, from whence he was forced back, discomfited and abandoned by the hardiest of his followers. In this fatiguing course, the most harassing part which we had to undergo consisted in our nocturnal marches, which, continuing night after night through the whole month, proved exceedingly distressing to man and beast, in depriving them of that natural rest which they sought in vain during the heat of the day."—*Memoir of the War in India, conducted by General Lord Lake*, &c.

people on the walls continually threw down upon the heads of their assailants heavy pieces of timber, great stones, flaming bales of cotton, previously dipped in oil, and pots filled with gunpowder and other combustibles. At last Colonel Monson gave up the case as hopeless, recalled the storming parties, and returned to the trenches. This time the loss in killed and wounded seems to have exceeded 1000: of English officers alone five were killed and twelve wounded. In Lake's several attempts to carry the fortress of Bhurtpore by storm, 3100 men, and a very great number of officers, had been killed or wounded. His lordship now converted his siege into a blockade. His guns, which were nearly all blown at the touch-hole, were withdrawn (there appears to have been a want of artillery and engineering skill and science), detachments were sent off for supplies and for fresh guns, and parts of the army were moved to other positions to block up the roads leading into the town—a difficult undertaking, for the cavalry of the enemy was still very numerous, and Lake's cavalry was absent with General Smith, who had not yet returned from pursuing Meer Khan. But, when the Rajah of Bhurtpore saw that convoys, with supplies of all kinds from different parts, and battering guns and ammunition from Futtyghur and Allyghur were arriving daily in camp; that the old guns which had been blown were repaired and rendered efficient; that he had little or no assistance to expect from his allies, Holkar and Meer Khan; that new batteries were erecting, and that nothing seemed likely to shake the determination or interrupt the perseverance of the British, he lost faith in his lucky star, and sent vakeels to negotiate for a peace. But these negotiations were suspended by the re-appearance of Holkar in great force about eight miles to the westward of Bhurtpore. Fortunately, however, at this moment, the British cavalry, which had been pursuing Meer Khan, arrived at the camp; and after resting a few days it marched silently out by night, headed by Lord Lake himself, who intended to beat up the quarters of Holkar. But the Mahratta got information of this intended visit, and was in full flight before his lordship could reach the spot. Some 200 of the fugitives were overtaken and slain, their camp was destroyed, and some elephants, horses, and camels were captured. Still, however, Holkar lingered in the neighbourhood, and was joined by Meer Khan with the fragment of his force, as well as by some bands of Pindarries, who rarely lost many men in action, because they never stayed to fight when they could gallop away. This accession of force seems to have made Holkar careless; for on the 2nd of April he was charged in front and on both his flanks by Lake's cavalry, and put to the rout with a terrible loss. He fled across the Chumbul river with about 8000 horse, 5000 foot, and 20 or 30 guns, the miserable remains of the great army with which he had opened the campaign, threatening to annihilate the British dominion in Hindustan. Some troops that were advancing to his succour were beaten and scattered by a British detachment which marched out of Agra. Holkar then fled to join Scindiah, who, notwithstanding the dreadful chastisement he had received at the hands of General Wellesley, and the treaty he had concluded in December, 1803, was contemplating a renewal of the war with the English. But the Rajah of Bhurtpore was in no condition to wait the effects of a new confederacy; and on the 10th of April he repaired in person to Lake's camp and implored for peace. This was granted by Lord Lake upon the following terms:—1. The fortress of Deeg was to remain in the hands of the English till they should be assured of the rajah's fidelity, who pledged himself never to have any connexion with the enemies of Great Britain, and never to entertain, without the sanction of the Company, any Europeans in his service. 2. He was to pay the Company by instalments twenty lacs of Furruckabad rupees, and to give up some territories which the Company had formerly annexed to his dominions. 3. As a security for the due execution of these terms, he was to deliver up one of his sons as a hostage, to reside with the British officers at Delhi or Agra. Having received the first instalment of the money, and the hostage required, the British forces broke up from before Bhurtpore, after lying there three months and twenty days. They began their march on the 21st of April, Lake going at once in search of Scindiah, who had expected that his lordship's army would be utterly ruined before Bhurtpore, for the losses which it had sustained in that siege had been reported, with due exaggeration, throughout the whole of the Mahratta territory. Scindiah and Holkar retreated with great precipitation towards Ajmeer; and several of the Mahratta chiefs came and joined Lord Lake, who found more reliable reinforcements in the arrivals of some divisions of British troops and Sepoys from Bundelkund and other quarters. At this juncture the Marquess Cornwallis arrived to succeed the Marquess Wellesley as governor-general, and began his second and brief career in India by pronouncing sentence of condemnation on the policy of his active and energetic predecessor. But Cornwallis was now falling into the second childhood, and his attention had been too exclusively devoted to those who were murmuring about the expenses of a necessary war, and sighing for the easy happy days of peace and of full treasuries at Calcutta. As the rainy monsoon approached one part of Lake's army found shelter in the splendid but decayed palaces of the great Akbar at Futtypoor Sicree; another part quartered itself in the remains of the palaces of the ancient Mogul chiefs in and about Agra and Mutra; and two regiments of British dragoons found comfortable lodgings in the immense mausoleum of the Emperor Akbar, which is situated about seven miles from Agra, tethering their horses in the once splendid garden, and eating and sleeping and pursuing their

troopers' sports among the white marble tombs of Akbar and his family, and of the Mogul Omrahs, those mighty men of old, who, could they have started from the sound sleep of the grave, would have heard sounds and beheld sights most strange and marvellous to their ears and eyes. The men were rough dragooners, without the slightest pretensions to taste, or to reverence for works of art and antiquity; but they had the English feeling of respect for the dead, and they offered no violence to the sanctity of the tombs, and left the marble slabs and the ornamented Saracenic arches, the sculpture and carving, and the mosaic pavements, the cupolas and minarets, in as good a state as they found them. If two regiments of French dragoons had been quartered half the time in the mausoleum of Akbar, not a tomb would have been left unopened, nor an Omrah of them all undisturbed; hideous and obscene farces would have been played with the skulls and rattling bones of the Mogul emperor, and his wives and children. If we are to believe their own writers, intelligence and taste were widely, if not universally, diffused among the French soldiery; but, when those soldiers got possession of some of the splendid Moorish remains in Spain, and of the marble-lined Christian abbeys of Alcobaça and Batalha in Portugal, they gave no sign of this taste, but wantonly broke and defaced whatever they could.

As soon as the weather permitted, the Marquess Cornwallis quitted Calcutta to travel to the upper provinces and there confer with Lord Lake and others on the best means of terminating the war; but at his advanced age he could ill bear the fatigues of such a journey: he fell sick on the road and died at Gazipoor near Benares, within three months after his return to India. According to his own wish and command, that "where the tree fell, there it should lie," the marquess, who had seen so many vicissitudes in the west and in the east, and who had narrowly escaped death at York-town in America, and a grave on the bank of the Chesapeake, was buried at Gazipoor, on the banks of the Ganges. The government then devolved provisionally upon Sir George Barlow, who was equally anxious for peace, although he differed from Cornwallis as to the best means of obtaining it. Lord Lake, who had had ample experience of the faithlessness of all Indian treaties, was of opinion that the British possessions in Hindustan would never be secured until Scindiah and Holkar were driven beyond the Indus and the Mahratta power annihilated. Scindiah, who received some information of the pacific disposition manifested at Calcutta, separated his forces from those of Holkar, and entered into negotiations with Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards General Sir John) Malcolm, the political agent of the governor-general in the British camp. Holkar thereupon, declaring that he had no other estate or property left than what he carried upon the saddle of his horse, spurred away to the banks of the Indus to seek fresh allies and instruments among the chiefs of the Seikhs, giving out that he expected to be joined by the hardy and warlike tribes of Affghanistan, and by the king of Caubul himself. He had still with him a few pieces of light artillery and some rabble; and in the country to the north-west of Delhi he found many adventurers quite ready to join him. He eluded Major-General Jones and Colonel Ball, who marched from different points to intercept him on his line of route. This induced Lord Lake to follow him himself with the cavalry of the British army and some of the best of his infantry, for it was imperative to prevent his calling the Seikhs to arms. Saluting that poor shadow of a grand mogul, the aged and blind Schah Allum, as he passed through Delhi, Lake, in an astonishing short time, got into the country of the Seikhs, driving Holkar before him, and obliging him to cross the Sutledjh. The ameers or chiefs of the Seikhs assured his lordship that their intentions were pacific: and so they were; but so they would not have been if Lake had allowed Holkar any rest or time. Still pressing forward in what had once been the track of the greatest general of the gigantic conqueror Timur or Tamerlane, Lake crossed the Sutledjh, and, skirting the great sandy desert which stretches from the left bank of the Indus to within 100 miles of Delhi, he plunged into the Punjab, or the country of the five rivers. On his way he was joined by Colonel Burn, who had brought up a detachment from Panniput by an entirely new route, and by one of those admirable marches which so often challenge admiration in these far-extended campaigns. And then, still pressing onwards, and pointing the heads of his columns towards the spot where the Macedonian conqueror stayed his advance and turned back from the inauspicious gods of India, Lake reached the banks of the Hyphasis (now the Beeah or Beas), the boundary of Alexander the Great's conquest, where his Greeks had erected twelve massive altars as a memorial. The British standard waved majestically over those waters, and the British troops eyed themselves in the same clear mirror which had reflected the Macedonian phalanges more than two thousand one hundred years ago. The scenery around was as sublime as the recollections. In the extreme distance, from north to east, towered the snowy ridge of old Imaus (a part of the Himalaya), whose loftiest peak exceeds the highest of the Andes by thousands of feet. The fleecy softness of this most faint and irregular outline rested upon immense masses of nearer mountains; still nearer were rugged eminences and pine-clad hills sloping down to a fine undulating country of hill and dale, covered with luxuriant vegetation, enlivened by numerous villages, dotted with temples, pagodas, tombs, and ruins, and bounded by the noble river which flowed immediately before the English army on its way to join the Indus and the ocean. Many thousands of the native inhabitants collected on the opposite bank of the Hyphasis to gaze upon our troops; but, as here, as during the whole

Delhi.

march, the strictest discipline had been observed, and no wrongs offered to the people, these astonished spectators soon drew nearer, and, mixing with the bazaar of the army, agreed to bring in supplies of fruits, vegetables, and other commodities.*

Holkar at this time lay encamped at a place about midway between Lord Lake's camp on the Hyphasis and Lahore, the capital of the Seikhs on the Ravee or Hydraotes (another of Alexander's rivers). In two days and nights of his forced marches Lake could have reached the spot and have annihilated him if he had stayed to fight; and if Holkar had continued his flight, which it is almost certain he would have done, in four days he would have been driven beyond the Hydraotes. But before this Sir George Barlow had concluded a peace with Scindiah, and had sent Lord Lake instructions not only to treat with Holkar, but also to grant him very favourable terms; and the chief of Lahore and of the whole Seikh confederacy, having called a great council, which unanimously agreed to withhold all aid from Holkar, and to interpose as mediators, as the best means of getting rid both of the Mahrattas and of the English, sent, on the 19th of December, a vakeel to the British camp. The negotiations were neither long nor difficult, though they must have been painful to his lordship, for he was bound by his instructions to reinstate Holkar not only in his own dominions, from which he had been driven, and which he had deserved to forfeit, but also to put him in possession of territory to which it was believed he never had any right. In conformity with the new system of policy which had been adopted of abandoning all connexion with the petty states, and, generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna, and of making the Jumna the boundary of the British possessions, Lord Lake was instructed to dissolve the defensive alliances which we had contracted with the Rajah of Gypore and other inferior powers who had rendered essential services to his lordship, and who looked upon their ruin at the hand of the Mahrattas as an inevitable consequence of their being abandoned by the English.

Although Holkar sent his own vakeel to the British camp, and although that negotiator agreed to the conditions, which were immeasurably more favourable than he had any right or reason to expect, Holkar withheld the ratification of the treaty, and had recourse to many objections and evasions. But Lord Lake told the Mahratta's vakeel that, if the papers were not presented duly signed within two days, he would cross the Hyphasis and continue his march against Holkar. And, to give more effect to this threat, his lordship marched his army down the left bank of the river to a ford or passage, and made his preparations for crossing over. This was on the 5th of January (1806), and in the afternoon of the 7th the treaty, properly ratified, was presented to Lord Lake with great ceremony.

Having gratified and in part terrified the Seikhs (they are said at the sight to have blessed their stars that they had not joined Holkar and gone to

* Major Thorn, Memoir of the War, &c.

war with the English) with a brilliant review on the banks of the Hyphasis, and with showing them some of the effects produced by our horse artillery, Lake struck his tents, and retraced his steps towards Delhi.*

By the treaty with Scindiah, which was concluded and signed on the 23rd of November, the treaty of Surjee Anjengaum made by General Wellesley was generally confirmed; but with this exception, that the Company explicitly refused to acknowledge the right of Scindiah to any claims upon Gwalior and Gohud, though, from *friendly considerations*, it was agreed to cede to him Gwalior and certain portions of Gohud. In case of any breach these said territories were to be resumed by the Company. The river Chumbul was to be the boundary line. Scindiah renounced certain jaghires and pensions which had been granted to some of his officers by the preceding treaty, and which amounted to fifteen lacs of rupees annually; but the Company granted to Scindiah personally an annual pension of four lacs, and assigned, within the British territories in Hindustan, a jaghire worth two lacs to his wife, and a jaghire worth one lac to his daughter. The Company further engaged not to interfere with any settlement or treaty which Scindiah might make with his tributary chiefs in Mewar and Marwar, and not to interfere in any respect with the conquests he had made between the rivers Chumbul and Taptee. Scindiah agreed not to entertain any Europeans in his service without the consent of the British government, and to dismiss from his service and his councils for ever his turbulent father-in-law Surjee-Row-Gautka, who had offered many insults and injuries to the English, and who was generally believed to have driven his son-in-law into the late hostility. Holkar was to be admitted into this treaty, and was to obtain restitution of territory, &c., provided his conduct should be such as to satisfy the English of his amicable intentions towards them and their allies.

By the treaty with Holkar, which, as we have seen, was not ratified until the 7th of January, 1806, that chief renounced all claims upon any territories lying on the northern or English side of the Chumbul, upon Poonah and Bundelkund (a renunciation which greatly affected his interests and his pride), and all claims whatsoever upon the British government and its allies. He bound himself never to admit Surjee-Row-Gautka into his service, and never to molest the territories of the Company or of its allies. But the Company agreed to restore, eighteen months after the conclusion of this treaty, Chandore, Galnauh, and other forts and districts south of the Taptee and Godavery, belonging to the Holkar family, provided that chief fulfilled his engagements, and remained in a friendly attitude. He was to be allowed to return immediately from beyond the Hyphasis and the country of the Seikhs into Hindustan, but by a route prescribed to him, by which he would avoid injuring the territory of the Company and its allies.*

The negotiation, in its kind, was far from being so good as the war, in its kind; and the new policy which was adopted was soon found to be impracticable. If the British had never crossed the Jumna and the Chumbul, and had never formed alliances and connexions in the countries beyond those rivers, there might have been a temporary but very brief chance of success for this new system; but after the campaigns they had made, and the connexions they had formed, there remained not the shadow of a chance; nor could the experiment be tried, or such treaties concluded, without diminution of credit and character—without a wound inflicted upon that moral force which must ever be our greatest force in India. With neighbours like the Mahrattas and their allies, the predatory Pindarries, there could not be any lasting peace in Hindustan, nor any permanent security to the Company's frontiers. By renouncing our connexions beyond the two rivers, we threw our peaceful allies into the arms of Scindiah and Holkar, or left them exposed to the rapacity, vengeance, and tyranny of those chiefs: we brought the Mahratta confederacy to press directly upon our own territory—we knocked down the out-works and bulwarks to the rich countries which were beginning to thrive and grow happy under our dominion. As Lord Lake, Sir John Malcolm, and every other enlightened man in India (whose eyes were not distracted by the prospect of a present saving of money) had clearly foreseen, these treaties, with their concessions and renunciations, gave only a transitory calm to the country. But the campaigns, we repeat, had been conducted in a glorious style; the reports of them in England came opportunely to revive the spirit of the nation—a nation which had little to fear, when it could breed and send forth such men as fought with Nelson at Trafalgar, and marched and fought with Wellesley and Lake in Hindustan.

A.D. 1806.—Parliament was appointed to meet on the 21st of January. Pitt's government had never been so weak as now, and the uneasiness of the king seemed to threaten another return of his distressing and incapacitating malady. The health of the premier had been visibly affected before the close of the preceding session. In the autumn he repaired to Bath; but the sanatory effect of those waters, and that genial air, was prevented by the dismal news of the surrender of Ulm, of the battle of Austerlitz, and of Austria's seceding from the coalition; and these calamities on the Continent appear to have assumed such a

* Lord Lake quitted his command in India in February, 1807, leaving behind him a high and well-merited reputation, together with most affectionate remembrances. He appears to have had almost every one of the good qualities of a British officer and a gentleman. He died on the 21st of February, 1808, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and just six months previous to the death of his beloved and affectionate son and gallant companion in arms, Colonel George Lake, who, after sharing in the toils and dangers of his father's brilliant Indian campaigns, fell in Portugal.

* Sir John Malcolm, Sketch of the Political History of India. Sir John was himself the negotiator and agent in all these transactions. But grieved would he have been to take the responsibility of a diplomacy which had been imposed upon him by Sir George Barlow, and of which, in nearly every particular, he disapproved.

magnitude in his eyes as almost to blind him to the gain, glory, and triumph of Trafalgar. He came up to town as the meeting of Parliament approached; but he was too ill to attend to much business, and on the appointed day, when the Houses met, he was lying in a dying state at his country-house at Putney. The royal speech was delivered not by the king in person, but by commission. It dwelt upon our great naval successes, and attempted to alleviate regret for the disasters of our continental allies with the assurances the Russian Emperor had given, that he would adhere to his alliance with Great Britain. It mentioned the application to the public service of 1,000,000*l.* out of the droits of admiralty accruing and belonging to the crown, but which his majesty gave up; and it asserted, with rather more point than truth, that nothing had been left undone to sustain the efforts of our allies. It was upon this last point that the opposition determined to make their stand, and amendments were read in both Houses; but they were not moved in consequence of the intelligence received from Putney. Two days after the meeting of Parliament, or on the 23rd of January, Pitt expired in the 47th year of his age.* On the 24th Mr. Lascelles gave notice that he should, on Monday next, bring forward a motion on a subject which had caused the greatest grief and melancholy throughout the country—the death of the late chancellor of the exchequer—in the confident hope that some signal mark of public respect would be shown to the memory of that great man. It is difficult, on this occasion, as on several others, to reconcile the conduct of Fox with his reputation for magnanimity, generosity, and amiability. Surely it behoved him to be the first and the most eager in showing respect to the memory of his illustrious rival. But what did Fox? He rose and suggested that it would be more proper for Mr. Lascelles to postpone his motion until after the discussion of the motion proposed by his noble friend (Lord Henry Petty) for the amendment to the address, which, he said, naturally claimed the precedence; and he requested that Mr. Lascelles, and those who thought with him, would consider whether the motion which they meant to bring forward might not involve points the discussion of which would more properly belong to the question announced by his noble friend—whether, in fact, the motion for signal marks of public respect might not be of such a nature as many gentlemen could not assent to without a gross violation of their public duty. All this meant that no honours should be voted to Pitt until the House had decided whether he had or had not done all that he could to sustain the efforts of our allies; and whether he was to blame for the calamities which had befallen the Continent, and for the great and manifold distresses which, according to the opposition, afflicted England. Now this debate might very possibly have been prolonged night after night, and the body of Pitt might have been left unburied, or have been buried in a village churchyard, before the House could get to the discussion of Mr. Lascelles's intended proposal, that he should be interred with all honours in Westminster Abbey. Was it magnanimous thus to deal with the rival of so many years, just after the breath of life had left his body? Was it generous to aim at producing charges against Pitt's foreign policy, when he could no longer raise his voice in his own defence—to provoke the bitter animadversions of party over an unburied corpse? Was it amiable to renew this strife with the dead—to grudge the last honours to a statesman who, whatever may have been his errors, had an elevation of mind and a purity of intention altogether above the suspicion of any informed and enlightened person? The Commons generally were more generous than Charles Fox: they were averse to the production of the amendment, which was heard of no more; and, on the Monday he had fixed upon (the 27th of January), Mr. Lascelles moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct that the remains of the late Right Honourable William Pitt be interred at the public expense, and that a monument be erected to his memory in the collegiate church of

* On the 21st of January Horner writes from the gallery of the House of Commons:—"The increased illness of Pitt is the point which at present occupies every one's feelings and attention; for no one, even with all his party antipathies, or with *all his resentment for the mischiefs which have been brought upon the country*, can be insensible to the death of so eminent a man. In the place where I am sitting now, I feel this more than seems quite reasonable to myself: *I cannot forget how this space has been filled with his magnificent and glowing declamations, or reflect with composure that that fine instrument of sound is probably extinguished for ever.* You observe, I speak as if he were already dead. The physicians at first suspected that his disease was *scirrhus pylori*, but they are of opinion now that it is not so. A stomach completely destroyed by his habits of living and labour, and at last, I suppose, by painful anxiety and mortification of mind, had reduced him to extreme emaciation and debility. He had been able to take no sustenance for some time but egg and brandy: on Saturday he was rather better, and ate some chicken-broth; but in the evening he became worse than ever. Wilberforce had gone to Putney in the morning, but could not see him: he had a conversation with the Bishop of Lincoln, who attends him constantly, and of course knows his constitution better than anybody. He said to Wilberforce, that he looked upon it as a *breaking-up*; this Wilberforce told to Stephens, who repeated it to Brougham. He continued very ill all Sunday; yesterday (Monday) morning Lord Chatham was sent for very suddenly. In the evening I met young Rose, who told us of a letter his father had had from Sir Walter Farquhar (Pitt's physician), dated seven o'clock in the evening: he said, 'his hopes were not so good, but he did not quite despair.' This was the first time Farquhar had acknowledged there was danger: Dr. Baillie, and, still more, Reynolds, pronounced it from the first a very bad case. I have heard, since I came into the gallery, that there are accounts this morning of his being still alive. And we must have heard, if it had been all over, for Billy Baldwin, the chronicle of the day, is writing his name at this moment for his seat."—*Letter to J. A. Murray, Esq., in Memoirs and Correspondence of Francis Horner, M.P., by his brother Leonard Horner, Esq.* Horner, on starting in life, had attached himself to the Foxite party; and at this time he was too much an *habitué* and fondling of Holland-House to be a very impartial judge of the merits of Pitt. But he was a man of a kind heart and truly amiable nature, and therefore could not avoid those feelings in the gallery of the House of Commons which he briefly and touchingly describes.

According to Horner the illness of Pitt, and the belief that his life was despaired of, was not the only reason of putting off the moving of the amendment. He says it had been understood that the Addingtonians were to co-operate with the opposition; that in the course of Monday they sent notice that they could not support the amendment; and that, in consequence of this defection, it was probably deemed prudent not to push a division, especially as there was so good a reason for postponing the discussion for a few days. He adds, indeed, that one of the Foxites told him that the conduct of the Addingtonians had no effect in postponing the amendment; but we confess our doubts as to this fact, as well as in regard to Fox's delicacy and pathos about Pitt's condition. Friendly reports of what passed at private meetings are not to be accepted as contradictions of Fox's conduct and speeches in public.

St. Peter, Westminster, with an inscription expressive of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the death of so excellent a statesman." This was opposed, with more or less illiberal heat, by Lord Folkestone, Mr. William Smith, the Marquess of Douglas, Mr. Ponsonby, *Fox*, and others. Fox delivered a longer and more passionate speech than any he had spoken for a long time past. Hawkins Browne, Sir Robert Buxton, Lord Temple, Ryder, George Rose, Lord Castlereagh, and Wilberforce, warmly supported the motion, variously expressing their astonishment or disgust at the disappointment of their expectations, that, on this solemn occasion, party considerations would have been buried in oblivion, and that the proposed honours to the dead—to the unflinching, honest, disinterested statesman—would have been voted unanimously. Fox and his opposition persevered to the dividing of the House; but the division strongly marked the superior generosity of that assembly, the numbers being, *for* Mr. Lascelles's motion 258, *against* it, only 89. And, at this moment, few doubts were entertained of Fox's stepping into the post which Pitt had vacated; and if Pitt had been alive, and in his place, he could, on no question whatever, have commanded more than a very slight majority.

Pitt was accordingly interred in Westminster Abbey, where Fox was so very soon to be laid by his side. The funeral was as magnificent as heralds and undertakers, and a numerous attendance, could make it. The royal dukes were there; and the Dukes of Montrose and Rutland, the Archbishop of Canterbury and eight bishops, three marquesses, a host of lay lords, the Speaker of the House of Commons with about 100 members of the House, the Lord Mayor of London, and a number of other functionaries and dignitaries followed him to the grave, his banner and crest being supported by Wilberforce.

But more was required from parliament than the vote for a tomb in the abbey. Pitt had died pennyless, and had left debts to a large amount. George Rose concluded from the beginning, that the only means of discharging these debts would be through an application to the House of Commons; and he even proposed that Wilberforce, as one of the dearest friends of the deceased, should make the motion. But Wilberforce was of a contrary opinion, thinking that the money might be grudgingly paid by the people at large, and create a feeling injurious to Pitt's memory; that such a grant might become a very dangerous precedent, and lead to sad party practices; that the late minister's rich connexions might forego their claims for money lent; and that, considering the great number of affluent men who had been connected with Pitt, and some of whom had got great and lucrative places from him, it would not be difficult to obtain, with perfect privacy and delicacy, a subscription adequate to the purpose. And, infinitely to his honour, Wilberforce attempted to raise the subscription, and offered to contribute most liberally to it. He wrote out a list of sixty-three persons who might be expected to contribute. As the bonâ fide debts (exclusive of those due to rich connexions and affluent placemen) owing to tradespeople, &c., amounted to 40,000*l.*, this sum equally divided among sixty-three individuals would only have required from each of them 635*l.*—a sum inferior to that which most of them were in the habit of spending annually on their opera boxes and French cooks. Wilberforce spared no importunity, no trouble; for days and days he drove up and down the town, calling on the sixty-three elect, and writing the most pressing letters. But sad was the result! "Tried many, but cold in general, except attorney-general (Spencer Perceval), who warm and generous as always." Perceval, though having a large family, and but a small fortune, at once offered 1000*l.*; but with this honourable exception, and with the exception of the Thorntons, and a friend or two in the city, it appears that not one of the rich connexions and affluent placemen offered a single sixpence. Nay, in the case of some of these affluent gentlemen, a negative of generosity was accompanied by a positive of grabbing and money-griping. In the year 1801 these noble and honourable gentlemen had clubbed together, and had raised 12,000*l.* for Pitt, who was then out of office, beset by impatient creditors, and left with no other income than what he derived from the Cinque Ports sinecure; and each of them now wanted to get back his quota of private debt and personal accommodation at the expense of the country. One of the number who owed the most to the friendship and patronage of the late minister, unblushingly proposed that these claims should be added to the tradesmen's bills, and that the public grant asked for should be 52,000*l.* instead of 40,000*l.* Wilberforce, who was one of this class of creditors, and who appears to have contributed more than any one of them to the 12,000*l.* loan, solemnly and most nobly declared, that if the matter were proposed in parliament he would give it his most earnest and persevering opposition. The degrading project was therefore dropped; but the infamy of the man who suggested it, and the meanness of the men who refused to subscribe for the discharge of the other debt, will not soon be forgotten.* There are said to have been other exhibitions of baseness, upon which we love not to dwell. For example, it has been stated, and upon good authority, that no sooner had Pitt breathed his last than his last lingering friends and attendants hurried from the House to look after their own interests and worldly affairs—that this abandonment was so complete that, on the evening of the day on which he died, a gentleman, not knowing of the event, and calling to make inquiries, found an open door, a deserted house, and none to answer him, and, walking through the silent apartments to the minister's chamber, saw the body stretched on the bed in "*cold* obstruction," and then retraced his steps with horror and dismay, and quitted the

* Wilberforce's own Diary, and Life by his Sons.

house, and that too without seeing any one except a solitary menial who had come up from the kitchen.

The motion for the grant of 40,000*l.* was made by Mr. Cartwright on the 3rd of February, and was carried without opposition. In private as in public affairs, Pitt had allowed himself to be cheated and robbed; but never had a minister that ruled the country for twenty long years, or for a half or a fourth of that time, done so little to enrich himself or his family—never had statesman and dispenser of patronage and places been more indifferent to his private interests. Even in that long harangue he delivered against the public funeral,—and which, after all, was more a criticism on the wording of an epitaph, the inscription to be put on a tombstone, than anything else—Fox himself had confessed that no minister was ever more disinterested, as far as related to pecuniary matters; that his integrity and moderation in this respect were confirmed by the state of his affairs when he died. "I allow," said Fox, "that a minister is not to be considered as moderate and disinterested merely because he is poor during his life or at his death; but when I see a minister who has been in office above twenty years, with the full command of places and public money, without any peculiar extravagance and waste, except what might be expected from the carelessness that perhaps necessarily arose from the multiplicity of duties to which the attention of a man in such a situation must be directed,—when I see a minister, under such circumstances, using his influence neither to enrich himself nor those with whom he is by family ties more particularly connected,—it is impossible for me not to conclude that this man is disinterested." The praises which Fox bestowed in the same speech on Pitt's Sinking Fund are not likely to be re-echoed by posterity: there was much in his home-policy which we can neither applaud nor approve; and in the management of the war and affairs on the continent this son of the great war-minister, Chatham, committed egregious and most lamentable blunders; but the blame was not all his; the difficulties of the times and circumstances were enormous and unprecedented; and on some vital points he will ever be entitled to the character which Canning gave him, of having been the pilot that weathered the storm. "Pitt," says Wilberforce, "was killed by the enemy as much as Nelson."* But Melville's port wine had injured his constitution, and then Melville's impeachment had given him a shock from which, as we firmly believe, he never recovered. Wilberforce, who had strenuously joined the impeachers, was anxious to disbelieve this fact, and appears to have duped his own conscience into a happy incredulity; but evidence meets us on every side to show how deeply affected Pitt's health and spirits were by the blow. Had there been no impeachment of Melville, no coalesced opposition, no inroads made upon health by that fatal resort to the temporary excitement and inspiration of the bottle, Pitt might well have stood the calamities of Ulm and Austerlitz, particularly as the battle of Trafalgar had been fought, and as every mail from India was bringing intelligence of a victory, with encouraging proofs of the capabilities of British troops.

As the king's antipathies to Fox were undiminished, an attempt was made to patch up the ministry which Pitt had formed, and to place Lord Hawkesbury at the head of it. But Lord Hawkesbury declined this dangerous promotion. It was whispered that the king then tried Addington, and that Addington refused, from a sense of the impracticability of forming a government capable of resisting the coalesced and formidable opposition. It is stated as a certainty that an offer was made to the Marquess Wellesley, who had just arrived from India, by the remainder of Pitt's ministry, and, of course, with the king's approbation, to take the lead of administration; and that the marquess immediately and distinctly declined it. Nothing therefore was left but to call in Lord Grenville, and, as Grenville was pledged to the Foxites, or to the principle of a comprehensive ministry with "all the talents" or chiefs of different parties in it, the king was at last compelled to admit Fox also. The following arrangements were finally settled, and were announced to the public on the 4th of February:—Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs; Viscount Sidmouth (Addington), lord privy seal; Earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; Lord Howick (Grey), first lord of the admiralty; Earl of Moira, master-general of the ordnance; Earl Spencer, secretary of state for the home department; Windham, secretary for the colonies; Lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer; Erskine, lord high chancellor; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had been created Baron Minto after his return to England from losing Corsica, had the patronage and management of India as president of the board of control. All places were swept clean, and new men put into them. So sweeping a ministerial change had not been witnessed for many years. Among the minor appointments Sheridan obtained that of treasurer of the navy; and even this place, which gave him no seat in the cabinet, appears to have been grudgingly and reluctantly bestowed upon him.* Lord Auckland

* "Poor Pitt, I almost believe died of—a broken heart! For it is only due to him to declare that the love of his country burned in him with as ardent a flame as ever warmed the human bosom; and the accounts from the armies struck a death-blow within. For personal purity, disinterestedness, integrity, and love of his country, I have never known his equal. His strictness in regard to truth was astonishing, considering the situation he had so long filled. The time and circumstances of his death were peculiarly affecting, and they dwelt on the minds of the people in London . . . . . I really never remember any event producing so much apparent feeling. But London soon returned to its gaiety and giddiness, and all the world has been for many days busied about the inheritance, before the late possessor is laid in his grave."—*Wilberforce, Letters.*

* Horner, rather innocently, fancied that this was owing to Sheridan's sad frailties and irregularities. On the 29th of January, before the arrangements were completed, he writes:—"Sheridan is very little consulted at present; and, it is said, will not have a seat in the cabinet. This is a distressing necessity. His habits of daily intoxication are probably considered as unfitting him for trust. The little that has been confided to him he had been running about to tell; and

became president of the board of trade, with Earl Temple for vice-president; Earl Temple (who had thus two places) and Lord John Townshend, joint-paymasters of the forces; General Fitzgerald, secretary at war, &c. &c. The law appointments were, Pigott to be attorney-general, and Sir Samuel Romilly to be solicitor-general. Law, who had been made lord chief justice of the King's Bench and created Baron Ellenborough in 1802 by the Addingtonians, was, by rather a startling novelty, brought into the cabinet. He had been offered the chancellorship, but had very prudently declined it. The Duke of Bedford, whose family, friends, and dependents had formed an important part of the mosaic opposition, became lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This ministry was comprehensive enough; but, as they were themselves to be the judges of who were "all the talents," it was not likely that they should look for any among the ranks of those who had adhered to Pitt to the last; and consequently George Canning, the brightest talent of them all, the most powerful auxiliary in debate, one of the most brilliant men the country ever had, was excluded, or chose to exclude himself. From the first this cabinet carried in its construction the seeds of its own dissolution: no one acquainted with public affairs, with the temper of the court, and of parliament and the country, believed that this "motley wear" would wear long; nor would it, even though Fox, the real but not the nominal head of it, had not been carried so soon to the Abbey. There was jealousy, incompatibility, and disagreement between Lord Grenville and Charles Fox. Philip Francis, the virulent antagonist of Warren Hastings, and who was sighing and dying to be Governor-general of India himself, had pretended to discover that the Indian administration of the Marquess Wellesley had been of the most ruinous and nefarious kind; and he had preluded, by various violent speeches in the House of Commons, for the marquess's impeachment. Now, Fox wanted to back Francis, and Grenville to silence him. His lordship, at the outset, stipulated with Fox, as a condition of their forming an administration together, that the accusation of the Marquess Wellesley should not be made a cabinet measure. To this Fox yielded; but, having committed himself with Warren Hastings's evil genius, and having spoken in the Commons as though he believed in the charges which Francis and a madman named Paull said they were ready to substantiate, he refused to give Grenville a pledge that he would not support the accusation if it were otherwise brought forward. There were numerous other grounds of divergency and difference—in foreign policy they differed *toto cœlo*—but this alone was enough to prevent harmony in the cabinet at starting. Windham, again, differed both with Grenville and with Fox on many essential points of home as well as of foreign policy; and Sidmouth differed from them all three. There was wanting, too, that harmony or sympathy with the court, without which no ministry can expect to do much good, or to enjoy any long existence. The king was indisposed towards Lord Grenville, and made insensible to his many and high merits, private as well as public, by his forcing Fox upon him, by his determined zeal in favour of Catholic emancipation, and by a certain frigidity and haughtiness of manner which reminded him of the days of the supercilious, arbitrary dictation of Chatham. Sidmouth, who was opposed to the Catholic claims, who professed to understand the coronation oath as the king himself understood it, and who had an humble, quiet, meek manner, and a complying disposition, was the only one of the heads of government that enjoyed the confidence of the king; but this confidence was soon extended to Lord Ellenborough, who had been irregularly brought into the cabinet to aid and strengthen Sidmouth.* To these two the king looked as the guardians of his conscience—as his protectors against innovations in church and state. Sidmouth was scarcely considered as one of "the talents," but it is doubtful whether a refusal to unite with him would not have induced the king to try several experiments ere he resigned himself to Fox and Grenville, and, with Sidmouth and his compact party in opposition, "all the talents" must very soon have fallen from their "pride of place." Besides, too many talents are apt to produce the effects proverbially attributed to too many cooks; and so many parties—Grenvillites, Foxites, Windhamites, Lansdownites, Addingtonians or Sidmouthites, &c.—brought so many expectations, hopes, and pretensions in their several trains, that it must have been found hard work to gratify them all, or so divide the patronage of government among them, as to prevent their quarrelling and splitting. They had no general political creed; their theories, like their interests, lay wide asunder.†

since Monday he has been visiting Sidmouth. At a dinner at Lord Cowper's on Sunday last, where the Prince of Wales was, he got drunk, as usual, and began to speak slightingly of Fox."—*Journal, in Memoirs and Correspondence.* But Sheridan's inebriety might have been overlooked if this party or jumble of parties could have trusted him and have counted on his liege fidelity, and if the Foxites could have forgiven him his sundry offences against their chief and idol. For the extra-amiable, "good-natured man" which Fox is represented to have been, and for a party who claimed a character of ultra-liberality, benevolence, and philanthropy, these animosities, spites, and vengeances were rather extraordinary. In saying this we do not mean to imply that Sheridan ought to have had higher promotion and a seat in the cabinet; we merely intend to state what were the real grounds of his exclusion.

* "Lord Sidmouth wished to have *one* friend introduced into the cabinet with him, and he named Lord Buckinghamshire; he was refused, and it was agreed that Lord Ellenborough, as a friend of Sidmouth, should be introduced into the cabinet."—*Horner.*

"Fox, I hear, has had an explanation with the king, assuring him that ..... not only friendly to the House of Hanover and him, though not to late ministry; but also that he would not bring on measures offensive to him—Catholic question, &c. I have been very anxious about Lord Ellenborough. Fox &c.'s doing. Lord Sidmouth would have had Lord Buckinghamshire; but the opposition said they had friends of equal or superior pretensions, who in that case must be brought forward."—*Wilberforce.*

† The following passage was not written by a very friendly pen, yet its general truth is indisputable:—

"There is no change of principle (as far as we can yet judge) in the new cabinet, or rather, the new cabinet has no general political creed. Lord Grenville, Fox, Lord Lansdowne, and Addington were the four nominal heads of four distinct parties, which must now by some chemical process be amalgamated: all must forget, if they can, their peculiar habits and opinions, and unite in the pursuit of a common object. How far this is possible, time will show; to what degree this motley ministry can, by their joint influence, command a majority in the House of Commons; how far they will, *as a whole*, be assisted by

As secretary for foreign affairs Fox had the management of the most important and the most difficult affairs of government. As he had been declaring for thirteen long years and more that the present war was unnecessary, that its origin was as iniquitous as its conduct was imbecile, he could hardly do less than make some attempt to bring about a peace. It appears too that he calculated somewhat on his personal influence with Bonaparte, and on the pacific professions he had made to him during his visit to Paris. He had scarcely been ten days in office ere a Frenchman calling himself Guillet de la Gevrillière stole into England without a passport, and by letter requested an interview with Fox, stating that he had important communications to make to him. Fox immediately admitted this man to a private audience, and to his horror heard him detail a plan for the assassination of the Emperor of the French. This seemed to Fox an excellent opportunity for opening a correspondence with the French government, and he forthwith wrote to Paris, acquainting that government with the circumstance; and he had the miscreant (who is suspected of having been sent over by Fouché or by Bonaparte himself) detained in custody, until his designs, if he really entertained them, should be guarded against. Talleyrand immediately acknowledged the receipt of this *important* communication, with many compliments to Fox—as though Pitt or any other English minister would not have entertained an equal horror of assassination. The French minister for foreign affairs had placed Fox's letter under the eyes of his imperial majesty, who, upon reading it, had said, "I recognise here the principles of honour and virtue of Mr. Fox. Thank him in my name, and tell him that, whether the policy of his sovereign cause us to remain yet a long time at war, or whether a quarrel so useless for humanity have that speedy termination which both nations ought to desire, I rejoice at the new character which, by this proceeding, the war has already taken, and which is the presage of what may be expected from a cabinet whose principles I estimate according to those of Mr. Fox, one of the men best formed to feel in all things what is beautiful and what is truly great." Upon these empty compliments and vague expressions Fox commenced a long correspondence with Talleyrand for the purpose of obtaining—what was not to be obtained from Bonaparte without leaving him the master of the continent, without the sacrifice on our part of all public faith—a peace, a sure and durable peace. In his first letter on this great subject, Fox, who was now a minister and not a leader of opposition, confessed the difficulties which stood in the way of negotiation; that the treaty of Amiens could not now be taken as a basis, and that England could not think of consenting to a short and uncertain truce; and he declared that the British government was determined to keep faith with all its allies on the continent, and to conclude nothing except in concert with the Emperor of Russia, whose armies were still in the field, and to whom England was bound by the closest ties of alliance. Now Bonaparte was determined not to admit the Emperor Alexander as a contracting party, and not to respect any of the treaties existing between England and the continental powers: he wanted to treat with Russia separately, as he had treated with Austria; and as for the minor powers, they must submit to his will, and form, as the majority of them already did, a part of his system. Pitt might have obtained an uncertain peace upon these conditions; but the conditions were too dishonouring and dangerous to be entertained for a moment by Fox, who must have felt at once how much easier it had been to blame and denounce his predecessor for continuing the war, than it was to obtain such a pacification as parliament and the country would agree to. On discovering the determination of the French cabinet not to admit the Emperor Alexander either as a contracting party or as a mediator, Fox ought to have broken off his correspondence; for the continuance of it could only dishearten the Russian army, and instil into the Russian cabinet doubts and misgivings as to the honesty and steadiness of the English cabinet: but Fox continued to write long letters to Talleyrand, to betray an eagerness for entering upon negotiations, which the French, in spite of his declarations that England itself had nothing to fear—that her resources were as abundant as ever,—attributed to a terror of Bonaparte and his genius and power, and to an inward conviction of the inability of England to continue the war much longer. Talleyrand, whose letters savour of the dictation of Bonaparte, limited his correspondence to the expression of the vaguest ideas, avoiding every positive point, every word that might commit him or his court to any fixed line of action, and giving back to Fox, and with interest, his philanthropic apophthegms and generous syllogisms. This correspondence was good as a homily, or as a course of moral philosophy and philanthropy; but as a negotiation, or as a preliminary to a feasible and positive treaty of peace, it was nothing. At last, however, the French cabinet, calculating on the favourable effect which such a demonstration of pacific intentions would produce in Europe, and on the various unfavourable ways in which it would affect England (for the sending of a negotiator would shake her credit on the Continent, and, when the bubble should be burst, Bonaparte would declare that the breaking off the negotiations was solely owing to her rapacity and restless ambition, and uncalled-for interference in the affairs of the Continent), let drop, in a letter to Fox, that, if his Britannic majesty were really desirous of peace, he would send

the secret influence and power of the crown; whether, if not so seconded, they will be able to appeal some time hence to the people, and dissolve the parliament. All these and many other questions will receive very different answers from different speculators. But in the mean time it is self-evident that every individual will be extremely jealous of the patronage of his individual department."—*Letter (dated 6th February, 1806) from George Ellis, Esq., to Walter Scott, in Lockhart's Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott.*

over a plenipotentiary. Fox, in the first instance, named Lord Yarmouth (the late Marquess of Hertford), who had long been living in France (at the English depôt at Verdun), having been one of the ten thousand and more travellers seized and detained as prisoners of war, at the rupture of the peace of Amiens. But before Lord Yarmouth could enter upon any discussion the French invaded and conquered the kingdom of Naples, and put forth a claim to the possession of its dependency the island of Sicily, where a small British army had now been collected to defend our fugitive ally the Bourbon king, whose fate it was to become a fugitive each time he entered into our coalitions. His lordship, however, engaged in conference with Talleyrand, Champagny, and Bonaparte's general, Clarke, it being agreed that for the present the business should be conducted in secrecy, so that neither party should be committed in case the objects of the conferences should not be obtained. But perfect secrecy in such cases is scarcely attainable; and, as the Frenchmen calculated on benefiting by the disclosure that a great and wealthy member of the English aristocracy was treating with the ministers of Bonaparte, and giving him for the first time his imperial and royal style and titles, the facts were divulged in those quarters where they were likely to make the most impression. Lord Yarmouth arrived at Paris towards the end of May, and by the middle of June the motive of his coming, and of his intercourse with the foreign office, was known not only in that city, but in all the German capitals and to the court of Petersburgh itself. Yarmouth found a stumbling-block at the very threshold of the negotiations, for Talleyrand refused to treat for a general peace jointly with Russia. Moreover, at starting, he demanded from the court of Great Britain the immediate recognition of the Emperor Napoleon and the different branches of his family. On this Lord Yarmouth took occasion to state the solidity which the recognition of England would give to their establishment, and inquired whether the French government would guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.* At first Talleyrand seemed to attach little importance to Sicily, saying, that that island was in our possession, and that he did not demand it from us; but at the next conference his tone was entirely altered, and he told Yarmouth that the emperor had received reports from his brother Joseph (who had been thrust upon the Neapolitan throne), and from the general officers under his orders, stating that Naples could not be held without Sicily, and that the conquest of that island would be an easy operation to the French army collected at Naples and in Calabria. His lordship replied that his instructions enjoined him not merely not to consent to the seizure of Sicily—the last refuge of our Bourbon ally—but also to demand the immediate restoration of Naples to its lawful owner. Talleyrand repeated the unalterable determination of his master never to give up Naples, never to alienate Istria and Dalmatia, or any part of his Italian states; never to make any provision for the King of Sardinia, who, like his Neapolitan majesty, was driven to his insular possession. But now Talleyrand, who had previously talked of the necessity of keeping for ever from the King of Great Britain his hereditary dominions of Hanover, professed a readiness to wave that claim and to restore Hanover. He also offered to recognise our right to Malta, and to the Cape of Good Hope, which we had conquered once more—for it was no longer thought worth while to speak of the rights and sovereignty of the Batavian Republic, to which, and not to the French empire, the Cape properly belonged. As Bonaparte had promised Hanover to Prussia, and as a Prussian army was already occupying that country, this offer to restore it to England incensed the court of Berlin, and is believed to have been in good part the cause of the rash war which followed. This was the one great event which resulted from Fox's pacific policy. The Prussian war did no good to the Coalition; but it brought down upon that cabinet the ruin and humiliation they had merited, and it taught a great lesson to selfish, vacillating, and tergiversative governments. The emperor, said Talleyrand repeatedly, by giving up Hanover for the honour of the crown, Malta for the honour of the navy, and the Cape of Good Hope for the honour of British commerce, surely offers his Britannic majesty sufficient inducements to make peace. But Sicily? But Naples? But a provision for the King of Sardinia?—Oh! Sicily must be given to Joseph Bonaparte, who must keep Naples; the Bourbon Ferdinand IV. might have in compensation a new kingdom created for him out of a part of Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Albania (Ragusa being, or having been until lately, an independent republic, and Albania being a province of the Turkish empire, whose independence was to be guaranteed!), and as for the King of Sardinia, it would be time to talk of him and his indemnities hereafter. But then Talleyrand held out a bait to the assumed selfishness of the King of Great Britain, hinting in his sly, mysterious, inconclusive manner, that his majesty might be allowed to add the Hanse towns and their territories in full sovereignty to his German dominions, Hanover, &c.* Yes! Bonaparte, through the medium of Talleyrand, gave Lord Yarmouth to understand that the old free commercial republics, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, over which he had not even the questionable right of conquest, should be handed over to England like dead stock or bales of goods! Such propositions ought to have been met by an indignant rebuke and a cessation of the conferences: they proved, as Spencer Perceval afterwards declared in the House of Commons, that no negotiations with the present head of the French government could be entered into without con-

* Dispatch from the Earl of Yarmouth to Mr. Secretary Fox, dated June the 13th, 1806.

* Dispatch of the Earl of Yarmouth, dated July the 1st.

tantination; but Fox persevered in the path he had chosen, and his agent Yarmouth continued his intercourse with Talleyrand. But, as Russia became acquainted with the negotiations in progress, she sent M. d'Oubril to Paris to act in her own behalf, and to watch proceedings.

The arrival of the Russian agent produced precisely that complication and confusion which the French diplomatists most desired: d'Oubril suspected Lord Yarmouth, and Lord Yarmouth d'Oubril; each fancied that the other was seeking exclusively the advantages of his own government, and was going to conclude a separate treaty with France. Talleyrand made frequent allusions to the readiness of Russia to treat separately; and d'Oubril had not been many days in the French capital before Lord Yarmouth was induced to believe that he had signed a separate treaty of peace; and thereupon his lordship came to a downright quarrel with the Russian agent. Upon this Talleyrand raised his demands and abridged his proffered concessions. But still Fox persevered, and, apparently rejoicing at d'Oubril's conduct, and his departure for Petersburgh, considering himself hereby released from the necessity of acting in concert with Russia, he determined to send over to Paris a public and openly accredited plenipotentiary to treat for peace. The personage he selected for this mission was Lord Lauderdale. The Scotch earl soon found he could do no more than the English earl had done. Lauderdale's negotiations lasted from the 9th of August to the 6th of October, when they were broken off by a demand for passports. With a miserable waste of words Lauderdale told Talleyrand that Fox was really and sincerely desirous of peace; that "during twenty-six years of intimate and uninterrupted connexion with Mr. Fox," he, as much as any one, had had the "opportunity of confidentially learning the sentiments of that celebrated man;" that, from his knowledge of those sentiments, he was impressed with the strongest conviction that the failure of the negotiations, and the impracticability of obtaining peace upon honourable terms, would give him the greatest pain. It has been surmised that Lauderdale would have been allowed to remain longer, humiliating his country at Paris; but by this time Fox was no more, the Emperor Alexander was again in arms, the signal overthrow of Prussia had not yet happened, Bonaparte was in the field with his grand army, there was a chance that he and it, by venturing into the regions of the north, might be destroyed, and the aggressions which he had committed in the east, west, north, and south, since the first overture for negotiation, had been of such a nature as to render it utterly impossible for any English ministry to continue diplomatising any longer, unless they chose to risk impeachment and the execration of their country. So the Thane returned home, bringing with him a splendid set of Sèvres china, the present of the Emperor of the French, which used to be exhibited to the curious in his lordship's mansion at Dunbar. It would be as useless, though not quite so costly or dishonourable as the mission itself, to detail Lauderdale's negotiations. At first the French pretended that they would be content to treat on the *uti possidetis* principle; but England had other things to look to besides retaining possession of the promontories and islands which the war had given to her, and which, since Trafalgar, the French could not hope to take from her; and, when they had gained the time and the advantages they wished by amusing Fox's diplomatists with this tub, they departed from the *uti possidetis* principle altogether, and declared that they had never assented to it. They insisted that Sicily should be given up to Joseph Bonaparte; but they made a variation as to the indemnity to be given to Ferdinand IV.—instead of the patched-up kingdom in the savage Albania and the scarcely less wild Dalmatia, his Neapolitan and Sicilian majesty was to have and to hold the three Balearic islands, Majorca, Minorca, and Iviça, which were to be torn from Spain, or from the dominion of his Spanish majesty, who was Ferdinand's own brother; and for these three islands Ferdinand was to renounce for ever the broad and rich dominions, the fairest part of all Europe, which he had inherited.* Except this variation in iniquity, the conditions offered to Lauderdale differed little from those which had been tendered to Yarmouth. The French government did not fail to attribute publicly the interruption of these precious negotiations to the death of Fox, or to declare that Bonaparte had "done everything in his power to put a stop to the calamities of war." Talleyrand said, in his last note to Lauderdale (which was made public in England, in France, and throughout Europe), that the emperor, his master, would be "ready to replace the negotiations on the basis which had been laid in concert with the illustrious minister whom England had lost;" who, "having nothing to add to his glory, except the reconciliation of the two nations, had conceived the hope of accomplishing it, but was snatched from the world in the midst of his work." The truth was, that Fox had laid down no basis, or none on which the French negotiators would meet him; that he himself had declared, over and over again, in his dispatches to Yarmouth and Lauderdale, that peace would be unattainable upon such a basis as the French proposed; that a good many weeks before he died Fox was convinced that the negotiations could come to no good end; and that, whether he had lived or died, the war would have been durable, even as the nature of Bonaparte was unalterable. Whatever might have been his own disposition and predilections, Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, Windham, and others of his official colleagues were not men to truckle to France, while the king and the nation at large were as resolute as ever they had been. But Fox, we believe, deeply felt his responsibility when in office, and had a heart

* Lord Lauderdale's dispatches to Mr. Secretary Fox and Earl Spencer.

that could glow with national and patriotic feeling: he turned with disgust from the proposition that we should abandon all our allies; and he had constantly, all through his political life, set his face against the selfish, miscalculating, dangerous, and degrading principle, that England, safe in her sea-girt position, ought to look only to herself, and leave the nations of Europe to their fate. After he had commenced these negotiations, he said in the House of Commons—"My wish, the first wish of my heart, is peace; but such a peace as shall preserve our connexions and influence on the Continent, as shall not abate one jot of the national honour, and such only!" And this declaration was received with an uncontrollable burst of national feeling, for not only did the whole House cheer tumultuously and enthusiastically, but the visitors in the gallery (who were not wont to talk and roar like the French people in the galleries of the Assembly and Convention) lost their self-command, and either joined in the shouts or murmured their approbation.

We return to the business of Parliament. Many objections were taken to the admission of the Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough into the Cabinet. On the 3rd of March Lord Bristol moved, "That it was highly inexpedient, and tended to weaken the administration of justice, to summon to any committee or assembly of the Privy Council any of the judges of his majesty's courts of common law." The motion was supported by ex-Chancellor Eldon and by Lords Boringdon, Mulgrave, and Hawkesbury; it was opposed by Lords St. John, Carlisle, Carnarvon, Sidmouth, Holland, and Grenville; and was negatived without a division. A similar resolution was moved on the same day in the Commons by Mr. Spencer Stanhope: it was supported by Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Spencer Perceval, and Wilberforce; it was opposed by Mr. Bond, Lord Temple, Fox, Lord Henry Petty, and Sheridan; and the previous question was carried by 222 against 64.*

But few were the questions on which this motley ministry could command anything like such majorities. Although they had led the people to expect a vast deal from them, they had excited no enthusiasm in their favour, either in Parliament or in the country: their majorities were frequently of the narrowest kind, and several times, in the course of the session, they were left in a minority. Nothing but routine business was let pass without vehement and protracted debate. A wearying, worrying system was adopted; and Lord Castlereagh, who was generally considered as the greatest speaker against time, took the lead in it, talking of principles hours after they had been decided upon and admitted, and revolving upon his "fundamental hinges" until night gave way to morning and the ministerial benches to lassitude and despair. And, no doubt greatly to the detriment of Fox's health, this went on night after night. Sheridan facetiously proposed that the ministerial members, distributed in parties of twenty, should go home to rest, and come back to relieve guard after they had slept and breakfasted. But a good joke could not stop the bad practice: the House frequently sat until five, six, or seven o'clock in the morning. "All the talents" were growing thin and pale.

On the 3rd of April Windham brought forward his plan for altering the military system, and particularly the mode of recruiting the army, which certainly called imperiously for improvement, as hitherto men had been enlisted for life. Conscription or force, he said, could not be resorted to in England: the enlistments must be voluntary, and, to render them prompt and sufficient in number, the term of service must be limited, and the condition of the soldier improved; the trade of soldier must be brought to a competition with the other trades usually followed by the poorer classes. For this purpose, Windham proposed that the soldiers raised in future should be enlisted for a term of years; that this term should be divided, for the infantry, into three periods of seven years each; and, for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten years, the second six, and the third five years: that at the end of each of these periods a man might have a right to claim his discharge, and that his privileges, pensions, &c. should be augmented in proportion to the length of his service. As the first step necessary to introduce this change, Windham moved for a bill to repeal Pitt's Additional Force Bill. Here he encountered the full force of opposition, with speeches from Castlereagh

* "At Mr. Fox's desire, I attended a meeting at his house of several members of the House of Commons, to consider the question, expected to be brought on in the House on the Monday following, on the subject of Lord Ellenborough having a voice in the Cabinet. That there is nothing illegal or unconstitutional in this seems clear. It is certainly very desirable that a judge should not take any part in politics; but this is not according to the theory of our constitution, nor consistent with practice in the best times of our history. The chiefs of all the three courts are always privy councillors; and the Cabinet is only a committee of the Privy Council, and, as a Cabinet, is unknown to the constitution. In the reign of *Geo. II.*, and in the beginning of the present reign, when regencies were established by act of Parliament in the event of the king's dying while his successor was in his minority, councils were appointed to assist the regents; and those councils consisted, in each case, of the first officers of the state, such as are commonly cabinet ministers, with the addition in each case of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and in both cases it was the chief justice for the time being (*See the statute* 24 *Geo.* II. *c.* 24; 5 *Geo.* III. c. 27). In Queen Anne's reign lords justices were appointed, in whom the whole executive government was to remain till the successor, if at the time of the queen's death he were out of the realm, should arrive in the kingdom; and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench was appointed one of the lords justices (*See* 4 *Anne, c.* 8; *and* 6 *Anne, c.* 7). The first of these acts met with great opposition from the Tories of that time: particular persons were objected to as lords justices, and a protest was entered in the House of Lords; but no objection whatever was made to the chief justice being of the number."—*Sir S. Romilly, Diary.*

Very different was the opinion of Horner:—"It is against the constitution, both in its forms and its spirit, that the Chief Justice of England should have a seat in the Cabinet, and it is a violation of those fundamental principles on which the purity and integrity of judicial administration rest. He may sit to try those prosecutions which he has concurred in the Cabinet to order; and in all questions of state-prosecution he is a party for the government, instead of being the bulwark to protect the people against power. These general reasons are doubly enforced, in the present instance, by the character and manners of the man: in the year 1801 he changed, at an hour's notice, the opinions and language of his life to become a court lawyer; and has never felt the dignity of his great station a restraint upon his temper, from uttering what is to the purpose of the day with the utmost coarseness of factious warfare. I consider his nomination to the Cabinet as a foul stain upon the new system of government."—*Letter to J. A. Murray, Esq.*

almost enough to kill him—or his patience. In the first debate on the question, Castlereagh, after describing the flourishing state of the army, navy, and finances, as left by Pitt's late government, created some merriment by declaring that the present administration might be considered as lying upon a *bed of roses*. Fox denied that Pitt had left him so pleasant a bed, declaring, at the same time, *that we should find it necessary to maintain a very large army, even in time of peace, for he saw no prospect of any peace that would exempt us from the necessity of watchful preparation and powerful establishments*. This repealing bill was read the first time on the 17th of April. On the 30th of April, Canning insinuated strongly that the repeal of the Additional Force Bill was urged less from a conviction of its defects than from the desire of throwing a slur upon the memory of his late right honourable friend, whose measure it had been. And Canning moved that the second reading, which had been fixed for that day, should be postponed until that day three weeks, in order that all the new military plans of Windham might be duly considered. But the House divided on the question that the bill be now read, and Canning was defeated by 235 against 119. On the third reading Spencer Perceval suggested some amendments, which were adopted by the ministers; and on the 14th of May, the repealing bill passed through the Commons. In the House of Lords it met with great opposition; but it was finally carried by 97 against 40. Windham's plan for limited service was then introduced (on May the 30th) by way of clause to be inserted in the Annual Mutiny Bill. Windham said that the benefits he expected from limited instead of unlimited service were not confined to an increase in the number of recruits: that he looked also to an improvement in the quality and description of the persons who would be induced to become soldiers, and that he trusted that in consequence of this improvement the necessity for severity of discipline in the army would be materially diminished. The opposition was again powerful; but the clause was voted and inserted in the Mutiny Bill. A bill for the training of a certain number of persons, not exceeding 200,000, out of those that were liable to be drawn for the militia; a bill to suspend the ballot for the militia in England for two years, with a reserved power to government of recurring to it in order to supply the vacancies of any corps which should be reduced below its quota; a bill called the Chelsea Hospital Bill, to give a legal security to invalid, disabled, and discharged soldiers for such pensions and allowances as they were entitled to; a bill for augmenting the pay of infantry officers of the regular army; and a bill for settling the relative rank of officers of yeomanry, volunteers, militia forces, and troops of the line, completed Windham's new military system, and were all carried, though not without opposition. An increase was also voted to the pay of serjeants, corporals, and privates of the line, to the Chelsea pensions, and to the pensions of officers' widows—three points on which the House was unanimous. On the whole the British army, which began to improve rapidly soon after these enactments—though certainly the improvement was not owing solely to them—owes a debt of gratitude to Windham. Similar benefits were voted to the navy. On the motion of Lord Howick, the head of the admiralty, additional pay was allowed to the officers, petty officers, and seamen, and the Greenwich Hospital allowances to out-pensioners were increased. But there was a most unwise and unpatriotic-looking delay in voting the proper honours and rewards to those who had fought at Trafalgar. The session was considerably advanced before any particular notice was taken of the deceased hero or of his family. Admiral Collingwood, who had succeeded to the command of Nelson's fleet, heard so rarely from the admiralty, that he began to think that he and his fleet were forgotten. Lord Barham, the late head of the admiralty, had disappointed expectations in the navy, for he was old and irresolute before he came into office, and when in he would act only in strict conformity with official precedents. Like many men who pique themselves upon their disinterestedness, he would interest himself for no man; and he wished, even after the most splendid victories, that promotion should go by routine, or in its ancient courses. He declined to promote the officers whom Collingwood recommended for their gallant conduct in the great battle; he allowed a number of spirited men—tried, weather-beaten sailors—to come home in disgust; and he sent, or rather allowed others to send, out fine young gentlemen and lordlings to be promoted over the heads of Nelson's and Collingwood's heroes. But matters were not much mended when the ministry was changed, and when Lord Howick became head of the admiralty in lieu of Lord Barham. On the 27th of April, more than two months after the accession to office of "all the talents," we find Collingwood complaining that "the ships are now put into very indifferent hands, at a time when all the exertion of the most skilful is wanted;" and that "the report that medals are not to be given is a great disappointment to the fleet;" that his fatigues and anxieties are excessive, and his poverty oppressive. Several times he repeats that he and his services seem to be forgotten at home. It almost looked as if the present ministry were ashamed of the glorious victory which had been gained. The Duke of Clarence (his late Majesty William IV.) did not share in this apathy or obliviousness: he wrote a warm letter to the veteran, and pleaded, as he had done before, for a series of liberal rewards—for a system which should make zeal, bravery, and ability the great and sole causes of promotion. The king too ordered a letter to be written to the secretary of the admiralty, expressing his majesty's warm admiration and entire approbation of every part of Collingwood's conduct. The thanks of parliament had been voted to Collingwood before the dissolution of the Pitt ministry. At last Collingwood was

raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Collingwood; he was granted a pension of 2000*l.* a year for his own life, and, in the event of his death, 1000*l.* a year to Lady Collingwood, and 500*l.* a year to each of his two daughters. The high spirit of the veteran was nettled by some allusions made in parliament to his straitened circumstances. "I am not pleased," he says, "at what occurred in parliament about my pension, or that my family should have been represented as one whose existence depended on the gift of money; and I have told Lord Castlereagh my mind upon this subject. Though I do not consider poverty to be criminal, yet nobody likes to be held up as an object of compassion. Poor as we are, we are independent. To possess riches is not the object of my ambition, but to deserve them; but I was in hope I should have got another medal—of *that*, indeed, I was ambitious."* A few days after he says, "I was exceedingly displeased at some of the language held in the House of Commons on the settlement of the pension of my daughters . . . . . Such representations were not made with my concurrence. The pension was most honourable to me, as it flowed voluntarily from his majesty's goodness, and as a testimony of his approbation; but, if I had a favour to ask, money would be the last thing I would beg from an impoverished country. I am not a Jew, whose God is gold; nor a Swiss, whose services are to be counted against so much money. I have motives for my conduct which I would not give in exchange for a hundred pensions."† The thanks of parliament were also voted to Admiral Sir Richard Strachan for capturing Dumanoir's squadron, which had escaped from Trafalgar; and to Admiral Sir John Duckworth for advantages he had obtained in the West Indies. Other rewards were bestowed, though with no liberal hand; and the aristocratic or parliamentary influence over promotions was left as before, "all the talents" being neither more nor less anxious to gratify their friends, and retain their parliamentary dependents, than the late ministry had been.

An attempt was made, early in the session, to criminate Earl St. Vincent for mismanagement and neglect of the navy, while he was in office; but it came to nothing.

While parliament was in the giving mood, and within a fortnight after it had raised the income or property tax to 10 per cent., an application was made and agreed to for increasing the allowances of the younger branches of the royal family. The budget for the year was opened by the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Henry Petty, on the 28th of March. The permanent taxes were stated at 32,535,971*l.* The requisite supplies for the year were put at 48,916,000*l.* Of this enormous sum 15,281,000*l.* were to be applied to the navy —18,500,000*l.* to the army—4,718,000*l.* to the ordnance, including ordnance sea-service. Among the proposed ways and means were another loan of 18,000,000*l.*, and war-taxes to the amount of 19,500,000*l.* The new chancellor of the exchequer showed himself a good accountant and a clear expositor; but he gave on this occasion no proof of financial genius; he showed no originality of conception; and, though nurtured in the school of Adam Smith and the Edinburgh philosophers and economists, he laid on or retained taxes which could not but have an injurious effect on manufactures and commerce. He imposed, for example, a duty of 40*s.* a ton on pig-iron.* He also kept up that old petty-tax system, by which a modicum of money was raised at an infinitude of trouble and vexation, and wherein, in some instances, the amount was half eaten up by the expenses of collection. He imposed an additional duty on beer and spirits in Ireland, and a paltry tax on appraisements, which was calculated at 66,000*l.* per annum. But his lordship's great financial move was the simple but bold one of raising the income or property tax from 6½ to 10 per cent., and making it to extend to all property above 50*l.* a-year. The pig-iron tax, which he calculated would yield 500,000*l.* per annum, met with a great opposition; but this was nothing compared to the storm raised by the sudden and high increase of the property-tax. Fox owned in the House that he was not a friend to this tax, or to any of its principles, or to its operation; he was sensible that the objections to it were just and innumerable; but his majesty's ministers were reluctantly forced to adopt it under the pressure of circumstances, which they had at least the consolation to reflect they had no share in producing. Francis objected strongly to the clause which compelled persons with small incomes to pay the duty in the first instance, and go afterwards to the tax-office for re-payment, if they desired to avail themselves of their right to the legal abatement. Such persons were unable to collect a sum large enough to discharge the duty, or, if they were able, the trouble and difficulty of afterwards recovering the money from the tax-office would either deter them from attempting it, or subject them to greater loss and inconveni-

* Letter to Lady Collingwood, dated April the 27th, 1806, in 'Memoirs and Correspondence,' by G. L. Newham Collingwood, Esq.

Though his patrimony was slender, Collingwood was economical and homely in his habits; and he had brought up his family to be the same. In another letter to his wife he says—"I do not know how you bear your honours, but I have so much business on my hands, from dawn till midnight, that I have hardly time to think of mine, except it be in gratitude to my king, who has so graciously conferred them upon me. How shall we be able to support the dignity to which his majesty has been pleased to raise me? Let others plead for pensions! I can be rich without money, by endeavouring to be superior to everything poor. I would have my services to my country untainted by any interested motive, and old Scott (the gardener) and I can go on in our cabbage-garden without much greater expense than formerly."

† Leiter to J. E. Blackett, Esq., id.

* An additional duty had been laid upon malt, hops, and beer by Addington in 1802, and it is said that there would have been further increase now, but for the necessity of conciliating the country gentlemen and Whitbread, the greatest of brewers, and one of the warmest supporters of the "Talents" ministry. Walter Scott remembered these things in his roaring hearty song on the acquittal of Lord Melville, and the vain-glory of this ministry:

"And then our revenue—Lord knows how they viewed it,
While each petty statesman talked lofty and big;
But the beer-tax was weak, as if Whitbread had brewed it,
And the pig-iron duty a shame to a pig.
In vain is their vaunting."

ence than the money was worth. Many other strong objections were taken to either the principles of such a tax or to its serious increase; but the government had no other plan to devise for raising money enough, and so the measure was carried. This made people out of doors murmur that those who had been so long declaiming against Pitt's heavy taxation were heavier tax-masters than that minister—that they had promised relief to the country, and were starting by increasing its burthens, and adding to its most obnoxious tax. Although it was evident that, in many departments, there was waste and profligacy, few of the better informed classes of the people doubted that the money was wanted; but they thought it unworthy of "all the talents," that they should not be able to find any better or more novel way of raising the money than that of lumping 3½ per cent. on an old and unpopular impost. In spite of their dangerous, demoralising effects, lotteries were continued as a source of revenue to government.* Lord Henry Petty, however, introduced sundry improvements in the auditing accounts, in regulating the office of treasurer of the ordnance, the post-office, the excise-office, custom-house, and other public offices, so as to prevent the practice of public officers deriving profit from the public money in their hands. It was stated that not a single account in the army pay-office had been audited since 1782; that the store accounts had been suffered to lie over without examination during the same period; that the navy accounts were greatly in arrear; that none of the accounts of the late war which had ended at the peace of Amiens had been audited; and that those relating to the expeditions to Holland and Egypt, and to the subsidies to foreign powers, had not even been touched upon by the auditors. Particular auditors were appointed; the general board of auditors was new-modelled and increased; and the expense of the whole establishment was raised by these improvements from 28,000*l.* to 42,000*l.* a-year, it being, however, declared that this additional expense of 14,000*l.* per annum would be but temporary, and that then the expense would be fixed at only 27,000*l.* a-year. Some slight improvements were also made under Lord Henry Petty in the acts regulating commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, and a law was passed for permitting the free interchange of grain of every kind between the two islands.

But the glory of this session, and of this ministry, is held to be the blow struck at the slave-trade. By the labours of many years, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their numerous and influential friends, had at last prepared the majority of the country and of parliament for this measure, which, from the beginning, had been favoured by the advocacy and eloquence of Pitt, who had delivered some of the best speeches he ever spoke on this subject. It is assumed, however, that the late minister was deficient in real enthusiasm in the cause; and that he had not made use of all the weight and influence his position gave him in smoothing the difficulties, and removing the opposition of members of both Houses who were either interested in the slave-trade or impressed with the idea that the country must suffer by its abolition—that the West India islands, which had cost and were still costing us so much, could be cultivated only by negro slaves, and would be worth nothing without slaves to cultivate them—that annual importations of negroes were necessary to increase the stock so as to meet the increasing demands for West Indian produce—that the negro would work only upon compulsion, and that to place him in the condition of a free labourer would be to plunge him back into listless, unproductive barbarity, and the West India islands into one general poverty—that the measure would not be final, but that, when the planters had been prohibited from importing more slaves from Africa, the slaves in the islands would be emancipated, and turned into free labourers, who would never freely work beyond that easy point at which they could procure a bare animal existence for themselves. Perhaps Pitt may have shared in some of these notions; and it was in his nature to be averse to solicitation and even to dictation (where he could dictate), unless upon a great and immediate state interest. But if he had made the slave-trade a cabinet question, he could not have carried it until parliament and the country were prepared for it. This preparation had been slow and gradual; and it appears probable that measures which could not be carried in 1805 under Pitt, were carried in 1806 under Fox, simply because the time was more ripe for them. Yet, even now, the measures carried were far less extensive than is generally imagined;—they were only instalments and advances towards a total suppression of the slave-trade—some few instalments the more added to those several acts and resolutions which had been passed in favour of the negroes during Pitt's long administration. We repeat, it was the work of time: and, possibly (if there is blame), Pitt was no more to be blamed for not doing, at an early period, what Fox did, than Fox is to be blamed for not doing what was done a quarter of a century after his death, when the Whig government of Earl Grey proclaimed the emancipation of the negroes.

The course adopted by the present ministry was this:—The attorney-general brought in a bill prohibiting under strict penalties the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the 1st of

* Romilly took occasion to observe to the chancellor of the exchequer how desirable it was that lotteries should be discontinued. Lord Henry agreed with him, but said that, during the war, he thought it would be hardly possible to go on without them; that, however, they would not be extended, though a plan for that purpose had been in agitation, and had been much pressed on the ministry. This plan was to put them on nearly the same footing as they were in France, where lotteries were drawn in the provincial towns as well as at Paris, by means of which there was in that country a lottery-drawing almost without interruption throughout the year. His lordship said that Tierney was a great friend to this plan, but that it certainly would not be adopted. He observed, too, that English lotteries did much less mischief, now that all insurance upon tickets was abolished, than they did formerly. "This," says Romilly, "may be, but they are still attended with most pernicious consequences."—*Diary.*

January, 1807.* The object of this bill was to prevent the investment of British capital, or the employment of British shipping and seamen, in the foreign slave-trade. Now Pitt, during his last administration, had caused an order in council to be issued for the prevention of the importation of slaves into the colonies conquered by us during the present war, which was going as far as the power of the crown, by itself, would allow. After the attorney-general's bill had been carried through, Wilberforce wanted to follow it up by a general bill for total abolition; but, after meeting Fox at Lord Grenville's, he reluctantly gave up the idea on his lordship's decided opinion that there was no chance of carrying the main question this session in the House of Lords, as the bishops were going out of town, &c. It was, however, agreed at this meeting that a general resolution against the slave-trade should be moved both in the Commons and in the Lords, Fox engaging to lead in one House and Grenville in the other. "How wonderful are the ways of God!" writes the enthusiastic abolitionist. "Though intimate with Pitt all my life, since earliest manhood, and he most warm for abolition, and really honest; yet now my whole human dependence is placed on Fox, to whom this life has been opposed—and on Grenville, to whom I have always been rather hostile till of late years, when I heard he was more religious." But, after all, Fox and Grenville could not make it a ministerial question, or even secure the concurrence of the whole Cabinet, two of the chief members of which were persevering anti-abolitionists. The majority of the cabinet, however, determined to support the resolution, which would, it was thought, bind parliament to a speedy adoption of the general measure. On the 10th of April Wilberforce moved an address, calling on the king to use his influence to obtain the co-operation of foreign powers in putting down the slave-trade. This being carried without a division, Fox moved the promised resolution, in these words:—"That this House, considering the African slave-trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner and at such period as may seem advisable." And, upon a division, this was carried by 115 against 14. "Now," says Wilberforce, "if it please God to spare the health of Fox, and to keep him and Grenville together, I hope we shall next year see the termination of all our labours!" The resolution was sent up to the House of Lords, and a conference was demanded; after which, on a motion from Lord Grenville, their lordships concurred in the same by a majority of 41 to 20. Foreseeing that the slave-dealers, acting on the impression that the days of their trade were numbered, would carry on their traffic with an increase of vigour, Wilberforce conferred with Fox on the necessity of a temporary enactment for preventing such an influx in the African market. Fox again gratified him; and, before the close of the session, a bill was passed rapidly through both Houses to prevent the employment of any fresh ships in the African slave-trade, by prohibiting the engaging of any vessel in that trade which had not been actually employed in it before August 1st, 1806, or had not contracted for such employment before June 10th, 1806. The duration of this act was limited to two years.

If Pitt had not been able to prevent the impeachment of his friend and colleague when alive and in power, there was but slight chance that that prosecution would be let sleep now that he was gone, and his adversaries in place. The trial commenced in Westminster Hall on the 29th of April before the Lords, the members of the House of Commons being present in a committee of the whole House. The articles of the charge were ten in number, but in substance only three. 1. That, as treasurer of the navy, Lord Melville had applied divers sums of public money to his private use and profit. 2. That he had permitted his paymaster, Trotter, to take large sums of money from the Bank of England, issued to it on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place it in his own name with his private banker. 3. That he had permitted Trotter to apply the money so abstracted to purposes of private emolument, and had himself derived profit therefrom.

* Lord Henry Petty would have moved for this bill some months before Pitt's death, in the preceding session of parliament, but was prevented by the dangerous illness of his father, Lord Lansdowne. Lord Grenville agreed to introduce it in the Lords, assuring Wilberforce that he should be happy to promote the object in any way.

The saints and abolitionists were an important section in parliament (as Pitt had found to his sorrow on the Melville impeachment), and in the country they were exceedingly powerful through their character, property, zeal, and combination. On Pitt's decease Lord Henry Petty canvassed the University of Cambridge, and got a great deal of support, owing to his known zeal in Wilberforce's cause. His opponent, Lord Palmerston, lost much, owing to his being supposed to be an anti-abolitionist; and numbers declared that they would not, though satisfied in all other points, vote for an anti-abolitionist.

Besides the representation of Cambridge, other advantages were obtained by the ministry through pledges and promises to Wilberforce. This leader of the abolitionists had, however, had his doubts and misgivings. Lord Chancellor Erskine was always talking in a friendly manner, but was always absenting himself; Lord Moira was doubtful, and so were Sidmouth and Ellenborough, who both took their tone from the court; Lord Spencer was believed to be favourable, but not very strong; of Lord Fitzwilliam Wilberforce was not quite sure, but thought favourably; Windham was decidedly *contra;* and it was doubtful whether the royal family would give up their opposition. One of the zealous abolitionists suggested sending a deputation to the new ministry to make a sort of contract that they would befriend them as they had done Pitt, *i. e.* give them the turn of the scale, &c., if they would promise to support the abolition as a government measure. "The idea," says Wilberforce, "is inadmissible both on grounds of rectitude and policy (the two parties would infallibly have different ideas of the practical extent of the obligation, and mutual misunderstanding would ensue), *yet I think we ought to contrive that the effect intended by it may be produced;* and, though I dare scarcely be sanguine when I recollect with whom we have to do, yet I cannot but entertain some hopes that the wish to mollify and even conciliate a number of strange, impracticable, and otherwise *uncomeatable* fellows, by gratifying them in this particular, may have its weight; at least it will tend to counteract the fear of offending the West Indians."—*Diary.* Wilberforce, therefore, asserting independent principles, spoke strongly against the mischievous effect of making the Chief Justice of England a politician, by giving him a seat in the cabinet; and his friends continued to act as they had done under Pitt, giving a general support to ministers, without binding themselves to vote for them in all particulars. But this general support was well worth purchase, for occasions might come when they might turn the scale one way or the other. Wilberforce thought Lord Grenville, Fox, and Lord Henry Petty decided friends to abolition; but these two last ministers talked as if he might carry his question in the House of Commons, but would certainly lose it in the House of Lords. "This," he says, "looks but ill, as if they wished to please us, and yet not forfeit Prince of Wales's favour, and that of G. R., and other anti abolitionists." But he learned afterwards, with great pleasure, that the prince had given his word of honour to Fox not to stir adversely.

Whitbread, the chief manager,* was not a Burke; office-books and bankers' accounts were but indifferent materials for rhetoric; a very large portion of the public, now that the first excitement was worn away, were weary of the subject; and of the upper classes the majority, though admitting some carelessness and irregularity, considered Dundas as an ill-used man: nearly all the attractions were wanting that crowded Westminster Hall with rank, genius, and fashion at the commencement of Warren Hastings's trial: the attendance was thin and flat, and the proceedings were run over pretty much in the manner of an auditing of accounts. It was made perfectly clear that Mr. Trotter had made up for the miserable deficiency of his salary by deriving profit from the banking-house of Coutts on the deposits; that Melville had made temporary use of some sums of money, but had repaid them all, and with interest: but Whitbread's evidence failed altogether in proving that Melville had ever sought private emolument from the deposits, or had ever abstracted any public money with the intention of keeping it for himself. Two questions were put by the Lords to the judges:—1. Whether moneys issued from the Exchequer to the Bank of England on account of the treasurer of his majesty's navy, pursuant to the Act 25 Geo. III. c. 31, may be lawfully drawn from the said bank by the person duly authorised by the treasurer to draw upon the bank, according to the said act, the drafts of such person being made for the purpose of discharging bills actually assigned upon the treasurer before the date of such drafts, but not actually presented for payment before such drawing; and whether such moneys, so drawn from the Bank of England, may be lawfully lodged in the hands of a private banker until the payment of such assigned bills, and for the purpose of making payment thereof when the payment thereof should be demanded; or whether such act in so drawing such moneys, and lodging and depositing the same as aforesaid, is in the law a crime or offence? 2. Whether moneys issued from the Exchequer to the Bank of England, on account of the treasurer of the navy, pursuant to the Act 25 Geo. III. c. 31, may be lawfully drawn therefrom by drafts drawn in the name and on the behalf of the said treasurer, in the form prescribed in the said act, for the purpose of such moneys being ultimately applied to naval services, but in the mean time, and until the same should be required to be so applied, for the purpose of being deposited in the hands of a private banker, or other private depositary of such moneys, in the name and under the immediate sole control and disposition of some other person or persons than the said treasurer himself? To the first of these queries the judges replied that such an act, or the so drawing of such moneys in a private bank, was *not* in the law a crime or offence. To the second question the reply was, "That, if, by the expression, 'for the purpose of being deposited in the hands of a private banker,' is to be understood that such was the object or reason of drawing the money out of the Bank of England, the judges answer, that moneys may not be lawfully so drawn out of the Bank of England, although the moneys be intended to be, and may in fact be, ultimately applied to navy services. But if, by that expression, it is to be understood that such intermediate deposit in the hands of a private banker is made, *bonâ fide*, as the means, or supposed means, of more conveniently applying the money to navy services, in that case the judges answer that moneys, issued from the Exchequer to the Bank of England on account of the treasurer of the navy, pursuant to the Act of the 25th Geo. III. c. 31, may be lawfully drawn therefrom, by drafts drawn in the name and on behalf of the treasurer, in the form prescribed by the same act, for the purpose of such moneys being ultimately applied to navy services, although in the mean time, and until the same shall be required to be so applied, the money may be deposited in the hands of a private banker, or other private depositary, in the name and under the immediate sole control and disposition of some other person or persons than the treasurer himself."

Their lordships then submitted a third question to the judges—Whether it was lawful for the treasurer of the navy, before the passing of the Act 25 Geo. III. c. 31, and more especially when, by warrant from his majesty, his salary was augmented in full satisfaction for all fees and other profits and emoluments, to apply any sum of money intrusted to him for navy services to any other use whatsoever, public or private, without express authority for so doing; and whether such application of navy money would have been a misdemeanor, or punishable by information or indictment? The judges replied that it was not unlawful, and did not constitute a misdemeanor punishable by information or indictment.

There were altogether only sixteen days of trial. Fox, Sheridan, Lord Howick, Lord Henry Petty, and Dr. F. Laurence, though managers, scarcely opened their lips during the proceedings; and, except two long, hard, and dry orations from Whitbread, no speech was delivered on that side. On June the 12th, the sixteenth day of the trial, the Lords voted on the several charges. On the first charge Not Guilty was pronounced by 120 against 15, who said Guilty; on the second charge the votes for acquittal were 81 against 54; on the third charge 83 against 52; on the fourth, 135 to 0; on the fifth, 131 against 3; on the sixth, 88 against 47; on the seventh, 85 against 50; on the eighth, 121 against 14; on the ninth, 121 against 14; and on the tenth, 124 against 11.

* The other managers were Fox, Howick, Sheridan, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Viscount Marsham, Daniel Giles, Viscount Folkestone, Jonathan Raine, Ffrench Laurence, Thomas Creevey, Henry Holland, John Calcraft, Lord Porchester, Lord Archibald Hamilton, C. W. W. Wynne, Joseph Jekyll, Edward Morris, Earl Temple, W. D. Best, Lord Robert Spencer, Sir Arthur Piggott (attorney-general), Sir Samuel Romilly (solicitor-general).

The number of peers that voted was 135.* When the clerk, with the lord chancellor, had cast up the numbers at the woolpack, the chancellor ordered proclamation for silence; which being made, his lordship addressed the House:—"My Lords, a majority of the Lords have acquitted Henry Viscount Melville of the high crimes and misdemeanors charged upon him by the impeachment of the Commons, and of all things contained therein." And then, addressing Melville, the lord chancellor said, "Henry Viscount Melville, I am to acquaint your lordship that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment exhibited against you by the Commons for high crimes and misdemeanors, and of all things contained therein." Melville, who stood while the chancellor spoke, made a low bow when he had finished. Their lordships adjourned to the chamber of parliament; and, the chancellor having announced there that the impeachment was dismissed, the whole business, which had cost the country some thousands of pounds, ended.

Though wounded in his pride, driven from office and from that life of business and active employment which seemed to have become necessary to his existence, though deprived of the patronage of Scotland, where for so many years he had exercised an almost sovereign rule, and though exposed to the sharp stings of ingratitude and to the taunts and turnings of men whom he had raised from the dust, Melville's tough frame, which throve under the free living or drinking that hastened the death of his friend Pitt, and his still tougher mind, enabled him to bear up manfully—at least in the eyes of the world; and he was capable of the magnanimity of forgiving, or of suppressing his indignation against the men who had treated him as a pilferer and cut-purse.† The lovers of literature and of genius will not forget that in the days of his power the patronage of Melville was extended to Walter Scott, when a young man and in need of it.‡ Among his lordship's sources of consolation was this—when in power himself, and with the strength of government exerted in his behalf, he was put upon his defence; and when out of place, and with his decided political adversaries in administration, he was tried and acquitted. The great majority of his peers who acquitted him are scarcely to be accused of partiality, and are not amenable to the charge of corrupt and dishonourable conduct; while it is a known fact that the judges who attended the trial were, with the exception of Ellenborough, the lord chief justice (who voted guilty on five of the charges, and not guilty on the five others), all clearly convinced of his innocence.*

* Trial of Henry Lord Viscount Melville, &c., taken in short-hand by Joseph and William B. Gurney, and published by order of the House of Peers.

† We have shown how Wilberforce and the saints behaved and voted on the question of impeachment. With Wilberforce on the other side there would have been no impeachment at all. Melville's conduct to himself after all this was indeed an instance of the better nature of that remarkable man, and was always mentioned by Wilberforce with unusual pleasure. He says, "We did not meet for a long time, and all his connexions most violently abused me. About a year before he died we met in the stone passage which leads from the Horse Guards to the Treasury. We came suddenly upon each other, just in the open part, where the light struck upon our faces. We saw one another, and at first I thought he was passing on, but he stopped and called out, 'Ah, Wilberforce, how do you do?' and gave me a hearty shake by the hand. I would have given a thousand pounds for that shake. I never saw him afterwards."—*Life*. Melville died on the 28th of May, 1811, shortly after completing his seventy-second year.

‡ In a letter dated March the 3rd, 1806, Scott says, "I own Lord Melville's misfortunes affect me deeply. He, at least his nephew, was my early patron, and gave me countenance and assistance when I had but few friends. I have seen when the streets of Edinburgh were thought by the inhabitants almost too vulgar for Lord Melville to walk upon; and now I fear that, with his power and influence gone, his presence would be accounted by many, from whom he has deserved other thoughts, an embarrassment, if not something worse. All this is very vile—it is one of the occasions when Providence, as it were, industriously turns the tapestry to let us see the ragged ends of the worsted which composes its most beautiful figures."—*Letter to George Ellis, Esq., in Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott.* And the poet did not allow his worldly prudence to stint his gratitude. While so many Scotchmen were looking reverentially to the new ministry, as likely to stand and to be the dispensers of those good things which Melville could give no longer, he wrote a dashing, uncompromising song, which John Ballantyne, his printer, sang at a public dinner given in honour of Melville's acquittal. In that spontaneous burst of feeling he reminded his country how Melville had acted during the storm created by the French revolution, and by the friends of reform at home,

"When villains and coxcombs, French politics praising,
Drove peace from our tables and sleep from our beds,"

He called to their minds how, when the Blues (the Scottish volunteers) were raising, Melville was the first to head them, and

"Our hearts they grew bolder
When, musket on shoulder,
Stepp'd forth our old statesman example to give;
Come, boys, never fear,
Drink the Blue grenadier—
Here's to old HARRY, and long may he live!"

* Lord Brougham, Statesmen of the Time of George III. His lordship concludes his character of this much-defamed statesman by saying, "It is very certain that these remarks will give little satisfaction to those whose political principles have always kept them apart from, and inimical to, Lord Melville. But to what purpose have men lived for above thirty years after the trial, and survived the object of the charge more than a quarter of a century, if they cannot now, and upon a mere judicial question, permit their judgments to have a free scope—deciding calmly upon events that belong to the history of the past, and involve the reputation of the dead?"

Warren Hastings, who survived Melville so many years, was very resentful of the evils he had received from him. The India Bill which succeeded Fox's most unlucky hit, and which is called Pitt's India Bill, was universally considered at the time as almost the sole work of Dundas. But Hastings always maintained—and the facts seem pretty well proved—that all the materials for that bill, and all the information and knowledge necessary to the production of it, were furnished by Hastings. Melville never acknowledged the obligation; and, when Hastings's evil hour came, he was induced, like his superior, Pitt, after a very faint effort in favour of the accused, to join in the cry of his accusers. Though his animosity against Melville was never so great as that which he felt towards Pitt, it was still sufficiently violent. As was usual with Hastings, he vented his feelings in rhyme. We know not whether the following lines were written before the event of Melville's fall and impeachment, or whether they were written after that event, and on the safe side of prophecy.

THE JACKDAW AND PEACOCK.

A jackdaw of ambitious mind,
The vainest of the jackdaw kind,
By luck, as he conceiv'd it, found
A peacock's feathers on the ground,
Which, prompted by a foolish pride,
He seiz'd and to his tail applied.
Despising now his native crew,
To join the peacock tribe he flew;
But they, the gross imposture loathing,
Peck'd off his surreptitious clothing,
And drove him scampering from their sight,
Bare to the rump, in rueful plight.
His ancient friends, with like disdain
Spurn'd and repuls'd, he courts in vain:
In vain he sues for consolation,
Of friends and foes the detestation.
But one less cruel than the rest
The renegado thus address'd:—
"Lo! the pretender's doom! Be wise,
"Nor aim henceforth by fraud to rise:
"They but debase their proper merit
"Who seek another's to inherit."
With vanity no less revolting
'Twas thus Dundas observ'd my moulting,
Pick'd up my plumes, wherewith array'd
In anniversary parade
He struts and boasts, as well he may,
And hails it as his proudest day;
While, of his worthless pomp aware,
The Commons and their Speaker stare.
But mark, though now he knows no equal,
Mark how they 'll serve him in the sequel:

Expose

No impeachment would ever have taken place if Pitt had realized the hopes of the Whigs of coalescing with them, and of forcing Fox upon the king in 1804. But there was, after all, some matter of public consolation in these costly prosecutions: the impeachment of Hastings had set limits to the exercise of a too arbitrary power in India; the impeachment of Melville taught ministers to be more careful of their public accounts at home, and to diminish the temptations put in the way of their subalterns.

The present ministry, by their new bill, and their debates on the regular army, in which they spoke disparagingly of the yeomanry and volunteers, had given great offence to a very numerous part of the nation; their financial measures gained them no credit with the country at large; but what drew down upon them the greatest weight of discredit and unpopularity was their conduct with respect to that unhappy woman the Princess of Wales. The uncongenial and in every way inauspicious marriage of the prince had led to a downright separation, after little more than a year's cohabitation and the birth of a daughter. George III. had then and ever since warmly interested himself in favour of his luckless niece and daughter-in-law, and the Pittites or Tories in power had as constantly espoused the same cause. On the other hand the Foxites and Whigs, who regarded Carlton House as a part of their own camp, or as a sort of head-quarters of their party, had with equal warmth espoused the cause of his highness of Wales, undertaking on all necessary occasions to defend his not very defensible conduct from reproach. After many degrading altercations about money matters, and more agonizing disputes (to the mother) about the care and custody of the infant princess, whispers, and then rumours, began to be spread, from Carlton House through the whole Whig circle, that the Princess of Wales was conducting herself in a manner that could not be tolerated without incurring a national disgrace. How the prince was living, and how a noble dame, the wife of a British peer, was occupying the place which was once held by the Fitzherbert, and which ought now to have been occupied by his own wife, were things unfortunately but too well known to the whole world. But the morality in these matters is all one-sided; and it is perhaps expedient to uphold the principle that the delinquencies of the husband are not to excuse those of the wife. The Princess of Wales complained in a letter to the king that for more than two years, dating from 1804, she had been "beset by spies." The chief of those spies were a certain Sir John and Lady Douglas, who lived in the neighbourhood of the princess at Blackheath, in terms of the closest intimacy, and in the daily profession of the most devoted friendship. Sir John was one of the equerries of the Duke of Sussex. He reported to the duke his master, and the duke reported to his royal brother, the Prince of Wales. These reports grew big in 1805, for they asserted that the princess had been delivered of an illegitimate child. Whether Sir John and Lady Douglas received their commission in the first instance from the prince himself, or only from some officious friends of the prince, remains open to doubt. The relation in which Sir John stood towards the Duke of Sussex has excited the suspicion that the duke was not a stranger to his and his wife's doings at Blackheath. On the 11th of November, 1805, the prince sent for Romilly, as a good Whig, and excellent chancery lawyer, to consult with him on a subject "of the most confidential nature, and of the greatest importance." The prince stated to Romilly very circumstantially, and at great length, facts which had been communicated to him relative to the Princess of Wales, through the intervention (we quote Romilly's own words) of the Duke of Sussex, by Lady Douglas, the wife of one of the duke's equerries. The prince then told Romilly that the account was to be put down in writing, and that it should be then sent to him, that he might consider with Lord Thurlow, to whom it was also to be sent, what steps it would be necessary to take. A month passed during which Romilly heard nothing more on the subject; but at the end of that time Colonel Mac Mahon, one of the Prince of Wales's household, brought him a paper from the prince, containing the narrative of Lady Douglas. Accompanied by Mac Mahon, Romilly waited upon Thurlow on the 15th of December, 1805. The burly ex-chancellor had been very ill, and was still extremely infirm. It seemed, however, to Romilly that he was still in full possession of his faculties, and that he expressed himself "with that coarse energy for which he had long been remarkable." Thurlow said that the first point to be considered was whether her ladyship's account were true, declaring that for his own part he did not believe it.* Upon the whole his opinion was, that the evidence the prince was in possession of would not justify taking any step on his part, and that he had only to wait and see what facts might come to light in future. Thurlow added, however, that he thought it would be proper, in the meantime, to employ a person to collect evidence respecting the conduct of the princess; and he named one Lowten as a person very fit to be employed for such purposes. At Mac Mahon's desire Romilly wrote down, for the information of

Expose him in the face of day,
And all his borrow'd plumes betray;
Leave not a budget to equip him,
Pluck him and peck him, yea and strip him
As naked all above the leg
As when he wore the phillabeg:
Yea, justice soon or late shall reach him,
And friends desert and foes impeach him.
*MS. Poem by Warren Hastings.*

* "He (Thurlow) said that there was no *composition* in her (Lady Douglas's) narrative (that was the expression he used); no connection in it, no dates: that some parts of it were grossly improbable. He then said, that, when first he knew the princess, he should have thought her incapable of writing or saying any such things as Lady Douglas imputed to her, but that she might be altered; that to be sure it was a strange thing to take a beggar's child, but a few days old, and adopt it as her own; but that, however, princesses had sometimes strange whims which nobody could account for; that in some respects her situation was deserving of great compassion."—*Romilly's Narrative, in Life by his Sons.*

the prince, what he collected to be Lord Thurlow's opinions. As it was seen from Thurlow's manner that he was not disposed to enter fully into the subject, Mac Mahon gave Romilly to understand that the prince would be governed by his (Romilly's) advice. Romilly, however, wished to decline being the single adviser of the prince in such a matter, and suggested the propriety of consulting Erskine. Lady Douglas's narrative was accordingly put into Erskine's hands, and he and Romilly met upon it. But Erskine was shy of committing himself, or entering into the matter; and therefore Romilly by himself put down in writing what appeared to him to be the principal difficulties to be decided on, and gave his paper to the colonel to be delivered to the prince. Erskine, however, appointed Lowten, the spy or evidence-collector recommended by Thurlow, to meet him and Romilly; but on the night before the meeting Erskine's wife died, and, as he could not attend the meeting, Romilly saw Lowten alone, put him in possession of the facts he was acquainted with, and delivered to him Lady Douglas's statement. Lowten forthwith got into communication, and had personal interviews, with Lord Moira and Colonel Mac Mahon, and he reported to Romilly that he understood from them that it was the prince's wish he should see Lady Douglas. On the very day after this—on the 31st of December, 1805—Romilly saw Lady Douglas, with Sir John Douglas, Lord Moira, and Lowten, at Lowten's chambers. "Lady Douglas," he says, "answered all questions put to her with readiness, and gave her answers with great coolness and self-possession, and in a manner to impress one very much with the truth of them." On the 23rd of January Pitt died; and on the 8th of February Romilly received information from Fox that he was appointed solicitor-general. Some time passed, during which it seems that Lowten busied himself in his vocation, and the friends of the prince made a great stir. On the 18th of May, at the prince's desire, Romilly called again on Lord Thurlow. The evidence which had been discovered since his previous visit was not considered very important. But Thurlow desired him to tell the prince that the information he had received was too important to remain in his possession without some steps being taken upon it; that he ought to communicate it to Mr. Fox, and consider with him what was to be done upon it; and that the information had remained already too long in his royal highness's possession without being proceeded on. Romilly immediately waited upon the prince, and communicated Thurlow's message to him; and it appears to have been upon this that the prince determined to refer the "delicate investigation" (as it was called, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle) to high authorities. Five days after his last interview with Thurlow, Romilly saw Lord Grenville on the subject, and his lordship desired him to state the most material facts, from the written declarations which had been put into his (Romilly's) possession, in order to their being laid before the king. According to Romilly, Lord Grenville seemed to think that the birth of the child would render it impossible to avoid making the matter public, and the subject of a parliamentary proceeding. On the 24th of May Lord Chancellor Erskine read the papers to the king; and his majesty authorised his lordship and Lords Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough to inquire into the subject, and to report to him the result of the examinations they should take. On the 31st Romilly met the lord chancellor and the other three noblemen at Lord Grenville's; and it was settled that they should proceed the next day upon the examination. They met accordingly; no person being present but Romilly, the four lords, and Sir John and Lady Douglas. Sir John and the lady underwent a very long examination, and that most execrable of all evidence, a heap of anonymous letters, was produced, and put into the possession of Romilly. Witnesses were clandestinely brought in, and examined in Lord Grenville's house, without any intimation given to the princess of what was in agitation against her. On the 6th two of the princess's pages were examined, in the presence of Romilly. On the 7th Romilly attended again at Lord Grenville's house, and remained there from between one and two o'clock in the day till half-past eleven at night. "The whole of our time," says Romilly himself, "with a short interval for dinner, was occupied in examining witnesses. The four lords of the council had granted an order to bring before them six of the princess's most confidential servants from her house at Blackheath, to be examined. The order was executed without any previous intimation being given to the princess, or to any of her servants. The Duke of Kent attended, and stated to the princess that reports very injurious to her reputation had been in circulation; and that his majesty had therefore ordered an inquiry to be instituted on the subject. The princess said that they were welcome to examine all her servants, if they thought proper. In addition to the servants, Sophia Austin was examined. The result of the examination was such as left a perfect conviction on my mind, and I believe on the minds of the four lords, that the boy in question is the son of Sophia Austin; that he was born in Brownlow-street hospital on the 11th of July, 1802; and was taken by the princess into her house on the 15th of November in the same year, and has ever since been under her protection. The evidence of all the servants as to the general conduct of the princess was very favourable to her royal highness; and Lady Douglas's account was contradicted in many very important particulars." * The princess now thought proper to make the proceedings public, and to endeavour to excite all the public odium she could against the prince. Romilly says that his royal highness could not have acted otherwise than he had done; that if he was to blame it was for having used too much caution, and for having delayed too long laying

* Diary, in Life of Sir Samuel Romilly by his Sons.

before the ministers the important facts which had come to his knowledge. But the public at large entertained a very different opinion, and terrible was the odium drawn down upon the prince and upon the present cabinet for proceedings which were considered un-English, irregular, and inquisitorial. Perhaps the conviction on the minds of the four noble lords was not so strong as on Romilly's. The examination of witnesses went on at Lord Grenville's house; and Romilly attended on the 23rd, the 25th, and the 27th of June, and the 1st of July, producing on the last occasion some letters written by the princess to her husband, and to her daughter the Princess Charlotte, which letters the prince himself had put into his hands, in order to prove by comparison of the handwriting that the inscriptions upon certain obscene drawings, and the directions upon the envelopes in which the drawings were enclosed, were all of the Princess of Wales's own handwriting.* On the 12th of July the report of the four noble commissioners for inquiring into the conduct of the Princess of Wales was finished. It stated the opinion of the commissioners, that there was no foundation for either of the assertions, that the princess was delivered of a child in 1802, or that she was pregnant in that year; but that the conduct sworn to have been observed by the princess towards Captain Manby was of a kind that deserved a most serious consideration.

At the end of the month of January of the following year, 1807, four months after the death of Fox, and about two months before the forced resignation of "all the talents," the affair of the Princess of Wales was terminated, though not very satisfactorily to any party. The king referred the whole matter to the cabinet; and, by their advice, sent a written message to the princess, stating that he was satisfied there was no foundation for the charges of pregnancy and delivery; but that he saw with serious concern, in the depositions of the witnesses, and even in her royal highness's own letter to him, written by way of defence, evidence of a deportment unbecoming her station.† Here the matter rested for some time. It created much talk and dissatisfaction.‡ It set all the women and nearly all the men in the country against "all the talents." Six years later, when Romilly and his friends were severely taxed in parliament for their conduct and their compliances with the Prince of Wales on this memorable occasion, Romilly urged in defence, that the only office he had to discharge at the meetings at Lord Grenville's was to write down the depositions of the witnesses, and read them over to them before they were signed; that for this office he had been selected in preference to any other person, merely because he was already acquainted with the facts, and because it was advisable, in case it should not be considered necessary to institute any judicial or legislative proceedings against the princess, that as much secrecy as possible should be observed; that he had not any doubt of the authority or legality of the commission; and that he could state from his own observation, that the four noble lords, the commissioners, had conducted the business with all the impartiality of judges acting under the sacred obligations of an oath. In reply to the objection taken to the instrument giving the four commissioners their authority, Romilly said that it was impossible to doubt that, on a representation of misconduct in a member of the royal family, involving besides a charge of high treason, and presenting the danger of a disputed succession, the king's verbal authority to a number of privy councillors was sufficient. It would, however, have been well for the Whig party (and the party now in place must be taken as whigs) if the delicate investigation had never occurred, and if they had not betrayed a questionable alacrity in concurring with the prince, and traducing his wife—as they did in various ways besides in their proceedings in the secret commission. The case has been correctly assumed as a striking exemplification of the effect of party, and of party interests.* The Tories were now in opposition to the prince and to the Whig ministry, and they bitterly denounced this secret proceeding. The Whigs were, and had long been, bound to the prince—the differences between him and the Foxite part of them, on the subject of the French revolution, had only produced a partial and temporary coolness—they looked to him as the rising sun, under whose benignant rays they would be sure of enjoying a long continuance in office, a compensation for their long exclusion under his father. When the position of the two parties was reversed, when the prince, as regent, had broken with the Whigs, when, as George IV., he seemed determined to continue their exclusion, then, in 1820, the Tories in office brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties against his wife, and the Whigs took up her cause with a zeal that seemed to know no bounds.

Mr. Paul, with the assistance of Sir Philip Francis and his friends, was busy preparing the charges against the Indian administration of the Marquess Wellesley, contemplating nothing less than the impeachment of the Marquess, and the ruin of the reputation of his brother, General Sir Arthur Wellesley. If it had depended upon Francis—"that venomous knight"†—the great soldier would have been excluded from public service, just about the time when his ability and genius, his indomitable fortitude and perseverance, were most needed by his country; and the Peninsular war, intrusted to inferior minds, or to gene-

* Romilly says that, upon a comparison of the hands, no one of the four lords had any doubt that all the writing was the princess's.

† In the message, as originally framed by the ministry, it was, "His majesty sees with concern and disapprobation," but the king, with his own hand, struck out the word "disapprobation," and substituted "serious concern."—*Romilly*.

‡ Wilberforce, Diary.

* Lord Brougham, on the effects of party, in Statesmen of the Time of George III.

† The following epigram of Warren Hastings's, we believe, has never been printed:—

"A serpent bit Francis, that venomous knight.
What then?—'T was the serpent that died of the bite.'

rals wanting in that political weight at home which gave Sir Arthur Wellesley so many advantages, might have proved but a continuation of our old continental mistakes and miscarriages. Sir Arthur, who was now in the House of Commons, spoke ably in defence of his brother. But on the 4th of July, when a speedy prorogation was expected, Paull declared that he was not ready to go into the charges; that he wanted more papers to support his case; and it was agreed that this business should stand over till next session. Parliament was prorogued on the 23rd of July. During the last month of this session ill health had wholly prevented the attendance of Fox. It was evident to most of his friends that he was rapidly following Pitt to the grave.

Our military and naval operations in the course of this year extended to the south of Italy and Sicily, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, the East and West Indies, and South America. The petty expedition which had been sent into the Mediterranean under General Sir James Craig, being joined by a Russian force, landed at Naples in the month of November, when the French army, under General St. Cyr, which had been occupying a great part of that kingdom, was absent in Upper Italy, co-operating with Marshal Massena. Before St. Cyr took his departure the Neapolitan government promised to remain neutral; but that engagement, like so many others, was contracted under the influence of fear and weakness, and Ferdinand IV., though deploring the smallness of their forces, received the English and Russians as friends and deliverers. If the allies had been more numerous, and if they had arrived six weeks or two months earlier, they might have set the whole of Lower Italy in a blaze against the French; they might have insured the destruction of St. Cyr's *corps d'armée*, and have prevented every one of the successes which Massena had obtained over the Archduke Charles in Upper Italy. But as things were —with their contemptible numbers and too tardy arrival—the English and Russians could do little but hasten the ruin of Ferdinand IV. As soon as Bonaparte learned the breach of the promised neutrality, or the arrival of the Russians and English (whose landing Ferdinand could not have prevented if he had been ever so much disposed to do it), he issued from Vienna one of his terrible proclamations, declaring that the Bourbon dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign. As the battle of Austerlitz and the peace with Austria had left his armies nothing to do in the north of Italy, he ordered St. Cyr to retrace his steps to the south with all possible speed, declaring in one of his bulletins that "the march of General St. Cyr upon Naples was for the purpose of punishing the perfidy of the queen, and compelling that criminal woman to descend from the throne." Caroline of Austria, Marie Antoinette's sister, took indeed a more active share in the business of government than her indolent and thoughtless husband Ferdinand: she detested the French, and was detested by them; and, besides other old grudges, Bonaparte could never forgive her for her friendship to Nelson, and the assistance she lent him at Syracuse. But St. Cyr's forces were only the van of a much more formidable army: Marshal Massena followed close behind with three great columns, and a multitude of generals of name and fame; and behind them all came Joseph Bonaparte, destined by his brother to fill this Bourbon throne. In all, counting the Italian regiments which had been raised in Lombardy and Piedmont, more than 60,000 men were in full march for the Neapolitan frontier, behind which lay 3000 British, about 4000 Russians, and a small and disorganised Neapolitan army, which was worth less than nothing. The Russian general presently informed the Neapolitan court that they had better negotiate with St. Cyr for a renewal of the neutrality which they had violated, and that, for his own part, he must be gone; and before the foremost French column reached Rome the Russians marched away to the sea-ports of Apulia and embarked for Corfu. Sir James Craig could only follow the example of the Russian general: he fled rather than retreated from the banks of the Garigliano. His troops got demoralized, and some of them, losing all discipline, abandoned their baggage and their arms, and committed excesses among the country people. It was a disgraceful flight. Part of this shame may be cast upon the officers in command, but the greater blame will attach to the ministry that could thus send out a petty expedition, and expose the national flag and character to nearly every possible chance of disgrace. Without seeing an enemy, except in the Neapolitan peasantry, whose vengeance they provoked, Craig's force was found to be considerably reduced before he could embark and sail away for Sicily. None were left to defend the frontiers or the line of the Garigliano, except Fra Diavolo and a few hundreds of brigands and insurgents. As soon as the *débâcle* began, old King Ferdinand, thinking most of his personal safety, embarked for Palermo: Queen Caroline remained till the 11th of February, when St. Cyr had crossed the frontiers; but on the evening of that day, not without a risk of being seized by her own subjects of the French faction (and in the capital they were very numerous), she fled with her daughters on board ship, and sailed for Sicily to join her husband. On the application of Ferdinand IV., Admiral Lord Collingwood had dispatched a small squadron, under Sir Sidney Smith, to give such aid and assistance as should be practicable. Sir James Craig soon collected his troops in the neighbourhood of Palermo, and for a considerable time the court owed its safety entirely to the presence of our petty army and two or three of our ships. On the morning of the 14th of February the advanced guard of the French appeared on the heights which overlook Naples. The Lazzaroni would have again fought in the outskirts and in the streets of the town, as they had done in 1799; but the frightful excesses which they had

Palermo.

committed in the course of that fatal year had created a universal dread of their patriotism. The upper and middling classes of citizens had formed themselves into a civic or national guard; artillery and arms were put out of the reach of the Lazzaroni, who had no longer a "mad Michael" to head them; and wherever they showed themselves in any numbers their own armed countrymen dispersed them. On the 15th of February, the garrisons in the city and forts having previously surrendered, Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples, and took up his abode, as king, in the palace from which the Bourbons had so lately fled. Previously to his ignominious flight Ferdinand had dispatched his two sons, the Hereditary Prince Francis and Prince Leopold, into the Abruzzi and into Calabria, to rouse the hardy native population of those mountainous countries. There was no want of loyalty in the peasantry; but more than half of the Neapolitan nobility and proprietors were, at this moment, either indifferent to the cause of the Bourbons, or inclined to favour the cause of the French; the poor people had no arms, ammunition, or other necessaries; and the royal princes had nothing to give them save compliments and white cockades. A little later the French found Calabria the fiercest and most destructive country they had ever entered; but this was when the population had been driven to despair, and after supplies and ammunition had been thrown among them from Sicily. Prince Francis and Prince Leopold united such partisans as they could collect, on the rugged mountainous borders of Calabria; and General Damas joined them with all that remained in the field of the Neapolitan regular army—an army most liable, on every approach of danger, to sudden dissolutions. Damas's force was estimated by the French at 14,000 men: it probably did not amount to half that number when it reached the selected point for defence—but the question of numbers is irrelevant, for, had it been 30,000 strong, officered as it was, disheartened and demoralized as it was, it could have counted for little or nothing against the 10,000 veteran French troops which followed close upon its heels, under the command of General Regnier. After some skirmishing at Rotonda and at Campotanese—where the peasant partisans fought much better than the regular troops—the greater part of Damas's army deserted and fled, or threw down their arms, and cried *misericordia* to the French. Damas and the two princes fled with the remainder right through Calabria, and embarking at Scylla, Reggio, and other ports, passed over to Messina and Palermo. With no other trouble than that of marching, Regnier subdued, or seemed to subdue (for the subjugation was not yet) the whole of Calabria with the exception of the towns and fortresses of Maratea, Amantea, and Scylla. Having established a government or a ministry, and having put the capital, and his new government too, under the surveillance of his minister of police, and prime adviser in all things, the Corsican Saliceti, that ex-Jacobin who had been brother commissioner with the younger Robespierre, Joseph Bonaparte set out to visit his conquests in Calabria. During his absence a French military commission (the first ever established in this kingdom) tried the Neapolitan general Rodio, who had distinguished himself by his ardent zeal for the Bourbon king, and who had been taken prisoner at Campotanese. Whatever Rodio had done, he had done under the commission of his sovereign, and by the orders of an existing government. Taking these facts into consideration, even that worst of courts acquitted him; but two vindictive Neapolitans of the French faction represented that Rodio was too dangerous a man to let live; and that enlightened, liberal model government which Joseph had established immediately appointed a second military

commission, which condemned him to death; and, in the brief space of ten hours, the unhappy Rodio was twice tried, acquitted, condemned, liberated, and shot.* But, compared with what followed, this was a mild commencement of that Reign of Terror which ended only with the reign of Joseph Bonaparte at Naples. All tyrannies are bad; the worst of tyrannies is a foreign military despotism; but even that worst is made more evil when the command of arms and armies is in the hands of a man that is not a soldier, but an effeminate civilian and rank coward. The personal timidity, the dissolute voluptuousness of Joseph, his habit of seeing only through the eyes of Saliceti, because that Corsican minister of police had the art of constantly exciting his unmanly fears, and of persuading him that he and his police agents alone could guarantee his security, rendered the tyranny of this merchant-clerk-king ten times more degrading, and infinitely more oppressive, than the grander and more manly despotism of his brother and maker Napoleon; and made his thirty months' reign a thirty months' curse and scourge to the Neapolitan people. It was the reign of Saliceti and his police, rather than the reign of Joseph Bonaparte. Joseph, who only ruled and reigned in the harem he established as soon as he arrived, did not complete his tour in Calabria, for the roads were dangerous, and Frenchmen were shot there. He returned to the capital, dreading to be assassinated at every step he took. During his absence the English had gained possession of the rocky island of Capri, which commands the Gulf of Naples, and lies immediately opposite that city at the distance of twenty-five miles;† and some Sicilians, under the command of the Prince of Canosa, occupied Ponza and other islands off the coast. In advancing from Rome, Massena and St. Cyr had not been able to reduce Gaeta, a formidable fortress on the Neapolitan coast, which happened to be garrisoned by some trustworthy troops, chiefly foreigners, in the pay of the Bourbon king, and commanded by an officer of honour and courage, a Prince William of Hesse Philipstadt. Sir Sidney Smith threw succours into the place, battered the works of the French besiegers, landed English sailors as he had done at Acre, and inflicted several severe blows upon Massena's forces, at various parts of the coast.‡ The siege of Gaeta promised to be a long affair. When first summoned by the French, the German prince told them that Gaeta was not Ulm, and that he was not General Mack —and the French felt the truth of the assertion.

In Calabria General Regnier, after three days, desperate and bloody fighting, carried the walled town of Maratea, into which a great number of the Bourbon partisans had thrown themselves. The castle capitulated on the next day; but, as it was pretended that these Bourbonists were not regular troops, but only partisans and insurgents, they were butchered in cold blood: citadel and town were equally sacked, the women were violated, and every possible horror was committed. Leaving Maratea in flames, the French advanced to the siege of Amantea. But their deeds spread far and wide the hotter flames of insurrection. The inhabitants of all the towns and villages on their road fled to the mountains, or hid themselves in the forests; the peasantry collected on their flanks and on their rear, butchering, murdering, torturing all the French they could surprise or cut off. The country was in a blaze from end to end. To keep up the insurrection the fugitive Bourbon court sent over from Palermo and Messina some money, some arms, some officers, and a great number of partisans or irregular troops. Amantea could not be taken by the French, Reggio was re-taken from them, the castle of Scylla, which had surrendered to the French, was invested—Regnier was compelled to halt, and then to retreat towards Monteleone. By this time the British troops in Sicily had been reinforced, and the command of them transferred to Sir John Stuart. On the entreaties of the queen, which were seconded by his personal feelings and his own ardent wishes, Sir John agreed to cross over into Calabria. All the force he could take with him, including artillery, did not amount to 5000 men;* and of these above a third were Corsicans, Sicilians, and other foreigners in English pay. On the 1st of July Sir John Stuart effected a landing in the gulf of Sant' Eufemia, not far from the town of Nicastro, to the northward of Monte-leone, and between that city and Naples. Apprised of this disembarkation, General Regnier made a rapid march, uniting, as he advanced, his detached corps, for the purpose of attacking the English without loss of time, and of

* Colletta, Storia di Napoli.

† This was another of Sir Sidney Smith's exploits. After threatening to bombard the city of Naples, while the French were illuminating it on account of Joseph Bonaparte being proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies, and only refraining from motives of humanity, and from the consideration that it would be no good gift to restore to our ally, Ferdinand IV., his capital as a heap of ruins, ashes, and bones, he stood across the bay with four ships of the line and two Sicilian mortar-boats, summoned the French commandant to surrender, treated him with an hour's close fire from both decks of the 'Eagle,' and then landed his marines and a good number of his sailors, who climbed up some almost perpendicular rocks, and drove the French from their best positions. Captain Stannus, commanding the 'Athenienne's' marines, killed the commandant with his own hand; and, thereupon, the garrison beat a parley, and capitulated. This formidable rock, won by the gallantry and skill of our navy in 1806, was disgracefully lost through the blundering of our army in 1808.

‡ If that amphibious, ambidextrous man, Sir Sidney Smith, had been but allowed anything like adequate means, and the free use of his own judgment, he would have helped to make Gaeta a second Acre to the French. As it was, his assistance was most timely and important. It contributed to keep 14,000 Frenchmen for three months under those walls and rocks, and to cause them a great loss by malaria and casualties. Sir Sidney was indignant at the notion which was subjugating the Continent, and no inconsiderable portion of our English politicians. "I had the satisfaction," he says, "of learning, on my arrival, that Gaeta still held out, although as yet without succour, *from a mistaken idea, much too prevalent, that the progress of the French armies is irresistible.* It was my first care to see that supplies should be safely conveyed to the governor. I had myself the inexpressible satisfaction of conveying the most essential articles to Gaeta, and of communicating to his serene highness the governor (on the breach battery, which he never quits) the assurance of farther support to any extent within my power, for the maintenance of that important fortress, already so long preserved by his intrepidity and example. Things wore a new aspect on the arrival of the ammunition; the redoubled fire of the enemy with red-hot shot into the mole (being answered with redoubled vigour) did not prevent the landing of everything we had brought, together with four of the 'Excellent's' lower-deck guns, to answer this galling fire, which bore directly on the landing place."

* Sir John Stuart in his dispatch states his total number, rank and file, including the royal artillery, at 4795.

driving them into the sea or back to their shipping. He expected to find Stuart encamped on the shore of the bay where he had effected his landing, with his position defended by batteries, and by the flanking fire of the English men-of-war and gun-boats. French writers and others have even reported that the battle was fought under these circumstances so very favourable to the English, and that the terrible loss in Regnier's army was owing to the firing of the ships, and of Stuart's masked batteries.* This is a lie of the first magnitude. Instead of encamping on the beach, to have the co-operation of shipping, he marched some distance along the beach, and then struck boldly inland to meet Regnier. He had no artillery with him fit to make those murderous masked batteries which have been made to figure upon paper. The ground he had to traverse in his advance was so rough and rugged, was cut by so many *fiumari*, or water-courses, was intersected by so many *pantani*, or marshes, was bespread by so many *macchie*, or thickets (chiefly of myrtle, with the wild red geranium flowering among them), that Stuart, who had scarcely a horse with him, could have moved none but light field-pieces. All the artillery that Sir John had brought with him from Sicily consisted of ten 4-pounders, four 6-pounders, and two howitzers; and from this formidable artillery scarcely a shot seems to have been fired except as a signal, or for measuring distances. The battle of Maida was a battle of bayonets. To give it any other character—to represent it as an affair of artillery, and a fortified camp, is to attempt foully to rob the British infantry of one of the most glorious of their many laurels—is to lie broadly and most impudently in the face of the most evident facts. The spot where the death-struggle took place is not indeed very remote from the sea, for the broadest part of the plain which lies between the mountains and the bay is not five miles broad; but it was so far from the sea, and the nature of the intervening ground was such, that, if our men-of-war or gun-boats had fired, their shot would have been as useless, and as innocuous to the French, as though they had been fired at the Nore, or in Plymouth Sound. All that Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who had arrived in the Bay of Sant' Eufemia the evening before the action, did or could do, was to make such a disposition of ships and gun-boats as would have favoured Sir John Stuart's retreat. If a reverse had made that movement necessary, our little army would have fallen back by the same lines on which they had advanced, and, as the latter part of the retreat would thus have been round the shores of the bay, close by the water's edge, Sir Sidney's guns might have been brought to bear nearly point-blank upon their pursuers. But the British bayonet decided that there should be no retreat; and, therefore, neither ship nor gun-boat fired a shot.

It was on the afternoon of the 3rd of July that Sir John Stuart received intelligence that Regnier had encamped near Maida, about ten miles distant from the place where he had landed; that his force consisted at the moment of about 4000 infantry and 300 cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and that he expected to be joined within a day or two by 3000 more French troops, who were marching after him in a second division. Stuart therefore determined to advance and fight him before this junction. Leaving four companies of Watteville's regiment behind him to protect the stores, and occupy a slight work which had been thrown up at the landing-place, Sir John, on the following morning—the morning of a burning day of July, when the heat of that pestiferous Calabrian plain resembles the heat of an African glen in the torrid zone—commenced his rapid advance, cheered by the sailors of Smith's squadron, several of whose officers followed the column on foot or mounted on Calabrian donkeys, eager to be spectators of the fight. When Sir John Stuart, after a march across the plain, which drenched his men with perspiration, and turned their red coats almost blue, came in sight of Regnier, he found that that general was encamped below the village of Maida, on the side of a woody hill, sloping into the plain of Sant' Eufemia, his flanks being strengthened by a thick impervious underwood, and his front being covered by the Amato, a river broad, deep, and rapid in the rainy season, but perfectly fordable in the summer. Like all such rivers, the Amato had a broad extent of marshy ground on either side of it. As soon as he had struck almost at a right angle from the sea-shore, Sir John's advance lay across a spacious plain which afforded the French every opportunity of minutely observing his movements. He says himself, with proper and honourable candour, "Had General Regnier thought proper to remain upon his ground, the difficulties of access to him were such that I could not possibly have made an impression upon him: but quitting this advantage, and crossing the river with his entire force, he came down to meet us upon the open plain—a measure to which he was no doubt encouraged by a consideration of his cavalry, *an arm with which, unfortunately, I was altogether unprovided.*"* But Regnier, a vain, self-con-

* Omitting any mention of the ships, General Colletta, the Neapolitan historian, gives all the rest of the battle in this manner, making Sir John Stuart be encamped in a fortified camp on the shore, with awful masked batteries, in the assailing of which by two brilliant charges Regnier sustained his terrific loss. Others may have erred from ignorance, and that too common implicit confidence in the reports of the French, who never yet admitted a defeat without attempting to explain it by treachery, or superiority of force, or the nature of the ground, or some other disadvantageous circumstance; but General Colletta, who served under the French in Calabria, must knowingly have falsified his account of the battle of Maida—a battle which, as we can affirm from our own knowledge, was witnessed from the neighbouring hills by thousands of Calabrians, and which left the deepest and clearest impression on the mind of the country. We were there in July 1816, just ten years after the battle; and then there was scarcely a farmer, labourer, or buffalo-herd living near the plain of Sant' Eufemia, but could give a correct account of the position of the two armies and of the principal—the few and very simple—incidents of the engagement. Other evidence of the most convincing kind was to be found on the plain, miles away from the sea-shore, where the conflict had left heaps of dead bodies. The real battle-field, near the edge of the lower hills which shelve down from the lofty Apennine range, was even then marked by skulls and bones, and fragments of brass which had once ornamented the shakos or caps of the French soldiery; for the place is a solitary wild, rarely traversed except by the buffalo-drivers. Colletta was an able man, and a good writer; but he throve well under Joseph Bonaparte and Murat, and was, body, heart, and soul, a French partisan.

* Yet General Colletta and others of the same school, not satisfied

fident man, had other strong motives to induce him to quit his vantage-ground; in Egypt he had been opposed *corps à corps* to Stuart, and had been well beaten by that general—he was eager to wipe off that disgrace—and, besides, Lebrun, one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp who had just arrived from Paris, was ready to cry out shame if he could see the English before him without falling upon them.* There was, moreover, another strong inducement: the presence of the English, and the sight of the white flag of the Bourbon, might spread the flames of insurrection that were already so dangerous; and, in addition to the Calabrian bands, bring down on his rear fresh enemies from the mountains of Basilicata, Capitanata, the Abruzzi, and other provinces of the kingdom. It was clear, indeed, that the English troops could not long remain where they were without being eaten up by the malaria fevers, which rage in that swampy, boggy part of Calabria to an extent scarcely exceeded in the mortal Maremme of Tuscany and the Roman States; but still a very short stay might lead to great mischief, and to very long work afterwards. If, however, Regnier's strongest motive for quitting the heights was a personal feeling, there was on the side of Sir John Stuart a feeling of nearly the same nature, and quite as vehement. Sebastiani had accused the English general of having had recourse to assassins; and Regnier himself, who was now coming down from his wooded heights to meet him, had written a book about the campaigns in Egypt, denying every claim of the British to skill or courage, treating them contemptuously, both officers and men, as unworthy of the name of soldiers, and imputing the loss of Egypt solely to the incapacity of Abdallah Menou, under whom he (Regnier) had served as second in command. This personal feeling, indeed, was so intense in Sir John Stuart (who in other matters betrayed an over-hot Scottish temperament), and it was so generally shared in by the British officers in the field, as also by their men,† that it is rather more than probable that, if Regnier had kept his vantage ground, Stuart would have committed some imprudence or rashness in order to get at him. As it was, when the French came down to the open plain, and battle was joined, the English fought with all the animosity of a direct personal quarrel—with a fury which looked as if every man were fighting a duel to avenge his own wrongs—as if there were a multitudinous series of duels fighting at once, in the first hot blood of personal quarrel, without a moment to cool, and without seconds to prescribe rules and limitations. As Regnier came down in double column his forces were found far more numerous than Stuart had counted upon: he had, in fact, been joined by the troops that had been marching after him in a second division. After some short close firing of the flankers to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were hotly engaged, "and the prowess of the rival nations seemed now fairly to be at trial before the world."* The battle grew hottest on Stuart's right; and there, in fact, it was decided. That right was composed of British light infantry, mixed with a few foreigners, and was commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Kempt and Major Robinson. Directly opposed to it was the favourite French regiment of light infantry, the 1ère Légère. As if by mutual agreement, when at the distance of about one hundred yards, the opposed corps fired reciprocally a few rounds, then suspended their fire, and in close compact order and awful silence advanced towards each other until their bayonets began to cross.† The British commanding officer, perceiving that his men were suffering from the heat, and were embarrassed by the blankets which they carried at their backs, halted the line for a few seconds that they might throw their blankets down. The French, who mistook this pause for the hesitation of fear,‡ advanced with a quickened step, and with their wonted cheers:—they were veterans, thoroughly trained, and looking martial and fierce with their moustachios; the English line consisted in good part of young and beardless recruits:—it was the boast of the French, and the boast had grown louder since the encounter with the Russians at Austerlitz, that no troops in Europe would stand their bayonet charge;—the fact was now to be proved, though not in an equal contest, for, to have an equality, Stuart ought to have had veterans to oppose to veterans. But such men as we had disproved the boast. As soon as they were freed from their incumbrances, they gave one true English hurrah, and rushed on with their bayonets levelled. Some few of the French

with their other falsehoods, and the exaggeration of Stuart's army to 6000 or 7000 strong, talk of his having cavalry with him. The only cavalry we ever heard of (and we have had much local and other information concerning this battle) consisted of Sir Sidney Smith's midshipmen and lieutenants mounted on asses.

* Paul Louis Courier says, in his sly, caustic manner, that this would have been Lebrun's cry, although probably he was not really of opinion that Regnier ought to have quitted his formidable and almost unapproachable position. He says distinctly that Regnier was controlled by the presence of Lebrun; and he clearly and poignantly exposes certain practices which were now common in the French army. "A silly thing (*sotte chose*) indeed, for a general who commands, to have on his shoulders an aide-de-camp of the emperor, a fine gentleman of the court, who arrives *en poste*, dressed by Walter (then the fashionable tailor of Paris), and bringing you in his pocket the genius of his imperial majesty! Regnier had a surveillant put over him, to give an account of what should happen. Had the battle been gained, then it would have been the emperor's doing, the effect of the genius, the invention, the orders received from *là haut* (from above there). But if the battle be lost, why then it is our fault! The golden troop of courtiers will say, 'The emperor was not there! What a pity it is that the emperor cannot make one good general!'"—*Mémoires, Correspondance, et Opuscules Inédits de Paul Louis Courier.*

This very system—this insatiable, illimitable egotism of Bonaparte—proved very fatal to him in the end. It ought to be remembered as a means of accounting for many of the false movements, vacillations, and failures of the marshals and generals who commanded his armies in Spain and Portugal and in other countries where he was not present.

† The 58th regiment, now with Sir John Stuart at Maida, had served under Abercrombie, and, after his death, under Sir John, in Egypt.

* Sir John Stuart's Dispatch.

† Id.

‡ The information about the halt and the blankets was given to Sir Walter Scott (see Life of Bonaparte) by an officer present.

A Calabrian, one of the many anxious spectators who viewed the fight from the neighbouring heights, in describing the affair to us, mentioned a short, sudden halt, which he interpreted as the French did at the moment. "We sweated cold," said he, "for we thought the English were going to turn and run; but, Santo Diavolone! in the next instant there was a shout and a rushing onwards, and then it was the French that were running!"

really staid to cross bayonets (a rare occurrence in war); but these were overthrown or pushed back by the superior physical strength of their adversaries; and the rest of them became appalled, halted, fell back, and recovered arms. The French officers were now seen running along the line, resorting to those extraordinary efforts which French officers are expected to make at every crisis; but nothing they could do could encourage their men, or lead them back to the points of the English bayonets; and as the English advanced upon them the 1ère Légère broke their line, fell into irremediable disorder, and endeavoured to fly back to the hills. But it was too late—they had got too close—they were overtaken by a most dreadful slaughter. Brigadier-General Auckland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of our light infantry, which had so speedily done the work, availed himself of this favourable moment to press forward with the bayonet upon the corps in his front; and here too the French fled, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded—with men who had not got their wounds in fighting, but in flying, for they scarcely stood half a minute after Auckland began to move. Being thus completely discomfited on his left, Regnier, who had been galloping about the field, storming and cursing like a madman, began to make a new effort with his right, in the hope of recovering the day. He threw horse and foot on Stuart's left; but Brigadier-General Cole's brigade was there with some undaunted British grenadiers, and with some choice infantry of the line; and Regnier's horse and foot were beaten back. The French, successively repelled from before this front, made an effort to turn its flank; but at this moment Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, who had landed that very morning from Messina, with the British 20th regiment,* and who had marched with breathless speed for the scene of action, came up, took possession of a small cover upon the flank, and by a heavy and well-directed fire he instantly and entirely disconcerted the attempt of the French horse. And this was the last feeble struggle that Regnier made; and, after it, was nothing but flight, confusion, *débâcle*. A Frenchman, a man of genius, the wittiest and one of the best prose writers of modern France, was attached to the service of the boastful French general at the time, and was too noble a fellow to cover over the defeat with falsehood and invention.† He wrote to his friends that bulletins and Moniteurs might say what they liked; but that the plain truth was, that Regnier had been most thoroughly beaten—had been well thrashed by Stuart—*bien rossé*. "This adventure," says he, in writing to a French artillery officer at Naples, "is a very sad one for poor Regnier! The French fought nowhere. All eyes are fixed upon us. With our good troops, and with equal forces, to be defeated in such a few minutes!—This has not been seen since our Revolution."* This writer does not state the amount of Regnier's loss; but another French officer, who was in Calabria some time after the battle, admits that he left 1500 men dead or wounded on the battle-field. Sir John Stuart, in the dispatch to his government, dated from the camp on the plain of Maida, July the 6th, or two days after the affair, says that above 700 bodies of their dead had been buried upon the ground; that the wounded and prisoners already in his hands (among whom were General Compère, the colonel of a Swiss regiment, and a long list of officers of different ranks) exceeded 1000; and that the peasantry were hourly bringing in fugitives, who had dispersed in the woods and mountains after the battle. By the official return of the assistant-adjutant-general, the loss of the British amounted to 1 officer, 3 serjeants, 41 rank and file killed; 11 officers, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 261 rank and file wounded. Sir John declares that no statement he had heard of Regnier's numbers placed them at less than 7000 men, when they began the action. Regnier, we know, positively had entered Calabria with 10,000: a part of the force he first brought with him had been detached to distant points, and some few hundreds had already fallen under the knife of the vindictive, infuriated Calabrians; but on the other hand there had been a constant influx of reinforcements, and, upon a comparison of various French and Italian accounts, it appears quite certain that Regnier descended from his wooded heights with from 6000 to 7000 fighting men. These accounts, one and all, make the disparity of force, not by diminishing Regnier's, but by exaggerating Stuart's numbers:—they allow that the French were at least 6000 strong; but then they affirm that 7000, 8000, 9000 English had landed at Sant' Eufemia! An English general, even if inclined so to do, cannot materially falsify his reports, which are always made public. General Stuart was obliged to report precisely to his government, the brigades, regiments, battalions, and men he had with him; he reports his total at 4795. The French generals reported merely to the emperor, and his close and secret war-office; their really official numerical reports were never published at all, and a door was thus left open to every kind of exaggeration or falsehood. The reverse sustained in this instance was, however, so signal and so notorious, that it was found impossible to conceal it in France, or in any part of Europe. [And therefore it was that additional pains were

* This 20th regiment was included in Sir John Stuart's enumeration of his forces. It was a part of the 4795 men, with whom he fought Regnier, and not an addition to that number.

† Paul Louis Courier.

* Letter dated Cassano, the 12th of August, 1806, in *Mémoires, Correspondance*, &c.

Paul Louis (may his name be honoured for the wit and veracity that was in him!) was not at the battle of Maida—he had been sent down to Tarento for some heavy artillery—but he joined Regnier on his retreat, immediately after the decisive affair—joined him in a pennyless, shoeless, shirtless condition, for poor Paul in his way fell among the Calabrian insurgents, and only saved his life by a kind of miracle. When speaking of *equal* numbers he was deceived by the reports made by Regnier and his officers actually engaged, that Sir John Stuart had *6000* men; and, as he knew that Regnier had 6000 or a little more in action, he balanced the numbers. If Paul Louis had been at the battle of Maida, to count Stuart's real force, his astonishment would have been the greater.

taken to falsify numbers.] Regnier never stopped until he had put the whole breadth and thickness of the Apennines between him and Stuart: the night after the battle he bivouacked on the heights of Marcellinara, but only for two or three hours to collect his *fuyards;* he then ascended the reverse of the mountains with headlong speed, being threatened on the flanks by the hostile peasantry, and went to encamp under the walls of Catanzaro, a friendly or French-disposed town on the shores of the Ionian Sea, near the head of the great Gulf of Tarento. The victorious British infantry continued the pursuit as long as they were able; but, as the French dispersed in every direction, and they were under the necessity of preserving their order, the trial of speed became very unequal. This headlong flight left several French divisions and detachments exposed to destruction; and some of the latter were destroyed, or surrendered to the English, in order to escape the certain torture and death that awaited them at the hands of the wild natives. General Verdier, who was occupying Cosenza, an important town, a few miles to the north of Maida, with a French brigade, was driven out of the place by the insurgents, and never found a safe resting-place until he performed a journey of more than a hundred English miles, and reached the town of Matera, near the Gulf of Taranto. Every fort along the coasts of the Tyrrhenian Sea, with all the French depôts of stores, ammunition, and artillery, prepared for the reduction of Calabria, and then for the attack of Sicily, became the prey of Sir John Stuart's little army: and on the shores of the Ionian Sea, to which the French had retreated, Cotrone, situated between Catanzaro and Matera, was reduced to capitulate by the 78th regiment—a part of Stuart's force, which was carried round by sea—and a small squadron of ships under the command of Captain William Hoste, who was assisted by some Sicilian gun-boats, and by some of the armed Calabrians. During the bombardment or cannonading of the castle, a French division advanced from Catanzaro in the hope of succouring the place, but the sharp fire of Hoste's frigate, the 'Amphion,' and of the gun-boats with her, compelled them to retire with some loss. On the following day the French army were discerned in full march to the eastward, on the road leading from Catanzaro to Cotrone. Hoste anchored the 'Amphion' close in shore, opened a brisk fire, completely broke their line of march, and drove them towards the mountains.* Six hundred French prisoners, including some 300 who had survived the wounds they had got at Maida, and forty pieces of heavy ordnance, lately transported by the French to Cotrone, were carried over to Sicily, together with all the stores, magazines, &c. of this last remaining depôt in the lower province of Calabria. Regnier was now renewing his retreat—hurrying away, by the shores of the Ionian Sea and the Gulf of Tarento, for Cassano in Upper Calabria, whither King Joseph Bonaparte had ordered Marshal Massena to march with a fresh army of 6000 or 7000 men. Both of these French marches, from opposite points of the compass, were attended by atrocities; but that of Regnier appears to have been the more atrocious of the two: his line of march was marked by burning towns and villages. After being sacked, and made the scene of nearly every enormity, Strongoli, Corigliano, Rossano—recently thriving towns—were set on fire; and every village and hamlet was reduced to ashes. But the incendiaries, butchers, ravishers (and worse) did not go unscathed: the insurgents hovered round about them, among the rocks, and woods, and thick olive groves and orange groves, availing themselves of every opportunity to take a long shot, or to surprise, seize, torture, and slay; and the column lost 700 men before it quitted that Ionian shore. On the 4th of August Regnier reached Cassano; on the 7th he was joined by Verdier, who retraced his steps from Matera; and on the 11th these two wandering fugitive generals effected a junction, between the towns of Cassano and Castrovillari, with Marshal Massena, who then assumed the supreme command in the Calabrias, assuring King Joseph that in one month he would reduce those two provinces to an entire submission and loyalty to him. But, though the great marshal—the darling child of victory, as they called him—remained much longer than a month in that wild country, he did not fulfil his promise. Fortresses were recovered, towns were taken and burned; the more level or open parts of the provinces were kept in subjection; but to subdue the fiery furious mountaineers, or even to secure constantly the high roads which led from the capital, was found to be impracticable. It took Massena's successors five long years, and it cost the French army, from first to last, 100,000 men to quench the flames of this ardent Calabrian insurrection—and then it was that sort of peace which proceeds from solitude and extermination.

If, instead of less than 5000 men, Sir John Stuart had had with him 10,000, he might have cleared Upper Calabria, as he did Lower Calabria, of the last Frenchman in it; backed by the Calabrians alone, he might have hurled Regnier and Verdier, the great Marshal Massena and all, down the precipices of the Syla mountain, or have destroyed them at the edge of the province, in the passes of Campotanese. With 30,000 men he might have swept Naples and the whole of southern Italy clear of the French, and have caused the greatest embarrassment to Bonaparte, who had weakened his army in the north of Italy, in order to collect the greater force for the war with Prussia. Almost immediately after the battle of Maida the white flag of the Bourbon was actually raised in nearly every part of the kingdom: the mountaineers of Basilicata and Capitana, of Principato-Citro and Principato-Ultro, of the wild and lofty pastoral regions of the Molise, flew to arms; a

* Memoirs and Letters of Capt. Sir William Hoste, Bart., R.N. K.C.B. K.M.T. Edited by his Widow.

daring partisan, named Piccioli, raised nearly the whole population of the Abruzzi; and Fra Diavolo, a half brigand half Bourbon partisan, scoured the Terra di Lavoro, and the garden plains that lie behind Naples, penetrating at times almost to the gates of the city. The intrusive King Joseph lost heart completely: in his council of state it was anxiously discussed, whether he ought not to fly to the frontiers of the kingdom, collect there the army of Calabria, and all his other troops save a few garrisons there, and await the arrival of another army from France. A part of his illustrious councillors strongly recommended this retreat; and it is said that, but for Saliceti, the capital would have been abandoned, the siege of Gaeta, which still continued, would have been raised, and Joseph would have gone to the frontiers.* But it was not the half of the Italian peninsula, but the vaster peninsula which embraces Spain and Portugal, that was destined to be the great battle-field of England. With less than 5000 men Sir John Stuart could not follow up his brilliant success; his little army was reduced by the malaria fevers; he had neither time nor the necessary means to attempt organising and disciplining the very disorderly Calabrians (who, however, in common with the other Neapolitan insurgents, were by nature quite as docile and as capable of discipline as the Spaniards were afterwards found to be, or perhaps considerably more so); and, after clearing the lower province of the enemy, and throwing some small garrisons into the Castle of Scylla, and one or two other places he had captured, Sir John embarked the rest of his forces, and returned to Sicily, which the French long continued to threaten with invasion.

It is incorrect, and most unfair, to say that no object was obtained by this expedition. It threw the French in Calabria a good year at the least back in their work: it kept up a popular insurrection, which cost them enormous sacrifices, and which in its prolongation became one of those drains on the resources of France, and one of those causes of military demoralization, which gradually led to Bonaparte's ruin; it seized and carried off the stores, artillery, and ammunition which had been collected with great labour, and at an immense expense, for the invasion of Sicily, and which, if not so employed (and the Straits of Messina, though so narrow, were hard to pass, even when our naval force there was so very small), would have served to facilitate the reduction of the Calabrias; and it left an uneasiness, a diffidence, and an uncertainty in the minds of the French, lest such an experiment should be repeated on a larger scale either there or on some other part of the Neapolitan coast, which long obliged them to keep great stationary forces at these extremities of the Italian peninsula, where their ranks were annually thinned to a frightful extent by malaria, and the rifle and knife of the peasantry. It was certainly not at the court of King Joseph that the battle of Maida was considered a vain-glorious affair without results. It is true, indeed, that the chief advantage derived from it was the great moral encouragement, the conviction restored or strengthened in the national faith, that in a hand-to-hand fight the British infantry was as superior to that of France as it had been proved to be in the old times—that, in short, the battle of Maida was chiefly valuable as a corollary to that of Alexandria. But than this few things could be more valuable, few results more desirable; this moral encouragement was precisely what was wanted, when the bad war-policy of our cabinets had lowered our military reputation, both at home and abroad. The bold bayonet-work was a prelude, and an assurance of success, to the grander bayonet charges which were made a little later against the veteran, choicest troops of Bonaparte at Talavera, Busaco, Fuentes de Onoro, Albuera, and in twenty other fights. There was political wisdom as well as patriotic enthusiasm and eloquence in Windham's exclamation:—that the military renown of our later days dated from our achievements in Egypt; that the battle of Maida confirmed it; and that the battles of Vimeiro, Coruña, and Talavera, were worth a whole archipelago of sugar islands!

With admirable exertions Sir Sidney Smith collected some more supplies and succours, and sent a second convoy to the besieged Gaeta. He left ten gun-boats, a Neapolitan frigate, and some other vessels to hammer at the French in their trenches, and to cover, by a flanking fire, the bold and effective sorties the Prince of Hesse-Philipstadt was in the habit of making; he helped his serene highness to land a detachment from the garrison in the rear of some of the enemy's batteries, and then he swept along the coast, from the mouth of the Tiber to the Bay of Naples, and back from the bay to the Tiber, thundering and threatening, distracting the attention of the French, drawing them off to other parts of the coast, and seizing nearly every vessel and boat that was carrying supplies to the besiegers. Everything went well as long as Sir Sidney was there and the brave governor of the fortress was in a state to do his duty; but the presence of the British admiral was required at Palermo,—where the court thought itself in danger so long as he was absent,—at Messina, at Reggio, along both coasts of the Calabrias; Prince Hesse Philipstadt received a mortal wound on the ramparts where Sir Sidney had so often stood by his side; the command fell to a Colonel Storz, who had bravery and skill, but infinitely less authority than the prince; that origin of all evil in war, a council, was created: and then collectively the superior officers of the besieged agreed to do what, perhaps, not one of them would have done singly—to beat a parley, and capitulate. The French agreed to allow the garrison to retire to Sicily, with all the honours of war, but under the engagement not to fight against the French or any of their allies for a year and a day. Above 3000 brave men embarked, about 1000 were left

* Colletta.

sick or wounded in the hospitals, to be sent after their comrades as soon as they should be able to bear the voyage, about another thousand deserted and joined the French, and some 800 or 900 had perished during the siege. But the French loss, though disguised in the usual manner, had been dreadful, not less through malaria than by the fire of the fortress, and the desperate sorties of the besieged. General Vallongue, one of their most scientific officers, was mortally wounded by the fragment of a bomb, and died three days afterwards; General Grigny was rather more fortunate, for his head was knocked clean off his shoulders by a 16-pounder ball; the number of officers killed was, as usual, great; and for months after the fall of Gaeta the hospitals at Capua, Aversa, and at Naples were crowded with the soldiery that had been wounded or attacked by the fever during the siege. Gaeta had been invested six months, and closely besieged by from 12,000 to 14,000 men during three months: it had fired 120,000 balls and bombs. It was on the 20th of July that the tri-color flag and the flag of King Joseph Bonaparte were hoisted on the lofty and ancient tower of Orlando. Massena said that the fall of Gaeta was equivalent to a successful campaign. If adequate measures had been taken by the British government, a French army might have been detained before those rocks, and towers, and ramparts for a whole year, to dwindle away and rot, nor would the success of the French have been certain after the longest siege.

It had been confidently asserted at Paris, and in the councils of Bonaparte, that the soft and pusillanimous kingdom in southern Italy would be subdued without any sacrifice; but, between malaria and fighting, imprudent and vicious living, and the extermination in detail carried on by the insurgents, and principally by those in Calabria, before the end of this year, of the 60,000 or 70,000 men who had escorted Joseph to his throne, one-half were dead, or in the hospitals in hopeless case. And the end was not yet: the losses of 1806 were repeated, and on nearly the same scale, in 1807-8-9 and-10.

The Cape of Good Hope, which the Addington administration had given up so prematurely, was recovered in the month of January by Sir David Baird and 5000 land-troops, and Sir Home Popham with a small fleet. The Dutch troops broke and fled before a British charge. They afterwards showed a disposition to defend the interior of the country; but, on General Beresford's being detached against them, they surrendered, upon condition that they should be sent back to Holland, and not be considered as prisoners of war. This annexation of the Cape, which ought always to remain to the power that is predominant at sea and in the East Indies, was a laudable measure and an imperative duty in our government; but so much cannot be said of another conquest and scheme of aggrandisement which was attempted almost immediately after. Tempted by very inaccurate reports of the wealth and weakness of the Spanish colonies in the Rio de la Plata, Sir Home Popham, it is said without the slightest authority from the government at home, ventured to carry his whole naval force to South America, and induced Sir David Baird to allow General Beresford to accompany him, with a portion of the land-force who had conquered the Cape. Having touched at St. Helena, where some slight reinforcements were obtained, Popham and Beresford arrived at the mouth of La Plata early in June, and on the 24th of that month landed the troops at some distance from Buenos Ayres. The whole force disembarked, including marines, did not exceed 1600 men. Some Spanish troops, who attempted to dispute their passage, were dispersed by a single volley; and on the 27th of June, favourable terms of capitulation having been granted to the inhabitants, Beresford entered the city without resistance. The property of private individuals was respected; but a great booty was made of the public money, stores, artillery, &c., and of the shipping in the river. Elated with his success, Sir Home Popham sent home a circular manifesto to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, announcing that he had conquered a land of gold, and had opened a whole continent to the British trade. At the same time upwards of a million of dollars were sent to London, and the admiral and the general reserved 205,000 dollars for the exigencies of the army and navy. The news of the capture of Buenos Ayres was received with transports of joy by our trading community, and by that part of the cabinet and country which clung to the paltry idea of making war for what they called British objects, or exclusively national interests. An order of council was gazetted on the 20th of September, declaring that a lawful trade might be carried on to Buenos Ayres and its dependencies. The cabinet, on first learning Sir Home Popham's wild enterprise, had sent out orders to recall him; but, as these orders did not reach the admiral in time, as the conquest had been made with so much ease, as a million of dollars was looked upon as a valuable consideration, and as the popular joy and commercial exultation were so great, ministers now sanctioned the whole scheme, took no pains to dissipate the vulgar errors and illusions, and resolved to keep what had been gotten without their will. But, before people at home had finished rejoicing for the conquest, the conquest was no more, and the capturers were captives. As soon as the Spaniards and the colonists became generally aware of the smallness of Beresford's force, they began to concert measures for his expulsion. A popular insurrection was organised in the heart of the city; emissaries were sent to excite the hardy country-people to arms; and, when everything was ripe for action, M. Liniers, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, crossed the river in a fog on the 4th of August, and landed above Buenos Ayres with more than 1000 fighting men, whom he had brought from Monte Video and Sacramento. Other armed levies joined Liniers,

Buenos Ayres.

after having been beaten by Beresford in a sally. The Frenchman now advanced against the city, and on the 10th he summoned the English to surrender. Then within the walls the inhabitants rose upon Beresford, who attempted to retreat to the ships, but was prevented by the bad state of the weather. After a desperate action in the streets and great square of the town, in which they were exposed to a fierce and destructive fire from the windows and balconies, and the house-tops, the English capitulated and laid down their arms. M. Liniers forthwith broke the terms of the capitulation, and not only detained the English prisoners of war, but marched them into the interior of the country, where they were subjected to great privations. About 1200 men remained at the mercy of Liniers and the Spaniards—the rest had perished in the ruinous street-fighting. Sir Home Popham, who had the good fortune to be on board ship at the time, then blockaded the Rio de la Plata. He then proceeded to make an attack on Monte Video, but his ships could not get near enough to batter the walls. In the month of October, successive reinforcements having arrived from the Cape of Good Hope and from England (where the cabinet ought to have foreseen Beresford's fate), he landed a body of troops at Maldonado, drove the Spaniards from the Isle of Gorriti, and took up good anchoring-ground and quarters on shore to await the arrival of more reinforcements.

The Spanish monarchy in America had before this time shown symptoms of falling to pieces. That desire of independence which eventually dissevered those vast colonies from Spain, even as the Anglo-American colonies had been rent from Great Britain, already displayed itself, gaining strength from the miserable weakness and misrule of the court of Madrid. Many insurrections had taken place: in some parts the South American population, having driven away their Spanish governors, were already virtually independent. Since the alliance between France and Spain, or the entire subjection of the court of Madrid, various proposals had been made to Great Britain to take the colonists by the hand, to assist them in throwing off the yoke of the mother country, which drained them of their resources, in order to maintain its corrupt, degrading, anti-national court and government, and to buy with their gold and silver the insecure friendship or temporary forbearance of the Emperor of the French. The inducements for our interference were strong, and, coupled with the prospect of concluding commercial treaties with the emancipated colonies, and opening in fact the trade of a vast continent, which Spain had so vigilantly and so impolitically closed to the British, and all other flags, the temptations became almost irresistible. Both Addington and Pitt had seriously entertained the project. But the fear of disobliging the court of Petersburgh had determined Pitt not to inter-

fere at present. Rejected by England, General Miranda,* that enthusiastic adventurer and real founder of the independence of Spanish America, went over to the United States to solicit the co-operation of President Jefferson and his republicans. The United States government, which this year, and more than once before, seemed to be on the verge of a war with England, had many differences with Spain, and a very eager desire to break the old Spanish monopoly and throw open the trade of the vast South American continent. Although the Spanish court had been compelled to cede Louisiana to Bonaparte, they were enraged against the republicans of the United States for buying that country from him. Moreover, these Americans had discovered that, by the law of nature, and the physical demarcations of the country, Florida, which the Spaniards had re-conquered from the English in the year 1781, during their war of independence, ought to belong to them. The vicinity of Florida to the Gulf stream might give its possessors a great command over the navigation between Europe and the countries lying about the Gulf of Mexico; and, as a present immediate advantage, it offered good points for carrying on the contraband trade with the Spanish colonists. As the constitution of the United States renounced and reprobated any extension by war and conquest, the only process left to obtain the desired end was negotiation, purchase, and barter. As they must not conquer, they must buy. Congress had decided on appropriating 2,000,000 of dollars to the purchase of Florida, and Jefferson's agents at Paris were actually negotiating for the conclusion of that bargain. The United States sloop of war, the 'Hornet,' had been dispatched to France with full authorities to the American agents or ministers to conclude the bargain, and with bills to pay the amount. These bills or letters of credit were drawn on American funds, placed in Holland to discharge the foreign debt of the United States. Jefferson's political rivals, and personal enemies (and he had many), gave out that the 'Hornet' carried the 2,000,000 in specie; that the money was meant to bribe Bonaparte to compel Spain to cede Florida to the States; and it was afterwards asserted that 2,000,000 had really been paid to the French government without any consideration. It appears, however, that the 'Hornet' carried only paper, and that the paper was not used, because Spain could not be induced to go into the bargain. But, if the court of Madrid had been less firm, and if the bargain had been concluded at Paris under the auspices of the French ministers, it would be difficult for the admirers of Jefferson's wise and pacific policy to maintain that Bonaparte would not have pocketed those dollars, even as he had pocketed the dollars paid for Louisiana. In a running account between the two governments France brought Spain in a debtor; the banks of Holland were under the absolute control of Bonaparte; and he would have kept the two millions on account. Spain could not have prevented this; and the government of the United States, provided only they got Florida, or a good colourable pretext for seizing it, would have cared nothing about the matter. It was not Jefferson and his friends—who were so eager all through this long war to serve the French and thwart the English—that would have quarrelled with Bonaparte. The bargain and sale negotiations were still pending at Paris when General Miranda arrived at New York; but we ascertain from Jefferson's own correspondence that he foresaw the strong and obstinate objections which would be raised by the cabinet of Madrid; it therefore would suit the interests of the United States to give countenance to Miranda's bold enterprises, which, by ruining or throwing into confusion nearly the whole of South

* Francisco Miranda was born about the middle of the eighteenth century, at the city of Caracas, of which province his grandfather had been governor-general for the King of Spain. From early youth he gave proof of very extraordinary energy and perseverance, and of a desire for information still more extraordinary in a South American Spaniard. He travelled on foot, at the age of twenty, through a great part of the New Continent. He was afterwards a colonel in the Spanish army, and was intrusted with important matters by the government of Guatemala. Charles III. of Spain had foreseen the effect likely to be produced among the Spanish colonies by the revolt and by the acknowledged independence of the Anglo-American colonies. During that struggle, in which both France and Spain protected the Anglo-Americans, Miranda, who had some vague notions before about an independence and liberty for the country of his birth, became fully convinced of the propriety and necessity of following the example of the citizens of the United States. He had some private correspondence with Lafayette, while that Frenchman was serving in America, and also with General Washington, whom he chose for his model. In 1783, after the peace had established the independence of the United States, he visited those countries. Apparently he had fallen into disgrace, or under suspicion, at Guatemala, for, instead of returning thither, or to his own country, he came over to Europe as a needy adventurer. He travelled on foot through England, France, and Italy. He also travelled in the same way through Spain, a country for which he ever professed the greatest detestation or contempt. Even now, it is said, he ventured to speak of the emancipation of his country to Pitt and to the Empress Catherine. The czarina, who loved to collect around her adventurous spirits from all parts of the world, and to whom political intrigue was a necessary ailment, invited him to St. Petersburgh, and offered him employment in her army. But Miranda had become a hot republican, and when the French revolution burst out, and had made some progress, he went to seek a more congenial employment in France. It is said that he was recommended to Pétion by some of those leaders of opposition in the British parliament who took so great an interest in, and built such Utopian hopes upon, the French revolution; but Miranda, who had travelled in France when the fermentation was commencing (and it commenced almost immediately after the success of the North American experiment), could scarcely have stood in need of such introduction. He seems to have been well acquainted with Dumouriez before this second journey to France. He was soon appointed major-general under Dumouriez, and had a share in the very successful campaign against the Prussian invaders. His later services in Belgium have been noticed in our sketch of that war. They were very unsuccessful, and drew down upon him the bitter censure of Dumouriez. It is probable, however, that Dumouriez only blamed him in order to turn censure from himself, and that Miranda's failures were solely attributable to the undisciplined, tumultuary character of the first French levies and volunteers. Miranda attached himself heart and soul to the rash and imbecile Girondist faction. After the fall of that party he was put upon his trial for alleged offences and crimes, both civil and military, before the Revolutionary Tribunal; and had the rare fortune to escape sentence of death. His trial lasted eleven days, and he seems to have completely disproved all the charges relating to his conduct in Belgium. He was released, seized again, and again set at liberty. But he retained his ardent democratic republicanism, and could not tolerate the dominion of the Directory. The directors seized and condemned him to deportation after their *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor; but he contrived to escape from the gendarmes, and came as a refugee to England. The consular tyranny of Bonaparte pleased him no better than the Directory. He returned, however, to France in 1803; and was presently arrested and sent out of the country by Bonaparte, who accused him of intriguing against him. Miranda returned once more to England, and thenceforward devoted himself exclusively to his South American schemes.

There must have been strong objections on the side of George III. to any connexion with a man who had run such a very revolutionary career, and who at one period had been an orator of the Jacobin Club, and the bosom-friend of the men who had brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold; and these objections, we believe, contributed quite as much as any fear of disobliging the court of Petersburgh, to our refusing Miranda any active co-operation or any open countenance.

America, might induce the weak and apparently almost helpless government of Spain to give up Florida. Jefferson was not such a novice in state intrigue as to commit himself openly.* Then, as in later days and in other quarrels, there were SYMPATHIZERS—men ready to engage and fight in any quarrel where there was a king or an established government on the one side, and an insurgent people clamouring, or pretending to clamour, for liberty on the other. Besides, many of the Yankee skippers, in their clandestine trips across the Mexican Gulf and along the Spanish Main, had been sorely molested by the Spanish guarda-costas; and not a few of their vessels and cargoes had been captured and confiscated. Nothing was therefore so easy as for Miranda to charter a ship and obtain recruits at New York. That he did not obtain more than he did may be attributed to the lowness of the funds he had in hand, and to the national caution of the moneyed New Englanders. With the 'Leander,' a British armed vessel of eighteen guns, and with 300 or 400 adventurers of all countries, but chiefly American sympathizers, Miranda sailed to St. Domingo, where he succeeded in chartering two schooners. Quitting the negro empire in the month of April, he proceeded towards the Spanish Main with the daring design of invading Caracas and hoisting the flag of independence in his native province. But he stopped at the island of Aruba to take in water; and through other delays and his own imprudence, or the treachery of some connected with him, his project became known, and the Spanish governor was allowed time to fit out a 20-gun brig and a 16-gun schooner to meet him. The two flotillas met, at the end of April, near Puerto-Cabello. Miranda was defeated; his two schooners were captured; but he himself escaped with the 'Leander,' and got to Trinadad, now an English colony. Fifty-seven of his adventurous followers, captured in the schooners, were tried by the Spanish governor as pirates: ten of them were condemned to death, and the rest, with the exception of three boys, were sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in different fortresses. Among the West India Islands it was easy to collect recruits for almost any service. If a buccaneer like Morgan had sprung up, he would have found crowds of men ready to follow him to the Spanish Main. The tempests of war had left so many wrecked and desperate men on those shores; the rapid change of masters had left many of the West Indians in a state of uncertainty as to which master they should obey, or whose rule would last the longest; and in these islands, a hatred of Spain was an ancient hereditary feeling, the one great tradition of the country. A number of adventurers, from various islands, and speaking various tongues, repaired to Miranda's standard; and the commanders of some English ships of war engaged to protect him on his voyage, and to cover his landing. Thus much the English captains were authorised to do by the general instruction in their commissions to do the enemy all the injury in their power; and Spain was in open war with us, and leagued with our deadliest enemy. As Spain had aided in the many attempts made to invade Ireland, and to back the enterprises of the United Irishmen, it was with a bad grace that she could complain of the English assistance thus lent to Miranda. This chief effected a landing on the 2nd of August, at Vela de Coro; and, raising the standard of independence, and issuing proclamations, he called upon his countrymen to join him. But, instead of joining, the people fled into the interior, acting, apparently, under the conviction that so small a force could not break the Spanish yoke, and that little but mischief was to be expected from such a mixed and ribald crew. Finding that nothing could be done, Miranda re-embarked his forces, and returned to Trinidad. The cause of South American independence then slumbered until 1809, when the invasion of Spain by Bonaparte seemed to prostrate the whole remaining strength of the mother country, and to offer to the colonies a favourable opportunity for erecting themselves into separate sovereign states. Francisco Miranda, whose whole life is like a romance, will re-appear in our pages. About the time of his eclipse, the Negro Emperor Dessalines, whose alliance he had courted, disappeared for ever from this nether world. Since his assumption of the imperial dignity, Dessalines had conducted himself in a very arbitrary tyrannical manner, or, at least, he was accused by his rival, Christophe, "the skilful cook," and by the mulatto chief Pétion (no relation, we believe, to the virtuous mayor of Paris) of a terrible abuse of powers, and of crimes and insolences not to be borne by free negroes. The said Christophe and Pétion headed a conspiracy against him, attacked him unawares, and cut his throat. Christophe then succeeded to his authority. At first the "skilful cook" renounced the pomps and vanities of a throne, imperial or royal, satisfying himself with the title of chief of the government of Hayti. In this capacity he

* On the 1st of December, when President Jefferson sent his opening message to Congress, he alluded to the expedition of Miranda against the territories of Spain, and said he had, by a proclamation and special orders, taken measures for suppressing it.—*Professor Tucker, Life of Thomas Jefferson*, &c. But this was nine months after Miranda had sailed from the States, with the good ship 'Leander,' and the 300 or 400 men he had recruited in New York and the neighbourhood. We know how much such proclamations are worth, even when issued in time. It does not appear that Jefferson's proclamation was issued at a moment when it could have been of any use. [On the 3rd of May, indeed, Jefferson issued a proclamation, but that contained no mention of Miranda, referring merely to a U. S. American citizen, who appears to have been accidentally killed by a shot fired from the 'Leander,' and for ever interdicting the entrance of all the harbours and waters of the United States to the said 'Leander' and her consorts (apparently the two schooners), for the said accident, which is called a *murder*.] In December, 1806, Jefferson may, possibly, have been sincerely anxious to act upon the Miranda proclamation, and to put down any further attempt on the Spanish colonies; and this, *because* some English man-of-war captains had taken Miranda by the hand, and because the president and his friends were very jealous of English interference (i. e. of the English *government*) in countries so near their own unsettled and disorderly southern and south-western frontiers.

In the same session of Congress, President Jefferson suggested the propriety of passing laws for the prevention of private enterprises against the United States. There were, indeed, other weighty reasons for proposing some such laws, for it was during this year that ex-vice-president Burr aimed at upsetting the model American constitution, and at separating the whole of the western states from the union.

issued a proclamation, opening to neutral powers the ports and commerce of his dominions. Those philanthropists whose benevolence gets warmest when carried beyond the tropics, and is to be measured by degrees of latitude and longitude, or by the scale of the thermometer, were in raptures at this revolution, though it had commenced with a foul and treacherous murder, and were sanguine in their expectations that, if only left to themselves for a few years, the blacks of Hayti or St. Domingo would establish political institutions, and a humane and enlightened system, which should put to shame the systems and governments of the whites. The zealots of republicanism too sympathised with the negro chief, and called him the black Washington. But his self-denial, and abstinence from the tempting dish of royalty, did not last long. Pétion the mulatto, who was jealous of his power, as he himself had been of that of Dessalines, soon accused him of designs against the liberties of the republic. Christophe, in his turn, accused Pétion of being a Jacobin and anarchist. A bloody war was the consequence. At the end of the struggle Pétion was driven back to Port-au-Prince, where he maintained himself, and what he called his republic, for nearly eleven years; and Christophe, remaining undisputed master of the greater part of the country, proclaimed himself King of Hayti, under the title of Henry I.; royalty, at the same time, being made hereditary in his family. He was publicly crowned on June the 2nd, 1812; and the ceremonies, all after the French pattern, are said to have been very solemn and imposing. There was a new court, and a new creation of hereditary nobility—dukes, counts, barons, &c., *tout comme à Paris*, except the colour—and the Duke of Marmalade was one of the first dignitaries of the negro kingdom. Thus ended Christophe's republicanism. The other dream about negro perfectibility, or the rapid advance of the St. Domingo blacks in virtue and civilization, did not end quite so soon. The Emperor of the French made this year one effort more to regain a footing in St. Domingo, or to capture some of the English islands. A squadron, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, stole out of Brest, and on the 20th of January these ships anchored in the road of St. Domingo, and on the next day disembarked the troops that were on board. They were disturbed in this position, on the 6th of February, by the appearance of Admiral Sir John Duckworth, with seven sail of the line and four frigates. The French Admiral Leissegues managed to slip his cables and get out to sea; but the wind did not prove his friend, and he could not escape an action. The French inequality in force was not so great as might appear from merely counting the number of their opponents: they had with them the 'Imperial,' an immense three-decker, which the French declare to have been the strongest and most beautiful ship of the line that had ever been built in any country in the world; which measured 3300 tons, and which mounted 130 guns; and several of the other French ships were superior in size and in weight of metal to any of ours. The 'Imperial' was calculated as nearly a match for any two of Duckworth's ships; and one of these ships, the English 'Agamemnon,' mounted only 64 guns. But in less than two hours three of the French ships of the line were captured, and the remaining two were driven on shore, where they were afterwards burned. The French displayed less than their usual bravery and judgment: the reminiscences of Trafalgar haunted them. Their loss in killed, wounded, and drowned was terrific. According to the French accounts the 'Imperial' alone had 500 killed and wounded before she struck on the rocks; and then, as her bottom was stove in, as was also that of the 'Dioméde,' many of the remaining crews of the two ships perished in a tremendous sea. The loss of the English was 74 killed and 264 wounded.* The two French frigates and the corvette escaped for the present; but one of the frigates, injured by the storm, and running under jury-masts, was eventually captured by a British sloop-of-war.

At or nearly at the same time that M. Leissegues escaped out of Brest, Admiral Willaumez also got to sea. For some days the two French squadrons sailed together; but they then separated. After one or two narrow escapes from falling in with a superior British force, M. Willaumez reached the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, with the intention of landing stores and troops to assist the Dutch. But, learning that the Cape had already fallen, he picked up an English merchant-vessel, and kept cruising between that extremity of Africa and South America, in the hope of picking up more prizes. He met with no luck, and want of provisions sent him, about the middle of April, into Cayenne. From this port Willaumez, with six sail of the line, proceeded to Barbadoes, with the intention of destroying the English shipping in Carlisle Bay; but, not being able to do anything of the kind, he stood away for Martinique, where the French flag still floated. It was known to the commanders of the British squadrons in those seas that Jerome Bonaparte (of whom his brother, the emperor, intended to make a good sailor, but could not†) was on board of one of Willaumez's ships of the line, the 'Vétéran.' This added to the eagerness of the search which was being made after the French squadron in various directions. But, by a succession of lucky accidents, Willaumez escaped some time longer. It appears, however, that the French

* James.—Ann. Regist.—Sir John Duckworth's Dispatches to the Admiralty.

† Monsieur, or, as his style now was, Prince Jerome, had been put in the French navy in 1802. On the 1st of November, 1804, without having mastered the rudiments of his profession, he was raised to the rank of a *Capitaine de Frégate*. He then cruised for a short time in the Mediterranean, and immediately after this *appointed himself* a *Capitaine de Vaisseau*, or captain of a ship of the line. His brother, the emperor, was excessively indignant at this innovation, which was an attack on his own authority. He annulled the self-appointment, said that Jerome had betrayed unexampled levity, that his conduct was altogether ridiculous; and that, when he should have fought and captured an English line-of-battle ship, he would still not have the right of giving rank in the French navy! There was small chance that Prince Jerome would ever capture an English line-of-battle ship.

admiral had a great deal to do to keep Prince Jerome in order; and that, in looking after that hair-brained coxcomb, he lost a good deal of time and several opportunities of doing mischief to our heavily-laden sugar-ships. The scape-grace had long been sick of the cruise and of the privations of a sea-faring life: he knew or surmised that the English would soon be down upon Willaumez's squadron, and therefore, on the night of the 31st of July, his ship, the 'Vétéran,' contrived to part company, and to lay her courses back for Europe. As soon as day broke on the 1st of August, Willaumez discovered, to his excessive vexation, that the 'Vétéran' was gone; and, knowing the risk to which the emperor's brother would be exposed in a single ship of the line, he went cruising about in all directions in search of the fugitive, who was nowhere to be found. In the course of this cruise Willaumez had some hair-breadth escapes from Sir John Borlase Warren, who had reached the West Indies with six ships of the line and a frigate. After beating about for some time longer in the vain hope of capturing or destroying some of our homeward-bound convoys, the French admiral bore away for the coast of Newfoundland, to capture our fishing-vessels and destroy our establishments there. But he had scarcely turned his face towards the north ere he was assailed by a hurricane, which dismasted his five ships and scattered them far asunder. On the 15th of September, Willaumez, alone in the 'Foudroyant,' an 80-gun ship, going under jury-masts, was attacked by the British 44-gun frigate 'Anson.' After fighting gallantly for half an hour, the commander of the frigate, Captain Charles Lydiard, found the French 80-gun ship too heavy for him, and bore off. Willaumez then got safely to anchor in Havanna. Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, who also was hunting for Willaumez with seven ships of the line and two frigates, saw his fine squadron scattered by the same hurricane which dispersed the French. But on the 14th of September two of Strachan's 74's discovered the 'Impétueux,' one of Willaumez's 74's, near the coast of America, running under jury-masts for that friendly river the Chesapeake. The English pursued, the Frenchman ran ashore. The English manned their boats, took possession of the 'Impétueux,' removed the crew as prisoners, and then burned her. This was a breach of neutrality, but the United States' government found it convenient not to make any loud outcry for the present. Two other of Willaumez's ships of the line got safely into the Chesapeake: one of these was found to be ruined past repair, and was taken to pieces; the other, with the kindly aid of brother Jonathan, was made sea-worthy once more, and was fortunate enough in the end to effect her escape back to France. One of the French frigates was also broken up in America. The 'Foudroyant,' after refitting at Havanna, put to sea and managed to reach Brest road. The 'Cassard,' another of the French ships, reached Rochefort. Fortune favours others besides the brave; the good luck of fools is proverbial. When Prince Jerome ran away from his admiral, the chances seemed as ten to one that he would be taken. But, instead of being taken, he took. On the 10th of August, as his fine 74, the 'Vétéran,' was carrying all sail for home, she fell in with a homeward-bound Quebec convoy, under the protection of an English 22-gun ship, commanded by Captain Robert Howe Bromley; and she captured and burned six of our traders. On the 26th of August, when very near the French coast, Jerome was in great jeopardy, for he was chased by a British squadron composed of a British 80-gun ship and two 36-gun frigates. But the local experience of his officers, and a bold and unprecedented movement, saved him and the 'Vétéran.' They were running for Port l'Orient; but they changed their course, and ran into the small and rock-bound port of Concarneau, which no ship of the line had ever attempted to enter before. Willaumez had lost two ships of the line and a frigate; and he brought back sickly crews, but no prizes. The few prizes he had taken among the West India Islands he had been obliged to destroy. That he or any of those with him got back at all was little short of the miraculous. *Prince* Jerome brought back shame and ill-fame enough to crush him; but his brother was emperor, and the press and all public opinion in France were in shackles. Napoleon personally might reprove him and despise him; but the French people were not to be permitted to censure or to know the truth. The editor of the 'Moniteur' was commanded to dress up an article in laudation of Prince Jerome's

Jerome Bonaparte.

cruise, and of the gallant encounter with our Quebec convoy: and a very pretty article the editor made of it;—the little English 22-gun ship was converted into a big frigate, an English transport was turned into another frigate, both frigates were made to fly before the Vétéran, and the number of merchant-vessels captured was raised from

six to nine. No inducement, however, could ever prevail upon this naval hero of the imperial family to venture to sea again in a fighting ship. He was raised to the rank of *contre-amiral;* but he forthwith quitted the sea to become a general of division, and take the command of some Bavarian cavalry; and not very long afterwards he quitted both land and sea service to take up the easier calling of a king.

Admiral Linois, who had been so long cruising in the Chinese and Indian seas, and who had succeeded in doing some mischief to our trade since his repulse by our Indiamen* near the Straits of Malacca, at last met his fate this year. In the autumn of 1805 he had made the run of the African coast and had entered St. Simon's Bay. He had with him only the 'Marengo,' 74, and the 'Belle Poule' frigate; for the rest of his squadron had either been lost or sent homeward with the prizes he had made. He was joined in St. Simon's Bay by the 'Atalante,' another frigate; but the 'Atalante' perished shortly afterwards on that coast. As his two remaining ships were found very fully manned, it is supposed that he saved the crew of the 'Atalante.' At the end of January he would have gone to the Cape of Good Hope, but an American informed him that a British flag was flying there. As there was no safe resting-place in-shore, so seemed there no safe room at sea, for the Indian Ocean was fast filling with British men-of-war dispatched in search of him. He therefore determined to make a bold run for Brest, from which port he had departed nearly three years before. But the nearer he got to France the greater was his danger. Briareus had a hundred arms; but the British navy had now a thousand. Just as he reached the French coast, and as the port of Brest was opening to him, he was stopped by Sir J. Borlase Warren's ship the 'London' and the 'Amazon' frigate; and after a close and hard fight the 'Marengo' and the 'Belle Poule' struck their colours and were both taken. Honour to the skilful and persevering French sailor! In the course of his long and adventurous cruise Linois had crossed the equinoctial line twelve times; he had eluded the pursuit of many enemies; and, at last, he had fought a gallant battle. Both he and his son were severely wounded in the battle. Admiral Sir E. Pellew, who had been vainly hunting in the Indian Sea for Linois, passed through the Straits of Sunda to Batavia, and burned a Dutch 36-gun frigate, six other armed vessels, and about twenty merchantmen, bringing off as prizes two armed vessels and two merchantmen.

We must continue to pass over in silence the conflicts between detached ships, and all the minor operations of our navy. They extended to the four quarters of the globe and to nearly all seas. Two other exploits, however, call for notice. In the month of September Commodore Sir Samuel Hood captured four out of five large frigates that escaped out of Rochefort, and that were destined for the West Indies with troops, stores, arms, ammunition, and provisions on board. Much earlier in the year Captain Lord Cochrane, having received information that two large brig corvettes were lying in the river Gironde, not far from Bordeaux, resolved to make them his. A little after dark he manned the boats of his frigate and sent them up the river. The two French vessels lay twenty miles above the shoals which prevented the ingress of the frigate; and were protected by two heavy land batteries. The daring sailors in the boats, however, boarded and carried one of the brig corvettes, which had the guard, was perfectly well prepared for the attack, and had fourteen long 8-pounders and 95 men to meet it. The other brig corvette was higher up the river, and the flood-tide prevented the boats from ascending to her. At day-break this other corvette came down and attacked the prize; but after an hour's firing she was compelled to sheer off; and the excited crowds of armed militia, collected on the river banks, had the mortification of seeing the boats regain their frigate with their very pretty prize. The only loss sustained by the English in the adventure consisted of three seamen wounded. This may serve as a slight specimen of the daring operation which our sailors called "cutting out," and which was resorted to very frequently during the remainder of the war. While his boats and a good part of his crew were absent, coming down the Gironde with their prize, Cochrane, in his frigate, drove on shore among the breakers two ship corvettes mounting 20 guns each, and one brig corvette mounting 16 guns. A few days after this Cochrane reconnoitring a strong French squadron which lay at anchor in the roads of the Isle of Aix, under cover of tremendous land batteries, braved with his little 'Pallas,' a 12-pounder 32-gun frigate, the attack of a 44-gun frigate and three brig corvettes, which came out to drive him away, but could not make him quit his station. Then, having "nothing better in view," Lord Cochrane landed some of the crew of the 'Pallas,' and destroyed some signal posts, which were great tell-tales, and reported all the movements of the British cruisers. One of these signal posts was defended by 100 French militia, who could not hold it or prevent its destruction. Next he landed and attacked a battery which had three long 36-pounders, and a well covered garrison of fifty men. The long guns were soon spiked, the barrack and magazine were blown up, and the shot and shells were thrown into the sea. And this may serve as a specimen of the in-shore or land service of our seamen, which also became a frequent practice. As so few of their ships would venture to sea, it was necessary for our sailors to go on shore in order to get at the enemy. Taking another peep into Aix Road,

* The fighting example of these Indiamen, being favoured by the circumstances we have mentioned, was sure to be followed by our traders. In the course of this year, 1806, eleven West Indiamen, that got separated from the great Jamaica fleet, and had no protection save in their own guns, twice beat off a privateer. After this brush they were attacked by three privateers. Our skippers appointed Mac Farlane, the master of one of the West Indiamen, to be their commodore; and he disposed his forces so well, that after an hour's warm firing they beat off the three privateers.

Cochrane tempted out again the 44-gun frigate and three corvettes; and this time M. Collet, the captain of the French frigate, seemed determined to come to the scratch. He ran down upon the little 'Pallas' with studding-sails and royals set. Cochrane waited until he was within point-blank shot, and then opened a fire which brought down the Frenchman's flying kites, and the main-topsail-yard of one of his brig corvettes into the bargain. He then endeavoured to get to windward of the French frigate, whose smart fire was aided by one of the land batteries. The 'Pallas' kept replying, except when obliged to tack in order to avoid the shoals. This lasted for nearly two hours, when Cochrane succeeded in gaining the wind of his adversary, and in getting between her and her harbour. Then after one or two heavy broadsides he ran the little 'Pallas' right on board the 'Minerve.' As the two vessels struck, the guns of the 'Pallas' were knocked back into their ports; but they did not break their breeching, and their contents were discharged with terrible effect into the 'Minerve's' hull. Three pistol-shots were the only sign of life the French frigate gave: her decks were deserted by all except her captain and a few officers. But in the collision the little 'Pallas' had her fore-top-mast, jib-boom, others of her spars, and much of her rigging carried away, and, what was worst of all, Cochrane lost his bower anchor, by which he had hoped to hook-on his adversary, and carry her by boarding. His lordship, however, would have tried to grasp the 'Minerve' by some other means, and, as her fore-yard was gone, as her sails, which had been flouting the air so proudly, were all in ribands or lying huddled on her deck, and as her rigging was cut to pieces, there was a very promising prospect of his making her his prize; but the French admiral sent out two other frigates, and the saucy 'Pallas,' nearly a wreck herself, bore up for the offing.*

Having passed under a succession of triumphal arches erected on his road in different German cities and capitals by the un-German princes and grandees and burghers, Bonaparte had reached Paris in the month of January. The Parisians, enchanted with the affair of Ulm and the battle of Austerlitz, and kept up to the hottest point of enthusiasm by bulletins and Moniteur articles, flocked out to meet him on the road, to shout and applaud, and present to him crowns of laurel and verses. We are told that the scene resembled the triumphant entrances into Rome of Augustus and Trajan. The senate, the legislative body, the tribunate, collected round him in the Tuileries to float him on a sea of compliment and adulation. The tribunate seems to have borne away the palm on this occasion: one of its members, Carion-de-Nisas, who had inaugurated the empire, concluded a florid harangue by proposing that a triumphal column should be erected in one of the public squares; that the victories should be represented upon the column in bold relief, and that a statue of the emperor in antique costume should be placed on the summit; that medals should be struck, and public games in the manner of the ancients instituted; and that there should be an eternal holiday to celebrate the glory of the army and the immortality of their Cæsar. This was the origin of the bronze-covered column in the Place Vendôme, or Place des Victoires. All this adulation, however, could not save the tribunat, the only talking part of the imperial constitution, from a sentence of dissolution. This body had been curtailed of its fair proportions long ago, the most obstinate of its members had been weeded out, but still those who remained would insist on their constitutional right to talk and rather publicly debate public questions; and now and then some words of liberty or of contradiction would issue from the Palais-Royal, or Palais-Egalité, as it was still called, the place of their meeting. These orators had grown bolder during the absence of their emperor in the valley of the Danube and in Moravia, and during the great money-panic; and their boldness seems to have given considerable uneasiness to Fouché. On the return of the conqueror, except when it uttered some panegyric, the tribunate became as mute as an oyster; and, very soon after, it got its eternal quietus and dissolution in an imperial decree. There then remained of the imperial and unchangeable constitution, the always silent *corps legislatif* and the always obedient senate. The Bank of France was re-organized by the emperor. Severe laws were passed against the importation of any English manufactures. The republican calendar, which some silly people would still persist to use, was declared to be an abomination and an illegality, and the Christian Gregorian calendar was ordered to be used in all circumstances, public or private. The Pantheon, the scene of so many Pagan farces, was restored to the Christian worship and to its old name of Ste. Geneviève.* It was decreed that there should be a solemn religious ceremony in that church on the day of the saint-patroness, on the 15th of August, on the festival of St. Napoleon (the priests had found a saint for him in their calendar, and, though it was but an obscure saint, the *éclat* of the emperor made up for it), on the anniversary of the conclusion of the Concordat, on the anniversary of his coronation, and on that of the battle of Austerlitz, &c. The Constituent Assembly had declared the Pantheon to be consecrated by the country to the sepulchre and memory of her great men: Bonaparte decreed that this destination should not be altered; but he defined who and what men were to be considered as great men, and these were the grand dignitaries of the empire, the grand officers of the crown, the senators, the grand officers of the legion of honour, &c. These great men were all such as wore his livery, and attached themselves to his triumphal car. But by a special decree such citi-

* James, Naval Hist.—Lord Cochrane's Dispatches.—Ann. Regist.

* It was about this time that Bonaparte wrote to Pope Pius VII. to request him to annul, by the canons of the church, the marriage of his brother Jerome *with a Protestant*.

zens as distinguished themselves in the career of arms, or of administration, or of science and letters, and as rendered eminent services to the country, were to have their bodies embalmed and were to enjoy a tomb in Ste. Geneviève. But, as no services would be considered eminent except services rendered to the emperor or to his system, it was clear that those who were anxious for the funeral honours must consult his sole will. In the same grand decree that regulated the church of Ste. Geneviève, the abbey of St. Denis, from which the canaille of the revolution had torn the bones and ashes of the old kings, was consecrated to the sepulture of the *emperors;* a chapter composed of ten canons was appointed to do duty in the church and guard the tombs; and the emperor's chaplain-in-chief was to be head of this chapter of St. Denis; and four chapels were to be erected, three close by the spaces occupied by the tombs of the French kings of the first, second, and third race, and the fourth chapel to stand on the spot destined for the tombs of the Emperor Napoleon and the emperors his successors.

There was a new distribution of honours and titles. And, no longer satisfied with mere titular denominations, and still following, as he fancied, the example of the Emperor Charlemagne, he began to create grand fiefs of the empire, to be held by a sort of feudal tenure. Here broad territories were affixed to the titles. At first these territories were selected exclusively in the countries he had overrun or conquered, and by preference in Italy and the regions at the end or on the opposite side of the Adriatic Sea. About the same time that he gave to his brother Joseph investiture of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, he threw off six decrees, distributing these imperial fiefs. In the first, after declaring the Venetian states to be united to the kingdom of Italy, he clipped out large tracts of those states and made twelve dukedoms or duchies of them, giving the first, the duchy of Dalmatia, to Marshal Soult, that of Istria to Marshal Bessieres, that of Friuli to his favourite aide-de-camp and grand marshal of the palace Duroc, that of Cadore to Champagny (formerly an officer in the navy, but now one of Bonaparte's favourite diplomatists), that of Belluno to Marshal Victor, that of Conegliano to Marshal Moncey, that of Treviso to Marshal Mortier, that of Feltri to General Clarke, that of Bassano to the secretary-minister-of-state Maret, that of Vicenza to the kidnapping Caulaincourt, that of Rovigo to Savary (the executioner of the Duke d'Enghein). In another of these fief-bestowing decrees he took two other slices out of the so-called Italian kingdom, and constituted with them the duchy of Massa-Carrara, and the duchy of Parma and Piacenza, which were to be held directly of the imperial French crown. In another of the decrees he conferred the Italian duchy of Guastalla on his sister Pauline, who was already well provided for by her marriage with the great Roman Prince Borghese. But even now dukedoms were made, or principalities conferred, in other countries besides Italy and the Venetian states. One of the decrees named Marshal Murat, the emperor's brother-in-law, Grand Duke of Cleves and of Berg; granting him the full sovereignty of those states, with all the rights and privileges which had been formerly possessed in them by the King of Prussia and the Elector of Bavaria. In another decree that anomalous state Neufchatel, which was, or had been, at one and the same time, a Swiss Canton and a principality of the King of Prussia, as representative of the House of Brandenburg, was granted to Marshal Berthier, in full sovereignty and property.*

These French soldiers of fortune, who, for the far greater part, had risen from the lowest condition, and had made profession of the most downright sans-culottism, lost no time in making use of their high titles. Henceforward Murat, the son of the innkeeper and postmaster, never signed his name but as "Joachim, Grand Duke of Berg;" and Berthier, the son of a poor and obscure officer, signed, "Alexandre, Prince of Neufchatel"—just as the Czar signed, "Alexander, Emperor of all the Russias."†

Soon afterwards the duchy of Parma was conferred upon Cambacérès, and that of Piacenza on General Lebrun; Benevento and Pontecorvo, which lie in the heart of the Neapolitan kingdom (but which belonged to the pope, as Avignon in France had once done), were turned into French principalities; and Benevento was given to foreign-minister Talleyrand, and Pontecorvo to Marshal Bernadotte. Fouché became Duke of Otranto; Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello; Marshal Massena, Duke of Rivoli; Marshal Augereau, Duke of Castiglione; &c. &c. When territories could not conveniently be attached to the titles, or when these territories were not considered adequate, pensions were drawn from the conquered or tributary countries. Thus the kingdom of Naples, and the so-called kingdom of Italy, were taxed to an enormous amount; while, in Germany, the small and poor country of Hanover alone was made to contribute more than 90,000*l.* sterling per annum to keep up the state and dignity of these republican parvenus.

All the members of the Senate, indiscriminately, got the title of "Count." No satirist, or writer of political romance, could have equalled the farces which followed. Cambacérès, in announcing the emperor's beneficence and magnanimity, exclaimed, "Senators! you are no longer obscure plebeians or simple citizens. The statute which I hold in my hand confers on you *the majestic title of Count!*" Half of those conscript-fathers had been rabid Jacobins, and had taken oaths innumerable in favour of liberty and equality, and against the accursed distinctions of title and rank and an hereditary aristocracy; but nevertheless they made their hall shake with their plaudits, and they shouted still louder when Camba-

* Decrees in Moniteur and Hist. Parlement.
† Capefigue.

cérès told them that all their children would enjoy their titles.

For some time Bonaparte respected the real native territory of France, creating no fiefs there. He indeed created numerous *majorats*, by which property was strictly entailed upon eldest sons; but he shrunk from attacking the law of succession, or of equal distribution of property, which the revolution had established, and which the people declared to be sacred. In a few months, however, it was found convenient to annex the duchy of Guastalla to the kingdom of Italy; and then he indemnified his sister the Princess Pauline, on whom he had conferred that territory, by giving her territory in France. And in the same decree he clearly announced his intention of making more *majorats*, and of creating large hereditary estates to be inherited with titles by eldest sons. The Jacobins and equality men who had survived destruction grumbled in their garrets and cellars; but they could do nothing but grumble: the ancient noblesse of the Faubourg St. Germain laughed at these new princes, dukes, and counts; but, as it was the new ones and not the old that had money, favour, influence, and patronage, the parvenus could afford to return the laugh.

Before this time the emperor appears to have determined to put crowns upon the heads of all his brothers except Lucien. It was on the 30th of March that he invested his brother Joseph. On the 5th of June he proclaimed his brother Louis King of Holland, thus transforming by a stroke of the pen the Batavian republic into a kingdom dependent on France. In giving Louis his investiture he told him that, though he was going to reign over the Dutch, he must never cease to be a

Louis Bonaparte.

Frenchman; that his hereditary dignity of Constable of the Empire must constantly remind him of the duties he owed to the Emperor of the French: —in other words poor Louis was told that he must do whatever his brother should command. Another monarchy was selected for Jerome in Germany; but matters were not yet ripe for that investiture.

The Confederation of the Rhine had elected the Emperor Napoleon to be their "Protector." By a secret treaty, which was made public about the end of July, the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the Elector Archchancellor of the Germanic empire, the Elector of Baden, the Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves (Murat), the Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, and ten other petty sovereign princes, separated themselves from the Germanic empire, and united in a distinct confederation, to be guided by its own Diet and under its own primate. This primate was declared to be the elector *ex*-chancellor of the empire; but the Emperor Napoleon was to have the right of naming this primate's successor. All these German states were to be bound to one another and to France by an alliance offensive and defensive. In case of another coalition and continental war, they were all to act together, France engaging to furnish 200,000 men, Bavaria 30,000, Würtemberg 12,000, Baden 8000, Berg and Cleves 5000, Darmstadt and the other states 4000 each. This arrangement went to array 100,000 German troops on the side of Bonaparte and against the liberty and independence of Germany. Other states were invited to join the confederation.

In some particulars the imitation of the Emperor Charlemagne was no farce. Bonaparte had now under his hands the whole of the west of Europe. As emperor and king he was absolute master of France and Italy, as mediator he was master of Switzerland, as protector he was master of a considerable part of Germany: Naples and Holland he governed through his two brothers, Spain had been reduced to a passive and abject submission to his will, and had ere this engaged to assist him in subjugating Portugal. Such was his prepotency when Prussia, who had remained neutral when by co-operating with Russia, Austria, and England she might have crushed him, found herself dragged into a war with him, and almost single-handed to meet him in mortal contest. Notwithstanding the alliance and close connexion with the court of St. James's, the court of Berlin had not hesitated to take possession of Hanover, in exchange for which it had ceded to Bonaparte Neufchatel, Berg and Cleves, Anspach, and other strips of territory, and to close all the ports in his Prussian majesty's dominions to British trade and shipping. Prussia remained, to all appearance, contented and complacent until she learned that France had made an offer to Lord Lauderdale to restore Hanover to England, and even to annex to that electorate the Hanse Towns, &c. But the animosity occasioned by this disclosure was much heightened by the tone which Bonaparte and his official Moniteur now assumed. That conqueror thought he had allowed Prussia to make too good a bargain for herself; that he had nothing more to fear from Austria, or even from Russia; that the Confederation of the Rhine would enable him to trample upon a power which had been raised by the fortune of the sword, at a compara-

tively recent date, and of which nearly all the petty potentates of Germany, once equal or superior to the House of Brandenburg, were excessively and madly jealous. He felt himself humbled by the concessions he had been obliged to make to Prussia; and he retained a bitter recollection of the uneasiness her undecided line of conduct had several times caused him during his last campaign. He calculated that a great deal might be gained by going to war with her; and he doubted whether, if ever so much disposed to remain at peace with her, she would not take an early opportunity of appealing to arms. His preponderance in Germany, and the disclosure of his secret treaty with the confederation of the Rhine, he must have felt, were things not to be submitted to by the great power of the north of Germany without a struggle. He knew that there was, and long had been, a strong war, or anti-Gallican, party at Berlin, headed by the Queen of Prussia and Prince Louis, the king's cousin—a party who had all along deplored the mean, shuffling conduct of their cabinet, and who had long been exerting themselves to displace Count Haugwitz and his colleagues. Hence Bonaparte was induced to give an underhand encouragement to the propagation of slanders and invented stories, injurious to the character of her Prussian majesty, and offensive beyond measure to the feelings of the king, her husband, by whom she was tenderly and almost romantically beloved.

QUEEN OF PRUSSIA.

This was Bonaparte's constant practice; this was a species of offence which he committed upon principle. Jupiter-Scapin had studied in the school of Don Basile. When the minister of a foreign power, like Prince John of Lichtenstein or Count Haugwitz, played into his hands, submitted to his will, or allowed himself to be overawed by his rhetoric and his display of force, he extolled him to the skies, and caused articles to be inserted in the Moniteur, representing him as an enlightened statesman and generous friend of humanity: but when he encountered a foreign minister like Lord Whitworth or the Prince Dolgorouki, who maintained the dignity of his country and sovereign, nor yielded a jot either to his threats or to his cajolery, that man he held up as a knave or fool, as a tool of Pitt, as a slave to the enemies of mankind, or as a driveller who was incapable of distinguishing good from ill, or of comprehending that France was, and must be, the first power in the world, the sole arbitress of Europe. Nor did he stop with ministers and ambassadors, or with men; he extended his abuse to every member of every royal family that was known to have no love for him or his system: and he did not spare the women. His calumnies against the Queen of Prussia were the more atrocious, as they were directed against an interesting and beautiful young woman, exemplary in her private conduct, and high-minded and enthusiastically patriotic in her public aspirations.

On seeing the effects of the confederation of the Rhine, which almost surrounded her with hostile states, or with neighbours devoted or subjected to France, Prussia had some reason to complain. Bonaparte answered her murmurs by making the Moniteur talk of Prussia as a secondary power, which was assuming a high tone not warranted by its population and extent, or by its actual position. A part of the victorious army which had fought at Austerlitz had been left beyond the Rhine, to preside over the organization of that new confederacy, or to live at free quarters among the rich trading Hanse Towns, which had lost their trade, and were fast losing all their wealth. According to the treaty of Presburg, all these French corps ought to have evacuated Germany. The King of Prussia recalled his pacific ambassador Luchesini from Paris, and sent thither in his stead a much more determined man, General Knobelsdorff. This general, however, was the bearer of an autograph letter from his Prussian majesty to the emperor, expressing friendly sentiments to him personally, and an anxious desire to remain at peace. His imperial majesty, said the king, well knew his pacific disposition; all differences between them might be arranged by the evacuation of Germany; the Confederation of the Rhine certainly gave Napoleon a too great ascendancy over the German people, and could not but excite the alarm of Prussia as well as of Austria; but still, peace, peace, was the wish of all! Bonaparte, if he did not absolutely refuse to withdraw his troops from beyond the Rhine, certainly left them just where they were, and denied that Prussia or any other power had a right to complain of their presence. It even appears that he reinforced those troops the very moment Prussia began to murmur, or the very moment he began to insult her in his Moniteur. At the beginning of September he collected his great captains around him in Paris—Soult, Augereau, and Bernadotte, who had been serving in Germany, and Murat, who had been residing for a season in his grand duchy of Berg, which he liked so well that he was anxious to extend the limits of his territories, if not to carve out a kingdom for himself in those parts—and he consulted with them as to the best means of commencing and conducting a campaign against

Prussia, so as to render it as rapid and decisive as his last campaign against Austria.

In a note delivered to Talleyrand on the 1st of October, General Knobelsdorff said, and said truly, "that the king his master saw around his territories none but French soldiers or vassals of France, ready to march at his signal;" and he peremptorily required that the French troops should forthwith evacuate the territory of Germany. To this Bonaparte made answer in the haughtiest tone of defiance, that for Prussia to provoke the enmity of France was as senseless a course as to pretend to withstand the waves of the ocean! On the 9th of October the King of Prussia, who had put his army in motion, issued a long manifesto from his head-quarters at Erfurt; he recapitulated the long series of French encroachments, many of which could not have been effected if they had not been connived at by his own base cabinet; and he dwelt upon the ambition of the Emperor of the French, as though he had now for the first time discovered its existence. This was the war-note; there was no formal declaration of hostilities on either part. But, before this signal was given, Bonaparte, having quitted Paris on the 25th of September, without communicating his designs either to the senate or to the *corps législatif*, was on the Rhine, and quite ready to begin operations. He had, in fact, been in a state of readiness ever since the beginning of August; for at that time his army of Germany, then under the supreme command of Berthier, was extended from Baden to Dusseldorff, and from Frankfort to Nuremberg—the main body being in a manner already in position, and only waiting the arrival of the reserve.

The Emperor of Russia had refused to ratify the disgraceful treaty which his minister d'Oubril had really signed separately at Paris during Lord Lauderdale's negotiations, and was again in the field, though far away beyond the Vistula. The Prussians have been taxed with the same fault which the Austrians had committed in 1805, in not waiting for the arrival of the Russians in Germany. But, by the time it became known at Berlin that the Emperor Alexander had refused to ratify the treaty of peace with France, Bonaparte was fully prepared to commence operations against Prussia, and his cunning negotiator, General Sebastiani, having been dispatched to Constantinople, had got up a "very pretty quarrel" between the Ottoman Porte and Russia, a quarrel which led to the sultan's abandoning his former alliances with England and Russia, to the hasty contracting of a new alliance with France, and to an actual war between the Turks and Russians, which commenced in November, and gave occupation to a large part of the czar's army. The cabinet of Berlin has been also censured for not waiting for pecuniary aid and other succours from England; but our cabinet neither before the crisis nor after it showed any great alacrity or liberality; the succour from England, like the arrival of armies from Russia, seemed distant and uncertain. On the intelligence that Prussia had taken possession of Hanover, and had closed her ports to the British flag, Fox had recalled our ambassador from Berlin, an embargo had been laid upon all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Elbe, the Weser, and the other German rivers had been again declared in a state of blockade. At the first symptom of the political change in the cabinet of Berlin, our government had professed a great readiness to renew friendly relations; they had instantly removed the blockade of the ports and rivers, which had caused much inconvenience to Prussia, and the whole of the north of Germany; and they dispatched Lord Morpeth on an embassy to his Prussian Majesty. But Lord Morpeth, who did not quit London until the 1st of October, did not reach the Prussian head-quarters at Weimar until the 12th, when the two hostile armies were almost in presence of each other. The conduct of the Prussian ministers, indeed, appears to have been shuffling and reprehensible in other respects, even then; but his lordship brought neither subsidy nor an army, nor the promise of either from England; and at the time of his lordship's arrival it was no longer possible to avoid a battle, without retreating, and leaving Berlin open to the French. The monstrous folly and the guilt of Prussia had all been committed in the autumn of 1805; and now nothing could have saved her from the consequences. It was Bonaparte that fixed, and not Prussia that chose, the moment for going to war. No suppression of complaint, scarcely any amount of submission short of putting her fortresses and her armies in his hands, would have prevented Bonaparte's campaign. The intact state of the Prussian forces was constantly in his thoughts; he wanted to break, scatter, and demoralize that fine army—to reduce it to the state in which he had left the Austrian army—before it could be joined by Russian, Swede, or English. If there was an ardent war-party at Berlin, there was a still hotter and more impatient war-party at Paris, where other soldiers of fortune, besides Murat, were dreaming of possessions or pincipalities in Germany. Bonaparte, we repeat, was ready for the campaign in August. If Lord Morpeth had arrived in Prussia in the month of August, the French would have begun the campaign then; and this they would also have done if the Emperor Alexander had then begun to move towards Germany, or to approach the Vistula.

The force which Bonaparte brought into the field was numerically superior to the Prussian army; as he advanced he had in his front and on both his flanks none but friendly states; the armies of the Confederation of the Rhine were ready to co-operate with him; and he had in his rear, behind the Rhine, an immense force in disciplined troops, which might be called a disposable force, as he had anticipated a whole year's conscription, or raised in 1806 the levies which by law ought to have been raised in 1807. Prussia, on the other hand, had only one reluctant ally, the Elector of

Saxony, who evidently would have behaved now towards Prussia as Prussia had behaved towards the coalition in the preceding autumn, if the Prince of Hohenlohe had not marched into the country at the head of a division of the Prussian army. One or two of the petty states, expecting subsidies from England, which did not arrive, professed a perfect neutrality. Some German poets and political writers had counted upon a revival of the old German feeling, and on a popular impetus which would overthrow the selfish arrangements of cabinets and little potentates; but the moment was not yet come—that pear was not yet ripe.

In one particular the Prussians followed pretty closely the fatal example of the Austrians in 1805; they extended their line of operations far too much, being almost incredibly oblivious of the very simple and never varying tactics of their adversary. On the 6th of October, Bonaparte had collected his columns about Bamberg; and on the 8th (four days before Lord Morpeth's arrival at Weimar), he commenced a variety of skilful and successful but very simple movements, which ended in his turning the Prussian left, in his gaining possession of most of their magazines, and interposing between their main body and the city of Berlin.

The French were now posted along the river Saale from Naumburg to Kahla, with their centre at Jena. The Prussians were ranged between Jena and Auerstadt. The road to Dresden, the capital of Saxony, lay as open to the French as the road to Berlin. The Duke of Brunswick, the commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, called in his outposts, which had been imprudently scattered in all directions, and concentrated, as much as it was possible, the masses of his left at Auerstadt. The Queen of Prussia, mounted on horseback, rode along the splendid lines, to encourage, by her presence, the 50,000 fighting-men collected on that point. On the morning of the 14th of October, the vanguard of Marshal Davoust, who commanded the French right, came in contact with the van of the Duke of Brunswick. It was a dense fog; and, though the march of the meeting forces was made sensible to the ear, the eye could distinguish nothing until the foes were within musket-shot of each other. But the sun dissipated the fog and mists; and then, the Prussian cavalry having upset Davoust's vanguard, the Duke of Brunswick's columns threw themselves upon the French marshal. The Prussian army, as compared with the total of the French army, were inferior in number by nearly a third; but the force which actually attacked Davoust was superior to his, as Bonaparte had concentrated the great mass of his forces six leagues off, at Jena, the position which he had chosen for himself, and where he was commanding in person. The consequence was, that Davoust was all but crushed; his cavalry could not stand against Brunswick's; and some of his infantry regiments scarcely found time to form in square, before the brilliant Prussian horse were upon them, followed by the well-directed shot of the Prussian light artillery. Before the hour of noon, the field was strewed with killed and wounded, and the Prussians had a decided advantage. Davoust sent an aide-de-camp to request Marshal Bernadotte to come to his support. Bernadotte could not move himself, as he had been stationed in an important position to support his Emperor, who remained at Jena; but he detached the division of General Dupont to assist Davoust. About the hour of noon, when Davoust seemed standing on the brink of ruin, Bonaparte made a terrible attack on the enemy in front of his own position, who were, numerically, much more inferior to his force than his right, under Davoust, was inferior to the force of the Duke of Brunswick. Spurring from Jena with nearly the whole of the cavalry in the French army, Murat charged the Prussian infantry in his front. The old Prussian marshal, Möllendorf, who commanded there, was badly wounded; his infantry fell into some disorder, and began to retreat upon Weimar. The Saxon contingents, who, in all, amounted to about 20,000 men, did not behave very well: the hearts of their officers were not in the cause; it had been a toss-up whether the men should fight for the French or against them; they disliked the Prussians, and they fought softly, *mollement*. By this time, Davoust had 8000 or 9000 killed, or put *hors de combat:* he maintained his ground with great tenacity; but it appears that he must have been utterly crushed, if it had not been for the opportune arrival of Dupont's division. But, in this double battle, the retreat of Marshal Möllendorf seriously committed the safety of all the rest of the Prussian army; and, in a terrible charge made to dislodge Davoust, several Prussian generals had fallen at the heads of their columns, and the old Duke of Brunswick, their commander-in-chief, had been blinded by a wound on the brow, and had received other hurts, which eventually proved mortal. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when the King of Prussia received the disastrous intelligence of Möllendorf's retreat.

KING OF PRUSSIA.

To re-establish his communications with that marshal, the king commanded and led a magnificent charge, in the confident hope of finishing with

Davoust, and opening his own way to the road to Weimar, which Möllendorf had taken. But a fatality attended all his exertions: while hardly one of the French generals was seriously wounded, his own general officers had fallen, and continued to fall, thick about him; his brother, Prince Henry, was dangerously wounded, and obliged to quit the field; (his cousin, the gallant Prince Louis, had been killed in an unequal fight at Saalfeld, two days before this decisive double battle,)—General Schmettau received a ball in the breast; the king himself had two horses killed under him, and was, for a moment, believed to be killed himself. Thus the magnificent charge failed; and, before the Prussians could attempt another, Bernadotte, gliding between the two battles, got into the Prussian rear, and made several battalions lay down their arms. The fortunate Gascon made this movement, which decided the fate of the day, and of the two battles of Auerstadt and Jena, with 18,000 fresh troops, who had been posted on the heights of Apolda, and who had not hitherto been exposed either to the fire of the enemy, or to any fatigue or exertion whatsoever. It appears to be most clearly demonstrated, that Bernadotte could not move, and ought not to have moved, earlier than he did; that if he had quitted his position at Apolda, where his emperor himself had commanded him to remain, to march in full force to support Davoust, and to get early into action, Bonaparte's whole plan would have been dislocated, and the main body of his army fighting at Jena would have been thrown into a false and perilous position. Yet Bonaparte, allowing but a stinted share of praise to Davoust, who had kept his ground so manfully against superior numbers, accused Bernadotte of slowness and lukewarmness, and cast ambiguous reproaches upon him for not going earlier into battle,—that is, for not having done what he had expressly commanded him not to do. The Bonapartists always adopted the prejudices of their emperor, and took his word as law and gospel; and writers not of that school, nor even of that nation, have strangely shut their eyes to the jealousy and personal antipathy which Bonaparte entertained against Bernadotte, the least complying and the clearest-headed of all his generals. At this moment Bernadotte was more odious to Bonaparte than ever Moreau had been. A system of detraction and calumny had already been adopted against him, and a less firm and less able man must have been ruined by it. General Rapp tells us, that, on the evening after the battle, Bonaparte uttered many spiteful things against Bernadotte, and exclaimed—"That Gascon will never do better!" But the Gascon had done what was best to do, and what he had been ordered to do. Bernadotte said, very shortly after, to Bourrienne—"I know I did my duty. Let the emperor accuse me if he will, he shall have his answer. I am a Gascon, it is true, but he is a greater gasconader than I am."

The timely movement of Bernadotte, we repeat, decided the double victory. It also cut off the retreat of a large part of the Prussian army. The Prussians, not knowing the numerical force of the fresh troops, thus suddenly brought into their rear, lost heart and began surrendering in masses; they could not effect a proper junction with their countrymen who had been fighting at Jena. Such of them as got on the road and retreated towards Weimar, found Marshal Möllendorf's columns broken and disordered; the road got blocked up, and there followed a scene of irremediable confusion. There was scarcely a general officer left alive, and in condition to issue orders; and the panic of the men indisposed them to obedience, and destroyed that military instinct which has so often rescued brave and veteran troops. The greater part of the artillery was taken. According to the French accounts, which are rather less exaggerated than usual, 20,000 Prussians were killed or captured in the course of this fatal day; 300 pieces of artillery, twenty general officers, and 60 standards were taken. On the following day, the 15th of October, old Marshal Möllendorf, who had retired to Erfurt with the remnant of his forces, was compelled to surrender. General Kalkreuth, who attempted to cross the Hartz mountains, was overtaken and routed. Prince Eugene of Wurtemburg, commanding an untouched body of 16,000 men, who ought to have been brought into action on the 14th, attempted to interpose between the routed divisions of the Prussians and the victorious masses of the French; but he was attacked with superior forces by Bernadotte, and, being completely beaten, such as remained of his 16,000 men added one disorderly torrent more to the many that were flowing northward in the direction of Magdeburg, which the king had appointed as the chief rallying ground.

The Prussians were now almost as much isolated and cut off from their resources, and were altogether well nigh in as bad a condition as the Austrians at Ulm had been a year ago. Prince Hohenlohe, though badly wounded, did indeed contrive to assemble 50,000 men behind the strong walls of Magdeburg; but these fugitives were militarily demoralized, the copious magazines and stores of the town had been removed to supply the Duke of Brunswick's army, hardly anything was left there, and victorious French columns were posted between Magdeburg and the other great depôts. Bonaparte availed himself of his advantages in writing a most insulting letter to the unfortunate King of Prussia; and a few days later, when the Duke of Brunswick, who had retired so badly wounded from the fight at Auerstadt, wrote to him in a pacificatory tone, and addressed him as a conqueror capable of generosity and magnanimity, he replied both with insolence and with barbarity. He told the brave old soldier (the duke was in his 72nd year), that he had made up his mind to destroy his city, to occupy his hereditary states, and displace his family for ever; and he indulged in the mean spite of styling the sove-

reign duke "General Brunswick." The duke retired into Denmark with the intention of embarking for England; but his wounds were inflamed by travelling and vexation of spirit, and he died at Altona before a ship could be got ready for him. His son and successor, considering him as foully murdered, vowed eternal revenge against the French, and kept that vow until he fell in the field at Waterloo.

On the 18th of October Marshal Davoust, with nothing to oppose him in Saxony, took quiet possession of the city of Leipsic, and published his emperor's ruthless ediet against British merchandise and all holders of English property.* The Elector of Saxony, who had so reluctantly joined Prussia, immediately made overtures to Bonaparte for a separate peace, and a beginning was soon made to that close un-German alliance which gave the elector a kingly crown, with a vast accession of territory, chiefly torn from the Prussian monarchy, and which bound Saxony to Bonaparte for seven long eventful years. As Bonaparte traversed the field of Rosbach, where the Prussians under Frederick the Great had annihilated a French army, he ordered his soldiers to knock down a small column which commemorated that event. It was on the 25th of October that the main body of the French entered Berlin, and that the new conqueror took possession of the palace of the great Frederick. He named Clarke Duke de Feltri, one of the most pitiless and most rapacious of all his generals, military governor of the capital and neighbouring provinces; he took into his pay the editor of the 'Berlin Gazette,' who spoke of the Emperor King Napoleon as the proper successor to Frederick the Great; his spies and police indicated to him all such families among the nobility and gentry as were his determined enemies, and these families he proscribed. All private letters were intercepted and opened. In one of these letters the Prince of Hatzfeld, who had been among the heads of the patriotic party, communicated to the king, his friend and master, some information respecting the strength and position of the French army. Upon this discovery, Bonaparte ordered Davoust to form a military commission, in order to judge the prince, "as convicted of treachery and espionage," and to see sentence "pronounced and executed before six o'clock in the evening." The Prince of Hatzfeld had been acquainted with Duroc, during that general's several embassies to Berlin, and Duroc, Rapp,

* This edict ought to have given the irresolute and unpatriotic Saxons clearly to understand the blessings they were to expect from French domination. It appears to have been published on the very day that Davoust entered Leipsic. Seven years after this there was a memorable anniversary, for it was on the 18th of October, 1813, that the Saxon army turned against him in the field, and that Bonaparte lost the great battle of Leipsic.

The edict, after stating that the city of Leipsic was known throughout Europe as the principal depôt of English merchandise, and that in consequence Leipsic was a most dangerous enemy to France, ordered, in the name of the emperor and king—1. That within four-and-twenty hours every banker, merchant, or manufacturer having in his possession any funds, the produce of English manufactures, whether they belonged to a British subject, or the foreign consignee, should declare their amount in a register appointed for that purpose.—2. That, as soon as these returns should be received, domiciliary visits should be made to all, whether they had declared or not, in order to compare the register with the stock in hand, to ascertain its exactness, and punish by military execution any attempt at fraud or concealment.

BERLIN

and one or two others, implored the conqueror not to commit this useless and dangerous crime. The often repeated story of the princess on her knees before the Emperor of the French, and of his throwing the intercepted letter into the fire, thus destroying what he called the only evidence of the guilt of the prince, her husband, appears to be utterly fabulous, and to have been invented for the sake of dramatic effect. The letter was not destroyed, or, if it was destroyed, a copy of it was taken first, for a copy of that letter exists, and, if it is proof of anything, it proves that the prince had done nothing but his duty, and that to put him to death for what he had done would have been a crime of as deep a dye as the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, or the cold-blooded atrocious assassination of Palm, the bookseller.* With this last foul crime Germany and all Europe were beginning to ring. Palm had been murdered on the 26th of August. It might have proved dangerous to accumulate guilt of this kind in Germany; and it was Bonaparte's present object to dupe the divided rulers of that country, to conciliate the populations, and to induce them to follow his banner or to join the confederation of the Rhine. The Prince of Hatzfeld, who was actually seized by Davoust, escaped summary trial and execution, through these interested calculations and the strong representations of Duroc and Rapp. But, if the other story were true, it would not entitle Bonaparte to the praises which have been lavished upon him by some inconsiderate writers. We do not call that man merciful who does not commit murder because he has the power to do it, and a strong temptation to the deed in his own bosom. For there to have been mercy and magnanimity on one side, there ought to have been guilt on the other, and the guilt ought to have been of such a nature as would justify the terrible application of military law.

Still keeping uppermost in his mind his war against English commerce, Bonaparte dispatched Marshal Mortier to occupy the free trading city of Hamburg, and seize all British goods and property there. Berlin became a sort of lay Vatican, whence the Emperor of the French hurled his thunderbolts at our broad-cloth and calicos. The well known Berlin Decree was issued on the 21st of November. It was simple and concise enough:—The British islands were to be considered as in a state of blockade by all the continent. All correspondence or trade with England was forbidden under the severest penalties. All articles of English manufacture or produce of the British colonies were declared to be contraband. Property of every kind belonging to British subjects, wherever found, was declared lawful prize. All letters to and from England were to be detained and opened at the post-offices. The last of these ordinances was scarcely worthy of attention, for all sorts of letters had long been detained and opened everywhere. But Germany and a great part of the continent were alarmed at the certain prospect of these severe penalties against trade being enforced everywhere by French troops.

Before quitting Berlin, Bonaparte visited the tomb of Frederick the Great at Potsdam. Those who wish to read the picturesque and sentimental accounts of this visit may find them in the Bonapartist memoir-writers: the visit ended by his seizing the scarf and sword of the great soldier, which were laid like sacred relics upon his tomb, but which were now packed off for Paris, to wait the day when Blücher should recover them, force the French to regorge their spoil, and threaten, not only the column of victory and the bridge of Jena, but one half of the city of Paris with destruction.

In the meanwhile, the ruin of the Prussian army

* This is one of the darkest stories in the life of Bonaparte. John Philip Palm was a bookseller, residing at Nuremberg, formerly an imperial city, and now under the *immediate* protection of Prussia. In the month of August of the present year (1806), Palm was seized in Nuremberg, by French gendarmes, was torn from his wife and children, was *hurried* away to Braunau, tried by a military commission or court-martial, composed of seven French colonels, for an alleged libel on the French emperor, condemned to death, and forthwith executed on the 26th day of August. The poor bookseller's sole offence consisted in having vended a pamphlet containing some severe but just remarks on the enthroned Corsican and his policy. If he had been a French subject, a trial by such a court, and such a punishment, would have been monstrous: but, as he was no subject of France, Bonaparte had not the shadow of a right to seize and try him. Nearly every possible illegality and iniquity was concentrated in the deed. In Braunau, where the bookseller was tried and shot, the laws that obtained were the laws of Austria, for the town was part of the hereditary states of the Emperor Francis, and, by the treaty of Presburg, Bonaparte had solemnly pledged himself to restore it. He had not restored it; he had kept in it a strong French garrison; but he pretended that this was only a temporary occupation rendered necessary by the proceedings of the Russians in a very different part of the world, and over which the court of Vienna could exercise no control. With the usual daring contempt for facts and evidence, some of Bonaparte's apologists have attempted to exculpate him from this foul murder, and to throw the guilt of it upon some of his over-zealous officers. This is the unvarying practice of the apologists; but it will not do. The seizure and murder of the poor German bookseller proceeded from Bonaparte's deadly spite against all strictures on his character and government, and from his desire to strike terror—*faire peur*,—and thus silence the continental press wherever he could reach it, or wherever men trembled at his name, not knowing how far his power might reach, or how soon his sword might glitter over their own heads. The military tribunal which sentenced Palm had been appointed by the direct order of Bonaparte; and it was in conformity with that express order that Palm was pitilessly executed three hours after receiving sentence. Though the only one executed, Palm was not the only German bookseller that was seized, and tried and condemned, by that unlawful and atrocious tribunal at Braunau. The seven colonels of regiments, who had been named by Marshal Berthier, *now Alexandre, Prince of Neufchatel*, condemned five other booksellers and publishers; and the monstrous judgments passed upon these men were commuted into galley slavery, or a hard imprisonment in chains in different fortresses.

Bonaparte himself did not at the time affect to deny that these iniquities proceeded from his orders. Immediately after the execution of Palm, there appeared in a paper published at Munich, the capital of his vassal and slave the King of Bavaria, an article, stating that, by order of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, there had been established, on the 25th of August, at Braunau, "a French military commission, to judge the authors and distributors of seditious libels, which tend to mislead the minds of the inhabitants of the south of Germany, to excite them to insurrection against the French troops, and principally to provoke those troops themselves to disobedience and a forgetfulness of their duty towards their *legitimate* sovereign;"—that several individuals had been arrested, convicted, and condemned to death;—that, although six individuals had been condemned to death, conformably with the general laws of war, and the military code of the French empire, one only had been executed; and this was the bookseller Palm of Nuremberg, "who for a long time past was known to have distributed writings which had for their object to raise the people against their sovereigns and against *the French*." It is said that the capital offence of the German booksellers was their printing and distributing a spirited pamphlet written by the celebrated Gentz, whose pen eventually did more evil to Bonaparte than many armies had done him. To impress the desired terror Bonaparte ordered 60,000 copies of the sentence of his military tribunal at Braunau to be printed and circulated all over the continent. Some patriots at Berlin subscribed for the publication and distribution of 60,000 copies of a touching letter which Palm wrote to his wife and children just before his execution. Subscriptions were raised for his family in England, in Russia, and in many parts of Germany. In 1813, when the German people rose against the legions of the conqueror, some of their regiments carried on their banners the bloody figure of poor Palm.

HAMBURG.

had been nearly completed. Unable to subsist his 50,000 men at Magdeburg, the Prince of Hohenlohe retreated to the river Oder. He intended to throw himself into the strong fortress of Spandau; but, before he could reach that place, the governor had surrendered on the first summons. These Prussian governors of fortresses surrendered nearly everywhere without firing a shot. The Prince of Hohenlohe now endeavoured to reach the fortress of Stettin; but he was met by Murat in a narrow defile, was beaten, and compelled to choose a new route, where Marshal Lannes hung upon his flank, while Murat pressed upon his rear. After some smart fighting, Hohenlohe was completely surrounded near Prenzlow by Murat and Lannes, and, being without provision, forage, or ammunition, he surrendered with nearly 20,000 men. Blücher, who commanded Hohenlohe's rear-guard, consisting only of 10,000 men, was at some short distance when this fresh disaster occurred. Blücher was a soldier of the right stamp: instead of capitulating, he made a gallant dash and effected his escape. Keeping his little corps unbroken, and subsisting them as best he could, he traversed the country for some time, sustaining several attacks from far superior forces, and severely chastising, in more than one instance, the overweening presumption of the French. At last, when hemmed in at once by Soult, Murat, Lannes, and Bernadotte, he threw himself into the town of Lubeck, which had no other defences than an old wall and a wet ditch. To repeated summonses made to him he replied, that he had not the habit of capitulating, and would never surrender. On the morning of the 6th of November, the corps of Bernadotte, Soult, and Murat forced their way into the town by different gates, and then followed one of the most memorable and most bloody of street-fights. Blücher charged along the streets at the head of his cavalry; he defended street after street, church after church, house after house; he inflicted a terrible loss on his assailants; he prolonged the combat till the dusk of the evening, and then, with 5000 men, he cut his way out of the town, and retreated to the Danish frontier, which was close at hand. The rest of his forces perished in that terrible street-fighting, or were wounded and made prisoners, or butchered by the French, who continued, not only during that night, but during the two following days, to commit all those atrocities which but too commonly accompany the capture of a town by storm. The law of nations, or the known French inclinations of the cabinet of Copenhagen, prevented Blücher from violating the Danish territory, or attempting to escape by crossing the frontier. Pressed and squeezed upon that line by Murat's host, driven, as it were, into a *cul-de-sac*, and seeing there was no help or hope for him anywhere, he, at last, with tears in his eyes, and (we suspect) with curses on his lips, listened to terms, and on the 7th of November laid down his glorious arms. He was sent to Hamburg as a prisoner on parole, under the *surveillance* of Bourrienne, now Bonaparte's minister at that city. The veteran, however, did not lose heart or hope; he was cheerful under his misfortunes, looking confidently forward to better times, and to the day when the honour of Prussian arms should be redeemed. He often said to Bourrienne—"I place great reliance on the public spirit of Germany: on the

enthusiasm which prevails in our universities. The chances of war are constantly changing; and even defeats contribute to nourish sentiments of honour and nationality. You may depend upon it, that, when once a whole nation is determined to shake off a humiliating yoke, it will succeed. There is no doubt but we shall end by having a *landwehr* very different from any militia to which the subdued spirit of the French people will be able to give birth. England will always lend us the support of her navy and her subsidies, and we will renew alliances with Russia and Austria. I can pledge myself to the truth of a fact of which I have certain knowledge, namely, that none of the allied powers engaged in the present war entertain views of territorial aggrandizement. All they unanimously desire is to put an end to the system of aggrandizement which your emperor has adopted, and which he acts upon with such alarming rapidity. .... I rely confidently on the future, because I foresee that fortune will not always favour your emperor. It is impossible but that the time will come when all Europe, humbled by his exactions, and impatient of his depredations, will rise up against him. The more he enslaves nations, the more terrible will be the re-action when they break their chains."*

Except Blücher and Lestocq, who kept some regiments together, and fought bravely with them, the conduct of the Prussian generals, after the day of the double battle, seems to have been about equally void of spirit and of ability. The way in which some of the fortresses were surrendered exposes some of them to very dark suspicions. Spandau, Stettin, Kustrin, Hameln, Nieuburg, Magdeburg, all surrendered without attempting the least resistance. Some were badly provided, but some had abundance of stores and provisions: in one or two of them the number of troops that surrendered, on the first summons, was greater than the French force that summoned them, and when the conquerors entered these fortresses they found enormous quantities of artillery and ammunition, and immense magazines of all sorts. It is true that the grand army of the emperor was reinforced by a Dutch and Belgian army, brought up to the northern provinces of Prussia by Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland; but not even this arrival ought to have convinced the Prussian commanders that the power of their enemy was measureless and irresistible. Sir Sidney Smith was right—it was this craven, superstitious belief that Bonaparte's armies were not to be withstood, which laid Europe prostrate at the feet of the French. There was, however, in Prussia another source of weakness: that kingdom, as we have said before, was made up of shreds and patches, of provinces and territories gained by the sword, and gained at too recent a date to have afforded time for the growth of any amalgamation, or cohesion, or unity of national spirit. The common sufferings and humiliations they endured between the years 1806 and 1813 created a community of feeling and sympathy, and the one steady, uniform, strong, and, in many respects, wise system of government which has obtained since the battle of Waterloo, together with one national uniform system of education, may have produced a cohesion and a universal nationality in these dominions of the House of Brandenburg (with the exception of the provinces on the Rhine, which very lately were notoriously disaffected); but there was little or nothing of the sort at the disastrous period now under consideration. In what was old Prussia, or the original hereditary portion of the dominions of the House of Brandenburg, there was nationality and enthusiasm enough; but in Silesia, which had suffered so much during the Seven Years' War, and in the other territories which had been forcibly torn from the House of Austria, or from other neighbours, the mass of the population appears to have been indifferent, if not half-hostile. Had it been otherwise, Prussia would not have been annihilated, as she was, in one short campaign, and the work of the great Frederick's whole life would not thus have crumbled to pieces in a few weeks.

The King of Prussia had fled for refuge into the fortress of Königsberg, on the Pregel. Out of the wreck of the army General Lestocq was enabled to assemble there a few thousand men for the protection of his sovereign. But the main reliance of Frederick-William was on the Emperor Alexander, who was now in Poland and advancing towards the Vistula. In Poland, the Russian emperor was standing on unfriendly ground, for the seizure and partitions of that unhappy country had excited, if not the great body of the people, the majority of the nobility and upper classes, to direct hostility or mortal hatred against the three partitioning powers; the feeling, for evident reasons, being more vehement against Russia than against Prussia and Austria. Bonaparte, who had long had a great number of Poles in his army—fugitives from the army of independence of Kosciuszko, or men otherwise victims of the last unfortunate Polish war—had often entertained them with prospects and hopes of re-establishing Poland as an independent nation, and of restoring them, and their brothers in exile and poverty, to their native country, their confiscated property, and their lost places and honours. With these delusive visions he had completely dazzled many of these Poles, and had created in them an enthusiastic attachment to his person and his fortunes. A good many of them had perished in his service, in the act of aiding to forge for other nations the same chains and fetters which bound and galled their own country; but many remained in his army and about his person, and, as soon as the fortune of war brought them into the immediate neighbourhood of Poland, these men opened a correspondence with such of their friends and connexions as had remained quietly at home, endeavouring to excite them to take up arms against Russia, or to do what in them lay to forward the advance beyond the Vistula of the Emperor of the French, the

* Bourrienne.

to-be-liberator and restorer of Poland. Some of these Poles, or some other agents of the French, even penetrated in person into both Russian and Prussian Poland, spreading reports that the bravest and honestest of Polish patriots was coming to raise the standard of national independence—that Kosciuszko was actually at the head-quarters of the emperor and king. This was utterly false; but a part of it might have been true if the Polish patriot had been an unprincipled adventurer, or had been less awake to the juggling of Bonaparte. Kosciuszko, then living in an honourable and honoured poverty, at at old château, near Fontainebleau, had indeed been invited to the French head-quarters, and had been tempted with the most brilliant offers; for Napoleon well knew the confidence which his presence would inspire, and the love and admiration with which he was regarded by the best of his countrymen. But Kosciuszko, who had constantly declined entering his service, as Dombrowski and so many other distinguished Polish officers had done, saw clearly through Bonaparte's selfish designs, was proof to every temptation, and would not quit his retirement. As he was living in France an excuse was needful: he stated that the effects of his numerous wounds, and his general bad health, prevented him from sharing in the fatigues of war. But to his confidential friends the single-minded patriot said, that liberty was not to be expected from the French, who were enslaving all nations: that Bonaparte was a conqueror devoured by ambition, and a thorough despot, whose character and conduct precluded confidence; and that all the conqueror now wanted was to make the Poles serve his present projects. The French, he said, had often talked and written a great deal about the wrongs of Poland, but had never done any thing to redress or relieve them: they had been careless and indifferent at a moment when they might have prevented the last fatal partition; and when he himself was in the field in 1794, fighting against fearful odds, what had the French done but leave him to his fate? As he would not go to the Vistula, he was requested to put his name at Paris to a manifesto, and to an exciting proclamation to his countrymen. This he nobly refused to do, saying he would not be an instrument in deceiving the Poles with hopes in which he did not himself partake. In spite of this refusal Bonaparte ordered the exciting proclamation, giving assurances of liberty and independence to the Poles, to be inserted in the Moniteur, with the high sanction of Kosciuszko's name and signature attached to the spurious document. And now—on the 1st of November—as he was preparing to pour his Grand Army into Poland, he made General Dombrowski issue that proclamation, and other addresses, wherein the Polish nation was told that Kosciuszko was speedily coming to fight with them for the liberation of their country, under the shield and protection of the Emperor of the French. Few knew the secret, and very few of the Poles had the prudence and foresight of Kosciuszko, or a fragment of his capability for the inductive process which had convinced him of Bonaparte's intentions: a great part of the country was electrified by the addresses, and in a tumult of joy at the rapid advance of the victorious French columns. All Prussian Poland was in a blaze; the Russians, who had advanced into those provinces with the design of crossing the Vistula and succouring the King of Prussia, found a new enemy upon their hands, a furious insurrection gathering all round them; from nearly all parts of Poland enthusiastic volunteers, men who had fought under Kosciuszko, or who were inspired by the recollections of his exploits, rushed to join General Dombrowski, who as early as the 16th of November had formed at Posen four good Polish regiments.* This miscalculating, blind national enthusiasm was at its height when Bonaparte, after levying enormous contributions at Berlin, advanced and established his head-quarters at Posen. He received deputations and numerous addresses from the credulous patriots, all entreating him to restore their country to its ancient independence. In his replies the conqueror adopted that mysterious oracular style which was familiar to him, and which had often been made to pass for supernatural intelligence, or for the voice of destiny. Taking especial care to bind himself by no formal promise or engagement, he let drop affectionate interjections, and short pointed sentences, which his policy might afterwards interpret in one sense when the Polish patriots had interpreted them in another. One of his bulletins, dated from head-quarters at Posen the 1st of December, and published in the Moniteur on the 12th of that month, was calculated to cool somewhat the rash enthusiasm of the Poles, as it exposed their wishes to drive equally from their territories Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, without manifesting the intentions of the Emperor of the French, and without committing him in the slightest degree for the future.† This bulletin was explained by different men in very different ways: some looked upon it as a thing without any signification at all; others saw in it a diplomatic style employed to veil from the cabinets of Europe the real projects of Napoleon in Poland, and pretended that the Poles ought to place implicit reliance on the promises of the Emperor of the French, and patiently wait the *dénouement* of the present war; but the friends of

* Oginsky.

† This bulletin was a very fair specimen of Bonaparte's half oracular, half Ossianic style. It said, among other vapoury things, "The love of country, that national sentiment, has not only been preserved in the heart of the Polish people, but it has been strengthened by misfortune: their first passion, their strongest desire is to become again a nation. The richest amongst them quit their châteaux to come and demand with loud cries the re-establishment of the kingdom, and to offer their sons, their fortunes, their influence. This spectacle is truly touching. Already have they everywhere resumed their ancient costume, their ancient customs. Will the throne of Poland be re-established? Will this great nation recover its existence and its independence? From the bottom of the grave will it rise again to a new life? God alone, who holds in his hands the combinations of all events, is the arbiter of this grand political problem; *but certainly there never was an event more memorable and more worthy of interest.*"

Thus the passage in the bulletin concluded with an absolute *non sens*. We can have little respect for the intellect of Polish patriots who could allow themselves to be duped or mystified by such contemptible vagaries.

liberty asked whether they could hope for the restoration of the republic of Poland from a man who had destroyed the liberty of his own country; and the wisest of the Poles feared that Bonaparte had considered all this Polish enthusiasm merely as a means of obtaining men and subsidies for the execution of his own ambitious projects.* But wisdom and prudence were, and ever had been, rare qualities in Poland: if a few considerate men hung back until the conqueror and arbiter of Europe should declare himself more openly, the vast majority, naturally fond of war and adventure, rushed to the French standards, or began to act as irregular partisan corps against the Russians, whose communications were everywhere menaced. Beningsen, the Russian commander-in-chief, occupied a part of Prussian Poland, and took possession of the city of Warsaw; but on the approach of the French he found himself under the necessity of evacuating that capital. Bonaparte entered Warsaw in triumph, in the midst of the acclamations of the Poles; and there, on the 11th of December, while the columns of the Grand Army successively crossed the Vistula, he signed his separate and most advantageous peace with the Elector of Saxony. That elector, like the Electors of Bavaria and Wurtemburg, was transformed into a king, and his army, instead of fighting for the independence of Germany, was joined to the army of the oppressor and marched against the Russians.

The severity of the climate and the frightful state of the roads in Poland—always bad, but at this season of the year almost impassable—the sleet and the snow, the ice and the cutting winds, did not induce Bonaparte to forego his common practice of dispensing with winter quarters. He knew that the Russians, and the remnant of the Prussian forces in Poland, were much worse provided than his own army; that the French would find hospitality, lodging, and provisions where their enemies would find nothing but popular hatred and vengeance; and it behoved him to strike a blow while the spirit of his troops and the enthusiasm of the Poles were at their highest point, and to break and scatter the army in front of him before Beningsen should be joined by other divisions from Russia or from the banks of the Danube, or by other fragments of the King of Prussia's army, which were attempting to concentrate behind the Vistula.

The Russians retired due north in the direction of the Niemen, as if intending to cross that river and draw their enemy into the wide country beyond it. But this wise design, which was really entertained, was abandoned, and Beningsen halted at Pultusk, on the little river Narew, at the distance of only a few days' march from Warsaw. The position was well chosen, with the river on one side, a wood on the other, and an open plain in front. After some skirmishes and affairs of outposts, a bloody battle was fought on the 26th of December. The Russians were attacked in their good position by the divisions of Lannes and Davoust, and by the French guards, the *élite* of Bonaparte's army. They gallantly repelled several attacks made on their centre and on their left. The French then, advancing in condensed masses, endeavoured to turn the Russian right, commanded by Barclay de Tolly, and stationed in the wood. This attack was attended by partial success, for, yielding to an accumulated and superior weight of fire, Barclay de Tolly fell back on his reserves, and left the French to take possession of the wood and of a few of his guns. But Barclay de Tolly's retreat was effected with admirable order, and Beningsen had the good generalship to derive advantage from it, and from the impetuosity of the French: he ordered Barclay to continue his retreat; and by thus throwing back his right wing he enticed the French to pursue their success, until the Russian cavalry, which had covered the manœuvre, suddenly withdrawing, left unmasked 120 guns which began to play on the French advancing columns with tremendous effect. When the artillery had strewed the ground with killed and wounded, the Russian infantry advanced at a steady pace, pushed the enemy before them at the point of the bayonet, and recovered the wood and all the ground which Barclay de Tolly had lost. At this season of the year, and in this northern clime, the days were very short: the approach of night put an end to one of the most terrible combats in which the French had ever found themselves engaged, and in which they are said to have lost nearly 8000 men in killed and wounded. Among the wounded were Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, and five other French generals. The Russian loss was estimated at 5000. In the darkness of night the French began their retreat to the Vistula; and they moved off so rapidly that on the next morning the Cossacks could not discover a rear-guard anywhere in the neighbourhood. Bonaparte went into Warsaw with his guards, leaving the rest of his army on the right bank of the river, in Praga, which is but a suburb of Warsaw, and in the villages round about. He had announced by bulletins that the war would be at an end before New-Year's-Day; but now he found himself condemned to inactivity, and even to winter quarters. He waited the arrival of reinforcements, and the organization of his Polish recruits. The Russian army was again in want of almost everything except guns, muskets, bayonets, ammunition, Cossack spears, courage, loyalty, and resolution: it was as poor and as unprovided as it had been in Moravia the winter before, and the treasury of the czar was in no condition to supply the deficiencies. The trade, the produce, the specie of Poland, were almost entirely in the hands of the swarming Jews settled in the country, who had no nationality, who cared not a rush for Polish independence, and who now, as on all former occasions, furnished supplies and sold their services to the highest bidder. Even more than in Germany the services which the Jews could

* Ogimsky.

render were important and necessary, for, besides having so extensive a command over the resources of the country, they had the means of obtaining the most accurate information of everything that passed in it and beyond its frontiers. The resolute way in which the young czar had torn to pieces d'Oubril's treaty, and had adhered to the coalition, the firm stand which his armies had made, and were actually making, demanded whatsoever succour and assistance England, his ally, and the real head of the coalition, could afford to give; the prolongation of this war, which had already drawn Bonaparte so far from France, must cost the French enormous sacrifices, and might be expected to terminate in some terrible catastrophe, and in the destruction of the conqueror, if not in the country between the Vistula and the Niemen, in the vast plains of New Russia beyond the Niemen. The lengthened struggle would at least have impeded that consolidation of the French system in Germany, which left such enormous resources in the hands of the Emperor of the French. Yet, when Alexander applied to the British government for a supply of money, all that he got was a beggarly subsidy of 80,000*l*. To this untimely parsimony of "All the Talents" are mainly attributable the lamentable reverses of the Russians early in the following spring; to this niggardliness Europe may almost be said to owe seven years more of a destructive war, and England an increase of two or three hundreds of millions to her national debt. If Bonaparte had pressed forward into the heart of Russia, as there is every reason, and very nearly positive evidence, to prove that he would have done, the crisis of Moscow, and the events of the campaign of 1812, would have been anticipated by five years: if he had not gone forward, he would have been considered as foiled, humiliated, beaten; his first grand retreat would have destroyed his prestige, Austria would have flown again to arms, nearly the whole of Germany would have risen in his rear, and the French people would have fallen from him now as they did in 1813 and 1814. No one knew these truths so well as himself, and hence his frequent declarations to his confidential servants that his throne was built upon victories, that a continuous series of victories was necessary for its support; that he must still go onward, *en avant, en avant:* that one retrograde step, *un pas en arrière*, might ruin all.

Nearly four months before the battle of Pultusk, the brightest of "All the Talents" had been removed from office and from life. Soon after the rising of parliament Fox grew worse. His disease was dropsy, which would not yield to the repeated operation of tapping. He removed from town to the Duke of Devonshire's beautiful villa at Chiswick, intending to make Chiswick House a resting-place, from which, if he gained strength enough, he might proceed to his own pleasant house at St. Ann's Hill, a spot he dearly loved. He already thought of a private life, and of resigning his office, which he had held little more than half a year. His friends entertained hopes that by abstaining from business he might be restored sufficiently to health to enjoy a quiet life for some years. The foreign dispatches now ceased to be laid before him. The last political news he received officially was the refusal of the Emperor Alexander to ratify the treaty concluded at Paris by d'Oubril. The very incompetent narrator of his last days gives few or no dates, but it appears that Fox's official responsibility really ceased before parliament rose, and that he is not answerable for any thing the cabinet did after the month of July. His biographer says, that while he was lying at Chiswick a new ministry was raising its head in the metropolis, of which Grenville and Grey were the leaders; that he does not know that Fox's opinion was ever taken upon the formation of that ministry and its future measures, but that he is fully inclined to think it was not; that as his disorder became more confirmed, and little or no hope existed of his recovery, the cabinet ceased to look to him for advice; and before a second inroad of his disorder they seemed to hold his retreat to Chiswick as a virtual resignation of office. He adds that Lord Grenville never went to Chiswick, and Lord Howick but rarely. The dying orator and statesman was not, however, deserted; his nephew Lord Holland, his niece Miss Fox, his old and constant friend General Fitzpatrick, hardly ever left him; the Duke of Devonshire was a frequent visitor, and the Prince of Wales made frequent calls, and is said to have shed more than once affectionate tears by his bed-side. Other friends, of less name, but not less dear to him, waited upon him to the last; but of the various-coloured party-men who composed the present cabinet, or of their dependents, but very few appear ever to have performed the very short journey from London to Chiswick. "Doubtless," says his biographer, "his counsels might have led to their loss of office; but, had it been so, they would have lost their situations with infinitely greater credit with the public, and satisfaction to themselves." [We presume he means with greater credit and satisfaction than attended their expulsion from office in less than seven months after Fox's decease.] A few minutes before he died he fixed his eyes on Mrs. Fox and said, "I die happy." He expired at Chiswick House, on the afternoon of the 13th of September, as the Tower guns were firing for the capture of Buenos Ayres. He was in the 58th year of his age, or eleven years older than Pitt. "How speedily," exclaims Wilberforce, "has he followed his great rival!" His death was considered as equivalent to the death of his party. "I look upon what has been called Mr. Fox's party," says Horner, "as extinguished entirely with him; his name alone kept the fragments together, after the party had been long ago broken to pieces." This fact, however, did not immediately appear; the cabinet which Fox had aided in forming retained possession of office, his nephew and pupil Lord Holland was brought into it as lord privy seal, and Fox was succeeded in the

foreign department by his friend Lord Howick, who was more identified with the Foxite policy than almost any other public man. The other ministerial changes were simply these:—Mr. T. Grenville became first lord of the admiralty, in lieu of Lord Howick; Tierney, president of the board of control, in lieu of Grenville; and Sidmouth, who had held the privy seal, now given to Lord Holland, became president of the council, in lieu of Earl Fitzwilliam, who resigned. Thus Lord Holland was the only new member brought into the cabinet. On the first construction of "All the Talents" ministry Lord Minto had been made president of the board of control, but he had vacated that place for the governor-generalship of India, upon which he had probably fixed his heart as early as the time of Hastings's impeachment, and his own grand oratorical display in the charges against Sir Elijah Impey. Apparently to soothe the disappointment of Philip Francis, he was invested with the Order of the Bath.

As parliament was not sitting there were no angry invidious debates on the merits of Fox, the sort of funeral to which he was entitled, or the wording of his epitaph. The ministry took it upon themselves to give him a public funeral in Westminister Abbey. The body was removed from Chiswick House to a house belonging to the crown, in Stable Yard, Westminster. Here it remained three weeks until all due preparations had been made for the funeral under the direction of Sheridan, who was neither the friend that most mourned his decease, nor the man best fitted to manage such solemn ceremonies. On the 10th of October, the twenty-sixth anniversary of his first election for the city of Westminster, all that remained of Fox was carried to the Abbey in great state, and deposited in a tomb immediately adjoining the monument of the Earl of Chatham, and within eighteen inches of the grave of Pitt.

The mixed cabinet had continued to complain of the coldness or want of confidence of the court. Hoping to gain greater strength in the House of Commons by a new general election, they proceeded to the sudden and unexpected measure of a dissolution of parliament, which had sat but four sessions. This measure gave great dissatisfaction to Wilberforce and to many others—to all, in short, who were taken by surprise or who regretted the expenses of fresh elections—and, although some few seats were gained by them, it is thought that the dissolution and re-election did "All the Talents" rather more harm than good.

The new parliament assembled on the 19th of December, and was opened not by the king in person, but by commission. The royal speech dwelt principally upon the calamitous war in Prussia, and upon the conduct of our government in respect to that power. It said that Prussia had found herself at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting the unremitting system of aggrandizement and conquest; that neither this determination nor the succeeding measures had been previously concerted with his majesty, nor had even any disposition been shown to offer to our government any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions of Prussia which had placed her and England in a state of mutual hostility; but that nevertheless his majesty had not hesitated to adopt immediately such measures as were best calculated to unite their councils and interests against the common enemy. "But," continued the speech, "the rapid course of the calamities which ensued opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose." Great praises were lavished on the good faith of his majesty's allies, the King of Sweden and the Emperor of Russia; and it was declared that our alliance with Russia afforded the only remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe. This confession ought to have been followed up by the voting of a proper subsidy; a liberal supply of money might yet have reached Poland in time to turn the scale in favour of the Russians; but nothing of the sort was proposed, and when the Emperor Alexander made fresh applications he was met with an absolute negative. In the debates on the address, Lord Hawkesbury in the Lords, and Mr. Canning in the Commons, took a very active part, and found abundant opportunities for censuring the conduct of the cabinet ever since it had been in office. His lordship complained bitterly of the late and unexpected dissolution of parliament, saying that, since the passing of the Septennial Act, in 1715, there had been no instance of a parliament being dissolved under six sessions, excepting the precedent of 1784, which was unavoidable. He thought that the failure of Lord Lauderdale's negotiations for a peace might have something to do with the late dissolution; but that the fair mode would have been not to dissolve parliament, but to have submitted to the existing parliament the whole grounds of the negotiations at Paris. Why had the dissolution been so sudden and so carefully concealed? Mr. Windham, the last person in the world his lordship could suspect of falsehood or deceit, had told the electors of the county of Norfolk in an address, that, as far as he knew, there was no intention of dissolving parliament. A proclamation had even appeared fixing a day for the meeting of the old parliament for the dispatch of business; and yet, notwithstanding these repeated assurances, a dissolution came on like a thunder-cloud, to the surprise and astonishment of the whole kingdom. He would not accuse ministers of any intention to deceive the country, but the dissolution had certainly had the effect of surprising it. Lord Hawkesbury admitted that the terrible disasters of Prussia had arisen entirely from the narrow selfish policy within which she had encircled herself. If his Prussian majesty, or those who advised him, had consulted history, they would have seen that those who lend their aid to get others devoured are at last devoured themselves. He approved of the spirited proceedings which the cabinet had adopted towards Prussia in consequence of her aggression in Hanover and her

hostility to the commerce of this country. He also approved of the manner in which we had suspended our particular quarrel when Prussia was on the point of being involved in a contest with France. But what he could not approve of nor account for was the delay which took place in communicating with the court of Berlin. It was not until the month of October, when hostilities were on the eve of commencing, that ministers had endeavoured to open a communication with Prussia. Lord Morpeth had then been prevented from fulfilling his important mission, and he had returned home without doing anything. Three weeks after Lord Morpeth's return ministers had sent out a military mission with Lord Hutchinson at the head of it; but it was doubtful whether this expensive military mission would be able to discover the Prussian head quarters, or even a port to land in. Mr. Canning in the other House dwelt upon these matters at greater length, and with much more eloquence. The opening speech had affirmed that the resources of the country remained unimpaired. A new parliament, said Canning, has been suddenly assembled, and we are now about to review the transactions of an administration composed of men who lay claim to the reputation of great talents, and who entered upon office not ten months ago with this particular and distinct declaration, that all those who preceded them in office had been in the wrong; that they had "clubbed the battalion;" that everything required correction and amendment; that nothing was in its place; that our resources were exhausted, our credit destroyed, our faith violated; that we were unable to maintain our own rank among the nations of Europe, much less to assist others in regaining their rank. Yet what had followed? At the end of ten months these very gentlemen are saying that the resources of the country *remain* unimpaired—not that they have been retrieved, not that they are re-established, but that they *remain* unimpaired; that is to say that they have never been impaired. It was certainly very satisfactory that there should be even this stale tribute paid to those who had been formerly loaded with so much censure; but surely it would be too much to expect that any man who had followed the footsteps of Pitt, or who looked upon the name of that minister as connected with the safety and glory of England, could pass this part of his majesty's speech unnoticed. Canning blamed the ministry for a rapid hostility and a slow reconciliation with Prussia, who, unable to resist the power of France, had encroached upon us in Hanover. He said truly that Bonaparte had made a pretended transfer to Prussia of the hereditary dominions of our king solely to create a war between the two countries, or an animosity which would prevent or delay any reconciliation or coalition between England and Prussia. It would have been wise to have overlooked the provocation, or to have leaped over the stumbling-block which the French had thrown in our way; and certainly, when Prussia was assailed, more prompt and more energetic measures ought to have been adopted by ministers, in order to succour her and sustain her in her unequal conflict. In the opening speech there had been at least one unpardonable omission —not a word had been said about the battle of Maida. Canning said that all notice of the war had seemed to have been studiously passed over in that speech, although some debts of gratitude surely remained to be paid. To the records of parliament the future historian would look for his materials. It was cruel to deprive the hero of the honourable reward of his military achievements; it was disgraceful that government should dislike to sprinkle over the gloom of despondence with some of those achievements. It was true, they might say, that those achievements were not of their planning. But this was not a period when party feelings should withhold a glorious incitement to great actions. The gallant and able Sir John Stuart had obtained a brilliant victory on the plains of Maida, over a French army superior in numbers. Why had there been no allusion made to it? Lord Howick replied that it was the intention of Mr. Windham to move very shortly for a vote of thanks to Sir John Stuart and the officers who had distinguished themselves in that action; but this intention ought not to have excluded all allusion to the subject in the speech from the throne. Unfortunately for his case, Canning coupled with the battle of Maida the expedition under Sir Home Popham and General Beresford against the Spanish settlement of Buenos Ayres. Upon this point Lord Howick was enabled to meet him with a startling exhibition of Popham's rashness and disobedience of orders. His lordship declared that he was one of those who had advised the immediate recall of that expedition; but so also had he been one of the cabinet which had yielded to the popular enthusiasm and folly, and had sent out reinforcements to South America as soon as it was known that the countermanded expedition had succeeded in capturing Buenos Ayres. For the appointment of General Whitelocke, for the mad expeditions, and for the disgraceful reverses in South America in 1807, Howick and his colleagues were also responsible; for the appointment and the expeditions were made under their administration. Canning proposed to substitute an entirely new address for the address before the House; but he did not press the matter to a division; and the original addresses were passed in both Houses without any division.

On the 22nd of December, Lord Grenville presented to the House of Lords the papers relating to the late negotiations with Bonaparte. On the same day the thanks of both Houses were voted to Major-General Sir John Stuart, to Brigadier-General Lowry Cole, to Brigadier-General W. D. Ackland, to the officers under their command, and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers for their bravery and good conduct. If the French made too much of their victories, we certainly made too little of ours. "All the

Talents" continued to act as though they were ashamed of the glory of our arms; nor did the orators in opposition to them exert any extra spirit, or display any superior eloquence on this occasion. Except Windham, who spoke out like an Englishman, all the cabinet seem to have been as cool as if they had been discussing a beer-bill or a pig-iron duty. In praising the heroes of Maida, Windham said "he praised them with his whole heart: he praised them also with his understanding." Maida, he said, might be put upon a level with Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt. It had dissolved a spell: it had been obtained in the face of Europe: it had proved to the world, in a manner not to be concealed or disguised, that French troops are inferior to British troops. The events of the late war on the continent had contributed to foster the dangerous belief that the French were invincible; and they had conquered chiefly because it was thought by the armies opposed to them that they must conquer. If England did nothing but destroy this spell, the battle of Maida was worth ten times the exertion and the sacrifices it had cost us. Nothing could be more important to the nation than to keep up a high character for military spirit. Without that spirit no nation would long preserve its character and independence. The glory which had been acquired by the battle of Maida was of infinitely greater importance than any immediate benefit which could possibly result from it or from any other action. This it was that would carry the effect of the brilliant exploit beyond the single instance, by restoring the military renown of this country. He who gave real glory to his country gave that which was more valuable to it than any acquisition of territory whatever. Glory was not to be taken away by time or accident. Ships, territories, colonies, might be taken from a country, but the mode of acquiring them could never be forgotten. The acquisitions that were the consequence of the glorious days of Crecy and Poictiers had long since passed into other hands; but the glory still remained adhering to the British name, and was immortal. It was that fine extract, that pure essence, which endured to all ages; whilst the residuum, the grosser parts, passed away, and were lost in the course of time! A few such notes on the war-trumpet were wanted to rouse the House and thrill the country. Lord Castlereagh, who in a short time became entitled to a large portion of the merit of introducing a bolder martial policy and a more extensive system of operations, censured ministers for the general torpor which pervaded nearly every branch of the army since their accession to office, and for sending only three regiments of the line up the Mediterranean to reinforce Sir John Stuart—three regiments which had arrived just in time to see our gallant troops abandoning the brave and loyal Calabrians, to whom our brave commander had promised every assistance.

A. D. 1807. On the 2nd of January, when parliament re-assembled after the Christmas recess, Lord Grenville in the Upper House opened the consideration of the late negotiation with France. His lordship was of opinion that the only proper basis of a peace between the two countries was that of actual possession, or the *uti possidetis* principle; but that, though this was the proper basis, it did not follow that negotiation must necessarily exclude the discussion of equivalents, to be given for certain cessions to be agreed on, which was the more necessary when it involved the interests of our allies. These allies he divided into two classes; those to whom we were bound by actual treaty, and those who had a claim upon us through circumstances which had occurred during the war. Of the former class of our allies were Sweden and Portugal; of the latter, Naples and Hanover. With respect to the two first, nothing more was required than to guarantee them their state of actual possession, for they had not yet been invaded by the French. But the King of Naples stood in a very different situation. He had been deprived of all his dominions on the continent; and his lordship had no hesitation in saying, that he would have consented to England's making great sacrifices in order to procure the restoration of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand IV. But no amount of sacrifice that England could possibly make would have been considered by Bonaparte as an equivalent for the restoration of that kingdom. Sicily still remained in possession of the unfortunate Bourbon king, or rather in possession of a brave British army. That army had entered the island with the consent of Ferdinand, who had received them in the full confidence that they would defend it gallantly, and never give it up to the enemy. Yet France had required that we should give up Sicily to Joseph Bonaparte, to be re-annexed to the kingdom of Naples, on the throne of which he was now seated. But would it not have been an indelible disgrace to this country to have given up Sicily for any equivalent or consideration whatsoever? It was not ours to give: it was not for us to barter it away for any equivalent without the consent of the sovereign. As to Hanover, it was sacrificed to injustice on the part of France, for the express purpose of injuring this country. Would it not therefore be disgraceful not to insist on the restoration of Hanover to its sovereign, from whom it had been taken solely on account of its connexion with this country? Ministers had therefore insisted upon the restoration of Hanover as an indispensable preliminary. The principle on which they had acted during the whole of Lord Yarmouth's and Lord Lauderdale's negotiations was that of good faith to our allies: the principle on which the French government had acted was to effect a separation between us and our allies: this clearly appeared in the negotiation from first to last. His lordship mentioned the Confederation of the Rhine, the formation of which was made public while we were negotiating, as cause sufficient to preclude all hope of peace. These, in every particular, were the sentiments of Fox, so that a just opinion may be formed of the notion that if he had but lived the war would have been ended. Grenville concluded

by moving an address to the king to express their lordships' approbation of the attempts his majesty had made to restore the blessings of peace, and their determination to support him in such measures as might yet be found necessary, either for the restoration of peace, or the vigorous prosecution of the war. A motion to the same effect was made in the Commons by Lord Howick, who had presented copies of the papers relative to the late diplomacy. In both Houses the motion was carried unanimously and cordially; but in each there were long debates, turning chiefly upon the comparative merits or demerits of the foreign policy of the late and present ministries. In the Upper House, Lord Eldon said, that he could not lament the failure of a pacific adjustment with an enemy whose aggressions in a time of peace were quite as dangerous and extreme as his operations in war; but that he must regret that England had humiliated herself, and that her ambassador Lord Lauderdale had put up with the most base and injurious calumnies. In the Commons Mr. Montagu said that, though Fox had at last exposed the sophistry of Talleyrand in a clear and manly manner, he had at first given that wily politician an advantage over him by his glancings and oglings at peace. He did not like that Fox, in addressing Talleyrand, should have subscribed himself "with perfect attachment;" he did not like Fox's appointing such men as Lord Yarmouth and Lord Lauderdale to conduct the most difficult and most important of negotiations. Lord Yarmouth was wholly unaccustomed to diplomacy, was a prisoner in France, and had then hopes of freedom only through the medium of peace. As for the other noble lord, from his once close intimacy with the Girondists, who had put their king to death, and from the patience with which he had listened within the walls of the National Assembly to the projects for the destruction of England, he could not think him a fit person to be charged with the interests and honour of his country! Whitbread alone, in the teeth of all evidence to the contrary, boldly and broadly maintained that Bonaparte and his ministers were sincere in their wishes for peace; that an opportunity had been lost of making peace on *honourable* and *advantageous* terms; that the negotiations had been broken off prematurely and unnecessarily; and that, if Fox had not fallen ill and died, they would have been brought to the happy conclusion of an enduring peace!

As by the admission of all parties war must now continue, efforts were necessary (and efforts far greater than any that were made in this session of parliament, or by this ministry), to give an increase of power and a proper direction to our military forces. Some additional extra grants were voted to the ordnance department; but this money appears to have been nearly all spent in martello towers and other absurd home fortifications. Windham, who continued secretary-at-war, in presenting the army estimates, congratulated the country on a slight increase of force, with a slight decrease of expense. He stated the number of men under arms (including 21,473 foreigners in British pay, 25,000 men employed in India, 79,158 in the West Indian plantations, &c. &c., and 94,200 embodied militia and fencibles, but excluding the volunteer corps), at the grand total of 334,000. He affirmed that the system of training was going on steadily in all parts of the country; and that, though 11,480 volunteers had retired, in discontent at the changes made last year, there still remained 363,400! Lord Castlereagh, in answering Windham, reduced the first of these high numbers from 334,000 to an effective, actual force of 260,500, and he also made a considerable reduction in the number of volunteers actually armed and regimented. But after every fair deduction there remained an enormous force, out of which 40,000 or 50,000 men might have been spared for any great enterprise on the Continent. Since the battle of Trafalgar there was no fear of invasion; a large portion of our militia was by this time all but equal to troops of the line; and, not to rank our volunteer corps higher than the French national guards, they were quite equal to put down any disorders at home, and to repel any petty landing, if such a thing should be attempted, which was altogether improbable. If 30,000 or 40,000 native British troops had been carried to the mouth of the Vistula and landed at Dantzic in the preceding autumn, the French would not have captured that most important place, nor would the Russians have been nearly defeated at Eylau, as they were a few days after this display of our forces was made in parliament. There was, too, at this moment a greater facility than there had been of raising first-rate recruits in England; for, although Lord Castlereagh and others attempted to prove the contrary, Windham's new regulations and the limited service were working very well. The improvement in the condition of the common soldier had made an army life more acceptable to the people; a greater number of recruits had been raised at a lower bounty than formerly, and there had been a great diminution of desertion.

The most liberal supplies were voted. The sum of 11,305,387*l.* was devoted to the regular army, including pensions, half-pay, the Military College, the military hospitals, &c. The sum of 4,203,327*l.* was devoted to the militia, fencible corps, volunteers, &c. The ordnance had 3,321,216*l.* At first the number of men to be employed for the sea service for the year 1807, including 29,000 marines, was fixed at 120,000 men; but to this number were almost immediately added 7600 sailors and 2400 more marines. The total of the money devoted to the navy for the year was 17,400,337*l.*

The commission of military inquiry which had been appointed under the administration of Pitt, and renewed under the present administration, had brought to light abuses of very great magnitude in the barrack department. It appeared that General Delancey, barrack-master-general, had been in the habit of drawing, through the medium of Mr.

Greenwood, the army agent, immense sums of the public money long before they were wanted; and that in a part only of his accounts (there had not been time for examining the whole) overcharges and misstatements had been detected to the amount of 90,000*l.* Thus much the commission of inquiry had reported in the preceding session. But they now reported that there was fraudulent league and collusion between General Delancey and Mr. Alexander Davison, banker, and colonel of a regiment of volunteers. Davison, who had been tried in 1804 for bribery at elections, and imprisoned for that offence,* soon after his coming out of prison had been made, by Pitt's administration, in whose behalf the bribery had been exercised, treasurer of the ordnance, in which capacity he had annually had the handling of from 3,000,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.* of the public money. The commissioners of inquiry stated that, in consequence of a bargain with Delancey, the barrack-master-general, Davison was to receive a commission of two and a half per cent. for supplying the articles of beds, sheets, blankets, towels, candles, beer, forage, &c.; but that, as to coals, he was to supply them as a merchant; that the said Davison injured the public in a twofold manner—first, by following the example of Delancey in drawing immense sums of money before they were expended by him for the public service (they said he had always in hand a million or more of the public money, of the interest of which he deprived the public); secondly, in the price of the articles he furnished. The report passed over the beds, sheets, blankets, and the other articles which had been furnished on commission, as the commissioners said they had not found any means of detecting the frauds practised in those articles; but it fastened upon the coals, with respect to which ample means of detection had been found. According to his bargain with Delancey, Davison was to produce certificates that his prices for coals were the fair wholesale prices, and these certificates were to be signed by persons of the most perfect respectability. But it appeared that Delancey had never made any inquiry as to the character of the men who signed Davison's certificates; and that one of Davison's chief certificate-signers, a Mr. George Richard Walker, had been a dealer in coals himself, had also been Davison's agent in supplying candles, had had a direct interest in certifying high prices, and had since then been convicted of forgery and executed. The report went on to state that, being under no check or control, the said Alexander Davison had carried on his tricks in the most daring manner; that in supplying coals he had made a gain of 30*l.* in every 100*l.* by the difference of price and measure alone; that he was bound to make the deliveries in the most favourable seasons, instead of which he had made almost the whole of them in winter, when coals were dearest, though he had always bought them at the seasons when coals were cheapest; and that, too, through the most shameful and culpable inattention, if not by the connivance, of General Delancey. By this profitable trade in coals, by contracts with government for other articles, and by his very profitable system of banking, this Davison had been enabled for some years past to live in a style of high splendour and magnificence. He was a buyer of estates, the purchaser of the most valuable pictures, the giver of the best dinners and the most gorgeous entertainments; he counted the Prince of Wales and other royal personages among his occasional guests; and many of the nobility were his frequent inmates. It would have been but an irritating process to compare the sumptuousness of this army contractor's table, and the splendour of his town mansion and villas, with the sordidness and nakedness of many of the poor soldiers' barracks! The country paid enough to furnish the soldiery with the very best food, and with nearly every comfort compatible with their condition; but these scoundrel contractors gorged upon the liberality of the nation. The same accursed practices obtained in the navy; and, though lessened, they were not destroyed by the measures which followed the mutinies of our fleets.

Lord Archibald Hamilton had intended to move that the attorney-general should be instructed to proceed by due course of law against Davison; but, learning that the business was in the hands of the treasury, he dropped his intention, saying, however, that it was not very creditable to the government to have suffered the matter to remain so long unnoticed. Lord Henry Petty said that the affair was properly put into the hands of the treasury; that Davison, after long delays, had declared his readiness to give such information as to his cash account as he could give; stating, at the same time, that his government account was so mixed with other accounts that it was impossible he could give a clear view of it. His lordship did not hold himself competent to say whether there was any evidence on which to found a criminal prosecution; but, if such evidence should be produced, the attorney and solicitor-generals would certainly be instructed by the lords of the treasury to institute proceedings upon it. The commissioners of inquiry had already, by direction of the treasury, peremptorily called upon Davison for his cash account, and measures had already been taken for the recovery of the sums due.

The lawyers were very soon let loose upon the prince of contractors; and in the course of the following year they hunted him down and into a prison. Judgment was not given in the Court of King's Bench until the month of April, 1809. The attorney-general then stated that Davison had paid into the exchequer 18,183*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.*, being the amount of the commission which he had received as agent for government upon the contracts. Justice Grose said that this was by no means a

* Alexander Davison, Esq., then described as "the opulent banker and contractor," John White Parsons, and Thomas Hopping, gentlemen, were sentenced, in the month of April, 1804, by the Court of King's Bench, for gross bribery and corruption at the late Lichester election, to twelve months' confinement in the Marshalsea prison.

sufficient expiation of his offence: he was not merely a debtor to the public in a pecuniary, but also in a moral sense: the precedent of his case would be hurtful to the public, unless marked by the censure of the court; and therefore the court, considering the sum which he had remitted to government, the imprisonment he had already suffered, and all the circumstances of the case, did order and adjudge that he should be further imprisoned in his majesty's gaol of Newgate for twenty-one calendar months.

In the course of the present session other frauds connected with the barrack department were discovered, and properly exposed; but still sufficient checks were not put to their recurrence. As in other departments, the capital fault lay in appointing to the superior offices men of rank and fashion, who, being above their duties, and ignorant of details, trusted to contractors and underlings, who robbed the country and disgraced their principals. There was most rarely, if ever, any connivance between the heads of the departments and the plunderers; but there was shameful negligence, and very often a total incompetence, in the chiefs.

On the 29th of January, Lord Henry Petty, as chancellor of the exchequer, submitted to the House an estimate of the supplies required for the year, and of the ways and means by which he proposed to meet an expenditure calculated at a grand total of 45,841,340*l.*; being 40,527,065*l.* for Great Britain, and 5,314,275*l.* for Ireland. He at the same time announced his new plan of finance, an account of which will be given in a subsequent chapter.

Wilberforce, as we have seen, had placed his main dependence upon Fox, but the death of that minister seems to have given additional zeal to Lord Grenville for the abolition of negro slavery. Shortly before the meeting of Parliament, Grenville wrote to Wilberforce, that his idea was to present to the House of Lords, on one of the first days of meeting, a Bill simply abolishing the Trade, and declaring the being engaged in it to be a misdemeanour punishable at law. His lordship asked Wilberforce whether the subject should be entered upon at the same time in the House of Commons? He rather thought *Yes*, but wished Wilberforce to decide. Lord Holland confidentially informed the leader of the abolitionists that in a proposed treaty with the United States an international condemnation of the slave trade was already contemplated. Mr. Brougham, who had been exceedingly zealous and active in the cause, and who had been, on the accession of "All the Talents" ministry, appointed envoy to the court of Lisbon, held out good hopes that Portugal, which with the United States was now the only power that could carry on the slave trade to any extent, might be induced to follow the example of her ally England. Sidmouth and Ellenborough, two members of the cabinet, continued in their anti-abolitionism: the dukes of Clarence and of *Sussex* declared openly against the bill, speaking, as it was understood, the sentiments of all the royal family. "The Princes," adds Wilberforce, "are canvassing against us, alas!" Grenville told him that he could not count on more than fifty-six peers, although he had taken great pains, had written letters, &c.*

As early as the 2nd of January Lord Grenville brought into the House of Lords his Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade. Lord Eldon, the ex-chancellor, who must have known by this time that his *ex* would soon be dropped, wished to know whether the bill was meant to extend to both the West Indies and the coast of Africa, or whether it was the African slave trade only that was to be abolished? Lord Grenville said distinctly that the bill extended to the African trade *only*. Eldon then remarked that, if their lordships consented to put an end to the trade on the coast of Africa, the application of the same principle would compel them to extend the abolition to the West Indian islands. The bill was read a first time and printed.

On the 12th of January, in moving that the 5th of February should be appointed for the second reading of the bill, Lord Grenville, in reply to some questions put by Lord Hawkesbury, spoke as if foreign powers would unite with us in our philanthropic design: he declared that during the late negotiations with France communications had taken place on this subject; and he added that communications respecting the slave trade had passed between the plenipotentiaries of this country and the United States of America, and that an agreement upon the subject actually formed one of the articles of the treaty which had now been signed by one of those plenipotentiaries.

Between the first and second reading counsel were heard at the bar of the House of Lords in behalf of the West Indian merchants, the planters of Jamaica and Trinidad, the merchants of Liverpool, the corporation of Liverpool, and the trustees of the docks of that port, who all foresaw nothing but ruin from the abolition of the African trade. On the appointed day for the second reading Lord Grenville made a memorable speech—repeating in a striking manner nearly all the arguments and appeals to the feelings which had ever been used on this long-debated question. He was warmly supported by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Selkirk, Lord King, the Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Northesk, the Bishop of Durham, Lord Holland, the Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Moira; and as warmly opposed by the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Morton, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lords Sidmouth, Eldon, Hawkesbury, and St. Vincent.† Yet it should really seem that the opposition of several of these peers was rather to the time and manner of carrying the abolition into effect than to

* Wilberforce, Diary and Life.

† Wilberforce's dottings in his Diary about this debate are not very complimentary or charitable to some of his opponents:—"Grenville's famous speech. Duke of Gloucester highly respectable, Moira and Holland very good. *Westmoreland out-blackguarding the blackguard.* Sidmouth beyond his own precedent in this cause. Lord Selkirk sensible and well-principled. Lord Rosslyn good and sensible. *Lord Eldon humiliating.* Clarence worse in point of execution than usual."—*Diary, in Life.*

the abolition itself. A vast body of the mercantile world, and the West Indian planters to a man, had assured them that a fatal effect would be produced by the measure upon the revenues of the country at a moment when every shilling that could possibly be raised was wanted; that there would be a sudden stop or a most rapid decline in the vast resources furnished to the state by the West India islands; that the slaves would rush into insurrection on learning that the British government and legislature had reprobated the trade and declared it to be unlawful, for, if it were an unlawful deed now to import negroes from Africa, the act must have been equally unjustifiable and detestable when they themselves, or those who bore them, had been purchased on the Guinea coast and conveyed to the West Indies. Lord Sidmouth recommended, as Burke had done long ago, that churches should be built in the plantations for the negroes, and that they should be instructed in the morality and faith of Christians. And his lordship also recommended the institution of marriage as the first step towards civilizing the slaves and improving their condition. With these advantages, and with the blessing of being protected by our laws, he thought the time would arrive for emancipating them entirely. The debate lasted till five o'clock in the morning, when the second reading of the bill was carried by 100 against 36. The Bishops of Durham and London, and many others, shook Wilberforce by the hand, and congratulated him on his triumph. On the third reading in the Lords there was no division, and scarcely any opposition. By a proviso, introduced by Lord Grenville himself, all slave-vessels, which should have cleared out of this country for Africa previously to the 1st of May, were to be allowed to complete their cargoes and trade with them to the West Indies till the 1st of January, 1808, at which time all such traffic from Africa was to cease. Thus, after all, a rush was allowed to be made to the slave-market; and far more terrible than usual must have been the means resorted to by the savage African tribes, and the native slave-dealers, to supply this demand.

Having passed the House of Lords, the bill was brought down to the Commons on the 10th of February, when the reading was moved by Lord Howick in an eloquent speech. Wilberforce had counted "a terrible list of doubters;" but except Mr. George Hibbert, who complained that parliament was yielding to popular prejudice, enthusiasm, and passion; Captain Herbert, who thought that the abolition of the slave-trade would bring ruin to our finances; and General Gascoyne, who said that every measure that invention or artifice could suggest had been resorted to, in order to keep up the popular excitement, and that the pulpit, the stage, the press, had all laboured to create a prejudice against the slave-trade, none of the anti-abolitionists spoke, and the first reading passed without a division. Afterwards, counsel was heard at the bar against the abolition as in the other House; but an absolute negative was put upon the demand that more witnesses should be examined. The question of going into committee was carried at four o'clock in the morning of the 24th of February, by 283 against 16. The House gave Wilberforce three cheers. *

It had been considered expedient to omit the penalties in the bill; "but," says Wilberforce, "the division of last night has quite changed the state of things, and it is highly desirable now to put in the penalties." Lord Grenville also wrote to him, "suggesting the expediency of taking advantage of their present strength to render the bill as perfect as possible, and desiring to see the penal clauses prepared." The clauses were rapidly prepared, declaring, according to the original intention of Lord Grenville, that to engage in the slave-trade after the time fixed, would be a misdemeanour punishable at law; and they were inserted, with other amendments. But Wilberforce's joy was clouded by indications of great changes in the political atmosphere: he saw that Lord Grenville and his colleagues were inevitably going out of office, and that their adversaries were as surely coming in—the cup was at his lip, but he apprehended it yet might be dashed to the ground by the Sidmouths, the Eldons, and the other decided anti-abolitionists. Yet, as far as in them lay, on the one great point (assumed, though perhaps incorrectly, as the sole cause of the fall of the present ministry), Wilberforce and his friends in parliament had aided the tripping up the heels of the ministers who had gone so heartily along with them in their grand measure. While the last touches were being put to the Abolition Bill, Wilberforce declared that his religious principles, his conscience, would not permit him to encourage popery; and, on the 4th of March, when ministers proposed giving an increased grant to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth, he voted and spoke against them, and thus fanned the flames of intolerance that were kindling all over the country. This open opposition, however, produced no change in the cabinet as to Wilberforce's great question. On the 16th of March the Abolition Bill was read the third time in the Commons; and on the 18th it was carried back in its amended state to the Lords. "At this time," says Wilberforce, "it was supposed to be clear that government was out, or as good as out." This filled him "with alarm lest the bill should fall through between the two ministries, neither being responsible, and the bill perhaps being thrown out by the absence of friends, and the attendance of sturdy Africans and West Indians, the princes taking the lead." He appears to have been sadly tossed between pillar and post, running about between those who were going out and those who were coming

* When the House rose, John and Henry Thornton, Reginald Heber, Macaulay, Sharpe, and other friends, went over to Wilberforce's house to offer their enthusiastic congratulations for this result of the efforts and toils of twenty years. It was a triumphant meeting. "Well, Henry," said Wilberforce to Thornton, "what shall we abolish next?" "The lottery, I think," said Thornton. "Let us make out the names of these sixteen *miscreants*; I have four of them," said William Smith. "Never mind the miserable 16," said Wilberforce; "let us think of our glorious 283!"—*Life, by his Sons.*

in, imploring here, deprecating there. But, to his great joy, he was assured by Spencer Perceval, whose attachment to the cause was above all doubt —as was also the fact that he was about to be Chancellor of the Exchequer—that Lords Eldon and Hawkesbury, as well as Lord Castlereagh, declared that now they would lend themselves to any thing needful for giving effect to the measure. Perceval also said that he would write to the Duke of Cumberland, the king's confidant, on the subject, and take it upon himself to be the leading man in the abolition business. As soon as Wilberforce received these assurances from Perceval (with whom he closely agreed in religious sentiments and the decided opposition to Catholic emancipation), he appears to have cared very little how soon the "Talents" went out, and their adversaries came in. But the honour of passing his measure was not reserved to the new administration: the Lords assented to the amendments on the 23rd of March, and on the 25th the bill received the royal assent, Lord Chancellor Erskine, and Lords Auckland and Holland being the royal commissioners. It was the last act of the Grenville ministry. The day after Lord Grenville's bill had passed in the Commons, Lord Percy moved in that House for leave to bring in a bill for the *gradual* abolition of slavery in the West Indies. Lord Henry Petty deprecated any discussion of this subject at the present moment, entreating Lord Percy most earnestly to withdraw his motion, or to concur in the previous question which he should feel it his duty to move. Sir C. Pole was glad the motion had been made, as it would open the eyes of all who were interested in the West India Islands to the dangers which threatened them. If, as Lords Eldon, Sidmouth, and Redesdale had seemed to recommend, abolition and emancipation had gone hand in hand in the late bill, it would assuredly never have passed either House. It was still necessary to quiet apprehensions, which at the time of Lord Percy's motion might have been raised between the adoption of the amended bill by the Lords and the royal assent. Wilberforce declared that he and those who acted with him were satisfied with having gained an object which was to be obtained with safety. *The sole point they had in view was the abolition of the slave trade, and not the emancipation of the slaves. The enemies of the abolition had always confounded these two objects; the friends of the abolition had always distinguished them.* After these words from Wilberforce, Mr. Hibbert said, if there remained a ray of hope that the West India colonies might yet be saved, it must be decidedly shown and clearly understood that the House would not for a moment listen to any proposal for emancipation. But Sheridan expressed a great desire that Lord Percy should persevere, declaring that he had considered the bill just passed as nothing but a prelude to the ultimate measure of emancipation. This appears to have grieved and perplexed Wilberforce; but most of the members were by this time tired of these endless discussions; there was a very thin attendance, and the debate was cut short by the House being counted out, some one looking round and finding that there were only thirty-five members present.

It was, as we have intimated, not negro but Catholic emancipation which broke up the cabinet. But we must also renew the expression of our doubt whether that religious question would have been taken up, at the time and in the manner it was, if ministers had not found that the ground was sliding away under their feet, that the alienation of their followers was increasing, and that the popular favour upon which they had counted seemed less attainable than ever. The dissolution and the general election had given them no accession of strength; they could command no great majority, except on the negro slave question, and even there Wilberforce's friends and the party called the saints had more influence than ministers, while they were hostile to ministers on almost every other point. The fault may not have been all their own, but "All the Talents" had certainly disappointed the nation at large; and it will not be easy to find much to admire either in their conduct of the war or management of the finances. That fatal three-and-a-half per cent. clapped on the income and property tax was very mischievous to them. In other quarters their untimely parsimony towards Russia, and the now fast-coming news of defeats and losses sustained by the forsaken or neglected Czar, created a violent ill-feeling against them. Many, even of those who acknowledged their merits in other respects, were of opinion that they had been clamouring too long against the war to be in case to carry on that war with spirit—that they were not the men to fight the ship—and they had proved, to a demonstration, that they were no more able to make peace than their predecessors had been.

Both Fox and Grenville, though so deeply pledged to the Catholics, had accepted office without making any stipulation that Catholic emancipation, or some entensive concession tending to that point, should be made a cabinet question. It is quite certain that George III. would have consented to no such stipulation; but the party or parties who knew his unchangeable resolution on this point ought not to have taken office at all if they had been then determined to press the Catholic claims upon him so soon after getting possession of the cabinet. It does not appear that they were at this moment driven forward by any pressure from without, or by any extraordinary appeal or eager impatience on the part of the Irish Catholics. They had acted towards Ireland in a conciliatory and commendable spirit. They had seemed to say to the Irish Catholics, we cannot do you all the good we wish, but we will do you all the good and render you all the justice we can. The person and the government of the viceroy they had appointed had gained the affections and the golden opinions of the Catholics, although, as an inevitable consequence in that country, the Duke of Bedford had, in about an equal degree, excited the hatred and

anger of all the Church of England Protestants. The duke and the English cabinet had, from the first, adopted a new set of maxims for the government of Ireland; they had included Catholics in their distribution of patronage, and they had repressed as much as possible the hostile spirit of the Orangemen.* This high-flying party were indeed at this moment declaring that the patronage of "All the Talents" was bestowed exclusively upon the Papists; that the Protestant ascendancy was no more; that the Protestant religion itself was in danger—and these cries found a ready and loud echo in the royal dwellings of Windsor and Buckingham House. Since the rebellion, or repeated essays at rebellion, Ireland had been dragooned or had been governed rather too much by military force. The present administration had abstained from the employment of any violent means, and yet had succeeded in putting down some disturbances which broke out in the autumn of 1806, without proclaiming martial law, and without in any respect stepping out of the forms of ordinary civil law. Their popularity in Ireland, among the Catholics, was certainly greater or of a more passionate kind than their unpopularity in England; and, in order to retain the benefit of their gentle and friendly system of government, the Irish Catholics, to all appearance, would have consented to waive any claim the prosecution of which was likely to overthrow the cabinet. As for the Papists in England, to say nothing of the smallness of their number, they continued to be in a rapturous state of loyalty, and certainly leaned rather towards the king's party and the Tories than towards the composite party now in power. The additional grant to the Catholic College at Maynooth was accepted as a boon; but the spirit excited in the House of Commons by that measure must have told ministers that the time had not yet arrived, even there, for any extensive concessions or large surrender of old prejudices. In the debate on that question on the 4th of March, Wilberforce, the organ of a most important party, and one whose words and sentiments carried the greatest weight throughout what is termed the religious world, had maintained that Popery was the true bane of Ireland; that it was infatuation to take any steps for its encouragement; that, after all we could grant the Roman Catholics in Ireland, so much would still remain behind as to prevent their being ever cordially attached to a Protestant government, of which a Protestant church formed a part, &c. He had maintained at all times that the Protestant church, as the only true one, must be kept up; and he hoped that it might gradually convert the papists. In the debate, he rebuked the warm friends of religious liberty. "I am not," said he, "one of those men who entertain the large and liberal views on religious subjects, insisted on with so much energy by the honourable gentlemen on the other side; I am not so much like a certain ruler (Bonaparte), of whom it has been so happily said, that he is an honorary member of all religions." Yet on the very next day (the 5th of March), Lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking a prescribed oath; and for leaving them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. His lordship frankly stated that what had particularly drawn the attention of government to the subject, was the strange anomaly existing in consequence of the Irish act of 1793, by which the Roman Catholics *in that country* were enabled to hold commissions in the army, and to attain to any rank except those of commander-in-chief, master-general of the ordnance, or general on the staff; but, if any of these Catholic officers should be ordered to this country, they would be disqualified by law from remaining in the service. His lordship said that the proposed measure would only enable his majesty to appoint Catholics to high military posts if he thought proper; that their appointment must depend on the executive government, who, of course, would always avoid any dangerous use of the authority. The bill, he said, did not hold out any encouragement to the Catholics; it did not establish any institution for their support or increase. But the abolition of restrictions in point of rank in the army and navy would place before the sons of the gentry of Ireland the fair objects of ambition, and open to them that career of glory the pursuit of which was synonymous with the advancement of the best interests of the empire. Spencer Perceval, who, as well as his friends Sidmouth and Ellenborough, had been closeted with the King several times before Howick made this motion, instantly rose, and stigmatized the measure as one of the most dangerous that had ever been submitted to the judgment of the legislature. Yet it was not so much to the individual measure that he objected as to the system of which it formed a part—a system which was growing every day, and which was threatening the most terrible consequences to church and state. He looked upon the measure as a step towards abolishing all the religious tests which the wisdom of our ancestors had thought it necessary to interpose in defence of our establishment. From the arguments advanced at the present day, a man might be almost led to suppose that the one religion was as good as the other, and that the Reformation had only been a measure of political convenience. The present question, he said, was simply this, whether the legislature could give up the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, or make a stand, and say—we have already done everything that toleration requires, and that the Catholics have a right to demand. The bill however was brought in and read the first time; and that day week was fixed for the second reading. But the second reading was subsequently postponed from the 12th to the 18th of March. It appears from the confession of one of their own warm friends that, in order to effect a compromise with the king,

* Horner.

ministers offered to withdraw the bill altogether, and that his majesty refused any compromise.* On the 17th of March, Lord Howick announced that the same circumstances which had twice induced him to move for the postponement of the second reading of the bill still continued to operate: so that the order of the day for the second reading, which stood for to-morrow, would be dropped, to be revived as the House itself should think fit. His lordship said that he was aware that this intimation must excite much observation, and that the House and the public would naturally expect some information with regard to the motives of it. But he was not at present authorized to enter into any explanations.

In the House at least explanations were scarcely needed: the negotiations which had been going on at Buckingham House for several weeks were no secret there. A rumour had got abroad that, in order to induce Spencer Perceval to quit his profitable practice at the bar and take office in the cabinet about to be formed, he had been offered the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for life. As early as the 19th of February, which was more than a fortnight before Lord Howick made his first motion on the Roman Catholic army and navy service bill, and just one day before the first mention of the proposal to give an additional grant to Maynooth College, Mr. Bankes moved, "That no office, place, employment, or salary, in any part of his majesty's dominions, ought hereafter to be granted in reversion." Lord Howick gave his most cordial support to the motion, and wished the House to go still farther, and adopt a resolution against the granting for life any office not usually so granted. He was followed by Mr. Plumer, who sorely regretted that these measures had not been brought forward forty years ago. "I cannot," continued Plumer, "help embracing this opportunity of paying a tribute of applause to the present administration (I say present, upon the supposition that they are still in office), as they have shown every disposition to benefit the country by their judicious measures, and have avoided the practice of former administrations of granting reversions." Plumer then fell upon Perceval. He had heard that the new government which was forming or to be formed had agreed to give that gentleman the chancellorship of the duchy for life, in order to tempt him to take office. "If," said he, "men of great talents are not satisfied with the rewards attached to the situations to which his majesty chooses to appoint them, they ought not to accept of office at all;" and he solemnly protested against the measure of giving a man a situation for life, in order to entice him to occupy another which might be more fleeting and precarious. Mr. Johnstone wished that this principle too had been adopted forty years ago, for in that case a family, some of the members of which had been most clamorous in cheering the reflections cast on Perceval, would not be so loaded with wealth, derived from sinecures, as now to be, among them, in the actual receipt of 60,000*l.* a-year, drawn from the labour of the public. He was, however, glad to see that, however eager the members of that family had been for places and pensions, they were at last changing their tone! Mr. Henry Martin gave notice that he would move in form for an address to prevent any such disposal for life of the chancellorship of the duchy, or of any other place which had been usually held during his majesty's pleasure. And on the 9th of March, eight days before Lord Howick announced that the second reading of the Catholic bill would be dropped, Mr. H. Martin moved an address to his majesty to the effect above-mentioned. In his speech he showed that, from the year 1660 to the present time, there were only two instances in which the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster had been held for life.* Martin's motion was very ably seconded by the Honourable J. W. Ward (the late Lord Dudley and Ward), who observed that grants of this description appeared to be unconstitutional, that they had the effect of raising up a race of men to live on the property of the public, and to make themselves alike independent of the sovereign who might promote them, and of the people by whom the means were supplied, and that they went to deprive the crown both of the power of punishing weak or wicked men and of the power of rewarding meritorious servants; for there was a limit to resources of this kind, and if the places were given for life, or in reversion to men's sons and successors, there would be nothing left to reward the remaining or succeeding servants of the crown. Perceval here rose and said that he had not received any promise of the chancellorship of the duchy for life, and that whether he got that place or not would make no difference in his conduct and intentions, nor would alter in the slightest degree his disposition to serve his majesty. He had spoken to the king, he had requested him not to make the appointment that day; and he put it to the serious consideration of the House whether, in the present state and crisis of the country, it would be proper to throw any difficulties in the way of his majesty in forming a new administration, when his majesty conceived that in so doing he was only labouring to preserve the constitution and

* Horner:—"The only part of the story I could have wished to be otherwise, is the withdrawing the bill, and not resigning at once; but perhaps it was rendered unavoidable in consequence of that misconception originally about the extent of the measure. And yet, had the king closed with that compromise, they would have remained in power with tarnished honour; as it ended in a resignation at last, the appearance of moderation, in yielding to the king, may do them good with the country, which takes these transactions with a coarse judgment. Nothing but the impatience of the king's advisers to get into power, or his own impatience to get rid of the reformers and abolitionists, perhaps the Duke of York's to stop the reformation of barrack abuses, could have so blinded a practised artist in cabinet-making like the king, as to make him overlook the advantage he would have gained by keeping them, with their withdrawn bill, a little while longer in office, to be thrust out on the next opportunity."

* The first instance was that of Lord Lechmere, who had for a long time filled the office of attorney-general, and who had been raised to the peerage in a state of comparative poverty. This was in the year 1717. The second instance was of a much more recent date, having occurred during the present reign, and no further back than the year 1782, in the case of Dunning, who was then created Lord Ashburton.

the religion of the country. Having repeated the assurance of his readiness to take office even without the chancellorship of the duchy *for life*, Perceval made his bow and quitted the House. Martin's motion was then supported by Lord Henry Petty, Sharpe, Thornton, Sheridan, and others. Lord Henry Petty, though well aware that Lord Sidmouth had run counter to him and his friends while in the cabinet with them, and had engaged to join the new administration, if not immediately, as soon as his services should be needed, praised Sidmouth's disinterestedness and good services to the state. "That nobleman," he said, "had been offered the very place in question, and for life, a few years ago; that nobleman had rendered very considerable services during his long and meritorious discharge of his duty as speaker of that House; but he had nobly declined the place, because he would not be the instrument of alienating from the crown the means of rewarding future public services which might be greater than his own." Martin's motion was opposed by Mr. Montague, Sturges Bourne, Johnstone, and others. Sturges Bourne spoke of the talents, integrity, and disinterestedness of Perceval, and asked whether the chancellorship in question, which was not worth much more than 2000*l.* per annum, were too large an equivalent for the income which his friend derived from his profession, a profession which he must now abandon? Johnstone again dealt in comparisons and in bitter recrimination. He blamed all the fallen ministry, but most of all the Grenville family, who were now, he said, taking credit to themselves for so much purity and disinterestedness. He asked them how they could reconcile their present pretensions with the indecency of pressing upon that House, on their first accession to office, and at nine o'clock at night, two successive stages of a bill for enabling Lord Grenville to hold the office of auditor of the exchequer, with its immense emoluments, while the duties of it were to be done by another; and this too at the same time that another noble lord, at the head of the Grenville family, enjoyed the tellership of the exchequer, with its almost incalculable emoluments? How could they reconcile with their boasted purity the extraordinary increase made in the salary of first lord of the admiralty, enjoyed by another branch of the family, and that not avowed to parliament in an open way, but effected by a secret fund? How could that right honourable gentleman reconcile to his purity the demand of 3000*l.* for the expenses of further continuing the commission of navy inquiry, and not say a word about the great and needless increase of his own salary? These honourable gentlemen had been boasting a great deal of their economical arrangements; but what had they done for the country? They had indeed appointed commissioners of accounts without number; but what had these commissioners done? The army accounts appeared to remain as they were: the West India commissioners, who had been so long appointed at large salaries to examine the state of accounts in the colonies, had not yet even sailed on their mission. The Grenvilles writhed, but were silent. Sheridan, in a speech in which there was more buffoonery and bantering than business or argument, took up the defence of the fallen administration, ringing the changes upon economy, economy, economy, in a manner which had the more ludicrous effect from being connected with his known condition and spendthrift habits. The only facts or proofs he mentioned were the reduction of the staff of the army, the reduction of the department of the commissariat, both of which rather required mending and increasing than diminishing, and the reforms effected in the barrack department. Sheridan also praised the disinterestedness of Lord Sidmouth, as Lord Henry Petty had done. Upon a division, Martin's address was carried by 218 against 115.

The new ministry was not settled until the 25th of March, nor were all the arrangements completed even then. On that day Lord Howick announced his determination of opposing any motion for a long adjournment, saying that such a motion was evidently contemplated by the new advisers of the crown, but could not be allowed without prejudice to the country. On the 26th, Lord Hawkesbury moved in the Lords that the House should adjourn for a fortnight. Lord Grenville then rose and related in detail the circumstances which had led to the change of administration, and stated the principles upon which he and his friends had brought in the bill for granting relief to the Catholics and other dissenters. He declared that Pitt and Fox had been equally impressed with the justice and necessity of granting greater indulgences to the Catholics of Ireland. On three questions only had those statesmen agreed during the course of their long political lives: 1. The sinking fund. 2. The abolition of the slave-trade. 3. The Catholic question. If he had erred it was in common with the two greatest statesmen which any country had ever produced. The two first of these questions had been carried, the first as soon as it was proposed, the second after a delay of many years: the third rested upon such grounds of justice and policy, that he could not conceive how any one who understood the interests of his country could oppose it. He conceived that 4,000,000 of Catholic subjects were to be governed by conciliation and kindness, and not by intolerance and exclusion. The king, he said, had known all along the decided opinions of himself and his friends on this particular, although it was true that it had not been their intention to press any great measure except necessity should require it. He knew very well that there were objections to it in a certain quarter, that it would be strongly opposed in parliament, and that there was no chance of success for a considerable time to come. Ministers had even taken measures to prevent the revival of the question, and last year they had succeeded. But since then Ireland had shown some symptoms of that disturbed

state which his lordship thought could be best prevented by further concessions. Other circumstances had also occurred to induce ministers to depart from the determination they had formed not to press the question: the total destruction of Prussia and the increased power of France made it necessary to strengthen this country to the utmost: it became the duty of ministers to look to two contingencies—peace between France and the continent, and a continuance of the war with England. What in such a situation would be the best course of policy? Would it not be to augment the force of our own empire, and to diminish whatever danger might be apprehended from the discontent of any part of the united kingdom? His lordship proceeded to state that a draught of a dispatch to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland relating to the communications he was to make to the Catholics, was submitted to the king by ministers and met with his majesty's approbation. This draught contained the substance of what they meant to propose in parliament. After some objections his majesty gave his consent that the measure should be proposed this session; and then authority was given to the lord-lieutenant to assure the heads of the Irish Catholics that the army and navy would be opened to them, and that the difficulties which stood in the way of their promotion would all be removed on their taking a proposed oath. A second dispatch had been transmitted to Ireland to remove some doubts which rose in the minds of the Catholics, and to confirm the assurance already given. This second dispatch too had been submitted to his majesty, who returned it without any objection or comment. After all this had been done, however, some members of the cabinet, (Sidmouth and Ellenborough, and we believe we must include Lord Chancellor Erskine,) who had all along entertained doubts as to the extent of the measure, at last objected to it in the strongest terms; and then his majesty, conceiving that the measure went much farther than he had intended, expressed to Lord Grenville his decided objection to it. Ministers then endeavoured to modify the bill, so as to reconcile it to his majesty's wishes, without destroying the vital essence of the measure. Failing in this attempt, they determined to drop the bill altogether; but, at the same time, in vindication of their own character, Lord Grenville and Lord Howick resolved to insert in the proceedings of the cabinet a minute reserving to them,—1. The liberty of delivering their opinions in favour of the Catholic question; 2. The liberty of submitting this question, or any subject connected with it, from time to time, according to circumstances, to his majesty's decision. But they were called upon (by the king) not only to withdraw the latter reservation, but to substitute a written obligation *never* again to bring forward the measure, or to propose anything connected with the Catholic question to his majesty. "A more painful condition," said Lord Grenville, "could not have been imposed upon any set of men. What would be the situation of ministers if they were to be bound by their oaths of office to counsel and advise the sovereign in all things to the best of their judgment, and to be fettered at the same time by a written engagement of this nature? Were ministers to withhold their advice when they might deem it necessary for the safety, nay, the very existence of the empire? What would be the effect upon the constitution? Could the constitution exist if such a principle were recognized, as that ministers were acting upon a written pledge of the nature he had stated? Suppose the existence of Ireland at stake, and responsible ministers called upon to account for their conduct, could they justify themselves by saying, 'Oh! that corner was torn out of the map of the empire committed to our keeping!' Would not the recognition of such a principle strike at the very root of the constitution, overturn the maxim that the king can do no wrong, but that his ministers can, and re-establish the monstrous principle by which a sovereign was brought as a criminal to the bar of his subjects! Conceiving that any such engagement would be inconsistent with their duty, unconstitutional, and dangerous to the sovereign, he and his friends had refused to give the written obligation demanded; and the very day after making this communication of their sentiments they had received an intimation from his majesty that he must seek for other ministers. Lord Sidmouth rose and said that, on coming into office with Fox, Grenville, &c., he had not compromised his principles, nor departed from his feelings and views on the Catholic question, though he had certainly entertained a hope that the question would never again be brought forward. He was, he said, a friend to toleration; he would let the Catholics enjoy the benefits of the act of 1793; but on that act he thought a stand should be made against further encroachments. He had ever been of opinion that the grant of power to the Catholics would tend to the destruction of our constitution, by infringing upon the church establishment.* In the House of Commons explanations similar to those of Lord Grenville were given by Lord Howick. Notwithstanding his lordship's expressed determination to oppose any long adjournment, the Commons, as the Upper House had done, agreed to adjourn until the 8th of April without a division.

"Ministers," says Sir Samuel Romilly, who now ceased to be solicitor-general, "had determined not to resign, but to be dismissed from their offices." We learn from the same authority some curious particulars respecting the conduct of Erskine, who appears to have been eager to keep the great seal, though his appearances and decisions in the court had proved the truth of the declaration he is said to have made on becoming lord chancellor,—that he knew nothing of

* "The most remarkable circumstance in the debate was Lord Melville taking a part in it, speaking from between the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Eldon, on the bench appropriated to the ministers. The Duke of Cumberland placed himself at the head of this bench, probably to proclaim to the world that he is the person who has brought about the change of administration."—*Romilly, Diary of Parliamentary Life, in Memoirs by his Sons.*

chancery law. On the 18th of March, the day after Lord Howick had announced in the Commons that the Catholic bill would be dropped, Erskine waited upon his majesty to tell him that the recorder's report was to be made; and, although it was contrary to all court etiquette to speak on any subject which the king had not first mentioned, he proceeded to demonstrate to his majesty the dangerous consequences of dismissing his present ministers. He said he was sensible that, when he first entered into his majesty's service, his majesty had a prejudice against him; that he was quite satisfied that that prejudice was now entirely removed; and that his majesty did him the justice to believe that he had served him faithfully; that upon the Catholic measure, which had been the occasion of the present unhappy state of things, *he thought both religiously and morally exactly as his majesty himself did;* that, however, after what had passed, it appeared to him that the ministers who had signed the minute of council (Erskine himself had taken good care not to sign it) could not with any consistency retract it; and that to give a pledge not to offer advice to his majesty upon measures which the state of public affairs might render necessary, would be, if not an impeachable offence, at least an offence which constitutionally could not be justified. He added, that he thought it his indispensable duty to represent to the king the situation in which he stood; that he was on the brink of a precipice; that nothing could be more fatal than to persevere in the resolution he had formed of dismissing his ministers; that the day on which that resolution should be announced in Ireland would be a day of jubilee to the Catholics; that they could desire nothing more than to see a ministry, supported by all the talents and weight of property in the country, go out upon such a measure; and that he must venture to tell his majesty that if he proceeded with his resolution *he would never know another hour of comfort or tranquillity!* According to Erskine, his majesty listened to all this without once interrupting him; he (Erskine), however, could observe by his countenance that he was greatly agitated, and when he had concluded, the king said to him, "You are a very honest man, my lord, and I am very much obliged to you." Nobody will doubt that if George III. had given his account of this strange conference it would have differed very materially from this account given by Erskine. That vain, flighty man in imparting these particulars on the 19th of March, to Romilly, and to Piggott, the attorney-general, seemed to think that he had made a great impression, and half flattered himself that the king would retract his resolution, and permit the cabinet to remain unaltered, since they had let drop the obnoxious bill. But the fact was that the king saw Lord Howick immediately after the chancellor, and persevered most firmly in his determination of forming a new administration. We believe that the "Talents" generally entertained a mean opinion of the talents of George III., but that prince assuredly had ability enough to form a proper estimate of such a babbler as Erskine,* and firmness and courage enough to despise his threats, *if*—which we doubt—Erskine ever had the boldness to make them.

All the cabinet ministers had attended his majesty and had delivered up the seals of their office on the 25th of March, except Erskine, who was to retain the great seal till that day week, in order that he might have time to pronounce his decrees in some chancery suits which had been argued before him. Between the 26th and the 31st of March the following appointments were announced:—the Duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury; Lord Hawkesbury, secretary for the home department; Canning, secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Castlereagh, secretary for war and the colonies; the Earl of Chatham (Pitt's elder brother) master of the ordnance; Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer of the exchequer; Earl Camden, lord president of the council; Earl Bathurst, president of the board of trade, with George Rose for his vice; and the Earl of Westmoreland, keeper of the privy seal. On the 1st of April Lord Eldon was sworn lord high chancellor, and the Duke of Richmond was made lord lieutenant of Ireland. Two days before Lord Erskine parted with the seal he appointed his son-in-law, Edmund Morris, a master in chancery. This was thought a most improper act, as Erskine ought to have considered himself as out of office ever since the 25th of March, the day on which his colleagues resigned.† On the 3rd of April Lord Mulgrave was named first lord of the admiralty, and the honourable Robert Dundas president of the board of control. On the 8th of April Lord Melville was sworn of the privy council. This was the day on which parliament met after the fortnight's adjournment. The remaining offices were filled up in the course of a few days after this. Among other appointments George Rose became treasurer of the navy in lieu of Sheridan.

Between the 25th of March and the 8th of April the new ministers appear to have done all they could to excite a cry in the country against popery. The Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the cabinet, being chancellor of the university of Oxford, wrote to it to request a petition to parliament against Catholic concessions: the

* Romilly, from whom these details are copied, informs us that, though Erskine communicated all this to him and Piggott *very confidentially*, "he afterwards repeated it to almost all his friends, and sometimes in large companies at dinner."—*Diary of Parliamentary Life.*

† "Morris, though a very clever and a very deserving man, has no knowledge in his profession of that particular kind which is necessary to qualify a man to discharge the duties of a master. This is a matter which will draw reproach on the whole administration: though, in every other department, they have most scrupulously, as I understand, abstained from making any promotions."—*Romilly, Diary of Parliamentary Life.*

Romilly's own conduct, at this great party crisis, merits attention. He says, "I have some satisfaction, now the ministers are out, in reflecting that I have never asked them for a single favour. There was one thing which I very much wished for; and it is such a trifle that I take for granted that if I had asked Lord Moira (the master of the ordnance) for it, it would have been done for me immediately. It was only to get my brother's youngest son into the military academy at Woolwich. However, I did not ask for it; and, to the poor boy's great disappointment, it is not done."—*Id.*

Duke of Cumberland, chancellor of the university of Dublin, wrote two letters to that university for the same purpose; and in the last of these letters he plainly intimated that it was the wish of the king that this should be done. Harry Erskine, the witty brother of the ex-chancellor, said it was a pity that poor Lord George Gordon did not live in these times, when he would have a chance of being in the cabinet instead of being in Newgate. Spencer Perceval, who had vacated his seat by accepting office, told the electors of Northampton that it was a duty in the people as well as in the sovereign to resist the inroads of popery; that he himself had quitted a lucrative profession and accepted his new office in order to stand by his sovereign at this important crisis. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, of which, as of nearly every other religious society, Wilberforce was a conspicuous and active member, lent the aid of its publications in keeping up the "No Popery" cry; and "the pulpit, drum-ecclesiastic," played very generally to the same tune. Dirty little boys chalked the walls: the days of Lord George and the London riots seemed really coming back again.

The king could scarcely have found it necessary to demand from his new ministers the written pledge which he had demanded from his old ones. It was deemed expedient, however, by the opposition, to consider them as being virtually bound by some such understanding; and accordingly, on the 9th of April, the very day after the re-assembling of parliament, Mr. Brand moved in the Commons, "That it is contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown to restrain themselves by any pledge, express or implied, from offering to the king any advice that the course of circumstances might render necessary for the welfare and security of any part of his majesty's extensive empire." This was indeed a constitutional truism—a principle not to be denied without attacking the theory of the constitution itself. But, if the motion had been carried, it would have been followed by other resolutions: "That to advise his majesty to dismiss his ministers because they refused to give such a pledge was subversive of the constitution;" "That the persons who had given such advice, or who had come into office upon any such pledge, expressed or implied, were not deserving of the confidence of the House of Commons;" and, lastly, "That these resolutions should be carried up to the king." The new cabinet therefore determined to try their strength on Brand's first motion. The friends of the late administration were very sanguine as to carrying the motion by a considerable majority; but, the Prince of Wales having declared that the motion was of a nature which must affect the king personally, the prince's friends, including Sheridan, absented themselves; Lord Sidmouth's friends voted against his lordship's late colleagues; and Perceval and Canning displayed great address in defending the king and in opposing the motion. Perceval declared that his majesty had no advisers in the measures alluded to; that the present proceeding was to arraign the king personally, and to call him to answer personally at the bar of the House. Canning talked of the king's remarkable good health and promise of long life in a manner which was calculated to have a remarkably strong effect on those waverers and doubters who had always one eye fixed on the king in *esse*, and one on the king in *posse*. Canning also declared distinctly that, if Brand's motion were carried against them, ministers would not go out, but would appeal to the people and dissolve parliament. The king's pious scruples were repeatedly mentioned—his regard for his coronation oath, which, several members said, would have been violated if the bill of the late ministry had passed. Brand's motion was rejected by 258 against 226.* It was past six o'clock in the morning ere the House divided.

A similar motion was made in the Lords by the Marquess of Stafford, and was defeated, through the same means and agencies, by a comparatively larger majority. Here Lord Sidmouth spoke and voted against his late colleagues; and Erskine, in support of the motion, delivered a deal of cant, which was ridiculous enough to those who knew the man and his motives, but which still went to influence the vulgar out of doors. "I am one," said his lordship, "who really entertains the profoundest reverence for God, religion, and all professors of the Christian *Protestant* faith. No man whatever can be more religious than I am. I am sure that I need not except even the worthy and pious prelates in whose presence I make this solemn and public declaration. I glory in the opportunity of making it. Would to God that my life could be as pure as my faith! I regard the Romish religion as a gross superstition, the result of the darkness of former ages, but now falling into a visible and wholesome decline. I never thought of encouraging it, but rather wished that *inconvenience should be felt*, though *no injustice suffered*, by its professors." Not less miserable was the way in which this giddy ex-chancellor attempted to defend his late colleagues for having given up the bill, and for having continued in office after so doing. It had been said that the late ministry had introduced that Catholic Army and Navy Bill on a principle of expediency and duty, and yet had kept their places after having been obliged to withdraw it. He admitted that all this was true enough; but then he argued that there was a plain difference between the *strongest expediency* and *imperious necessity*, and that as there was only the strongest expediency, and not any imperious necessity for carrying through the said bill, his friends, anxious to work out many other good measures, had been quite justified in behaving as they had done. Lord Harrowby said that a mutual confidence between the sovereign and his servants was indispensable to the good conduct of

* "Our party," says Romilly, "were so little aware that they should lose the question, and it was so difficult in so full a house to ascertain the numbers, that during the division, while we were locked out in the lobby, we supposed ourselves the majority by about twenty."—*Diary*.

public business; that when once there was so little confidence on either side, that ministers were induced to demand a pledge from the king, or the king to demand a pledge from ministers, there was little other option than either for him to dismiss them, or for them to resign. Lord Barrington considered that the Marquess of Stafford's motion included an inculpation of the king for the exercise of an undoubted prerogative, and moved that the House do now adjourn; and this was carried by 171 against 90.

A motion made in the Commons by Mr. Littleton, to express the deepest regret at the late change of administration, was defeated by a vote for passing to the order of the day, the numbers being 244 against 198.

It was understood that a dissolution was to take place, but it was not supposed that it would be before the end of May and the regular close of the session. But an immediate dissolution was decided upon on the 24th of April, although kept a profound secret until the 26th. The object no doubt was to take advantage of the cry of No Popery which had been raised in so many parts of the country, and which was so senseless a cry that it could not but be felt by ministers that, if the dissolution were postponed for only a few weeks, it would wholly have died away. This was the conjecture of Romilly and his friends, and the conduct pursued by ministers proves the fact. On Monday, the 27th of April, they prorogued parliament by commission, and in so doing they did not affect to disguise how necessary it was not to lose a moment in obtaining the benefit of the prevailing excitement. "His majesty," they said, "is anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which have recently taken place are yet fresh in their recollection." They called the late agitation of the Catholic question "an unfortunate and uncalled-for agitation;" they alluded to the restraint imposed on the king by his coronation oath, and to the king's conscientious persuasion of the rectitude of the motives upon which he had acted, and upon which he now gave the people the best opportunity of testifying their determination to support him in every exercise of the prerogative of the crown; and, after saying something more that was very proper to keep up the "No Popery" feeling and to set society by the ears, they made the speech conclude with the expression of a recommendation, on the king's part, to cultivate by all means a spirit of union, harmony, and goodwill among all classes and descriptions of his people! This unlucky parliament had existed only four months and seven days.

Tremendous and almost unprecedented were the efforts made both by the ins and the outs at the new general election. On both sides immense electioneering purses were made up and emptied in the old way. Wilberforce foresaw a ruinous contest for any man of ordinary fortune in Yorkshire, where Lord Harewood was going to oppose him; but Wilberforce's friends immediately subscribed 18,000*l.* and voted that he himself should not be permitted to put down his name to the subscriptions opened to support his election. Everywhere the price of boroughs rose to a terrible amount. Tierney offered 10,000*l.* for two seats and got a refusal. The opposition accused the new ministers of buying up, by means of a very large sum advanced by the king out of his privy purse, all the seats that were to be disposed of, and at any prices. Romilly thought himself a lucky man in getting one of the seats for the borough of Horsham for 2000*l.*, through the favour and kindness of the Duke of Norfolk.* Their superior command of money, and the prevailing prejudice against Catholic concessions, served the new ministers well. This prejudice seemed to have a strong hold in that very variable, and not very enlightened body, the corporation of London. On the 22nd of April that corporation had presented an address to the king, expressing their exceedingly warm gratitude for the decided support and protection given by his majesty to the Protestant reformed religion, and for the firm and constitutional exercise of his royal prerogative. The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge published, during the general election, a resolution declaratory of its opinion respecting the bill which the displaced ministers had submitted to parliament,† and other religious societies swelled the shout that the church was, or recently had been, in danger. The English Catholics, who may have dreaded the revival of the popular outrages of the year 1780, published an address to their Protestant fellow-subjects, laying before them acts and documents to prove the purity of their principles in respect to their king and country, and calling upon them to judge whether "his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects maintain a single tenet inconsistent with the purest loyalty, or interfering in the slightest degree with any one duty which an Englishman owes to his God, his king, or his country." This paper was signed by the Earl of Shrewsbury, by Lord Petre, by Sir John Throckmorton, and by many other English

* Romilly, *Diary of Parliamentary Life*. The ex-solicitor-general adds—"Tierney, who manages this business for the friends of the late administration, assures me that he can hear of no seats to be disposed of. After a parliament which has lived little more than four months, one would naturally suppose that those seats which are regularly sold by the proprietors of them would be very cheap; they are, however, in fact, sold now at a higher price than was ever given for them before. . . . . 6000*l.* and 5500*l.* have been given for seats with no stipulation as to time, or against the event of a speedy dissolution by the king's death, or by any change of administration. . . . . Amongst others, Sir C. H——, the great dealer in boroughs, has sold all he had to ministers. . . . . This buying of seats is detestable; and yet it is almost the only way in which one in my situation, who is resolved to be an independent man, can get into parliament. To come in by a popular election in the present state of the representation, is quite impossible; to be placed there by some great lord, and to vote as he shall direct, is to be in a state of complete dependence; and nothing hardly remains but to owe a seat to the sacrifice of a part of one's fortune. It is true that many men who buy seats do it as a matter of pecuniary speculation, as a profitable way of employing their money: they carry on a political trade; they buy their seats, and sell their votes. For myself, I can truly say that, by giving money for a seat, I shall make a sacrifice of my private property, merely that I may be enabled to serve the public. I know what danger there is of men's disguising from themselves the real motives of their actions; but it really does appear to me that it is from this motive alone that I act."

† Lord Grenville, himself a member of the Christian Knowledge Society, complained in a public letter addressed to the Rev. G. Gaskin, secretary of that society, of this invidious publication, which was given to the world as the unanimous resolution of that body.

Catholics distinguished by antiquity of descent, and by their personal virtues. It produced its effects, no doubt, but we fear only among the more enlightened and more liberal classes, who scarcely stood in need of any such appeal. On the whole, the new ministry gained immensely by the dissolution and general election. In the new parliament, which met on the 22nd of June, their majorities were found to be large and sure. An amendment to the address on the opening speech, censuring the late dissolution of parliament, was rejected in the Lords by 160 against 67, and in the Commons by 350 against 155. The business which was transacted was of little importance or interest, except as showing on the divisions the great strength which the new administration had gained. The ministry found or thought it necessary to bring in an Irish Insurrection Bill, giving the lord-lieutenant power to proclaim disturbed counties; authorising magistrates to arrest persons who should be found out of their dwelling between sun-set and sun-rise, and requiring that the persons so arrested should be tried at the quarter sessions. This bill was brought into the Commons, on the 9th of July, by General Sir Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), who had again become secretary to the lord-lieutenant. Grattan, the Irish patriot, declared that the measure was necessary; that to his knowledge there was still a French party in Ireland. Sheridan divided the House against it on the third reading; but his minority was only 10, including the tellers, against 108. A bill was also carried to oblige all persons in Ireland who had arms to register them, and to authorise magistrates to make domiciliary visits in search of arms. A bill brought in by Whitbread for the education of the poor, by establishing schools in all the parishes in England, was allowed to pass through the Commons on the 6th of August; but, as it was thought, only because it was well known it would be rejected by the Lords. Mr. Bankes, who had brought in a bill to prevent the Crown from granting places by reversion, which was depending in the Lords at the time of the sudden dissolution of the last brief parliament, brought it in again and got it carried through the new House of Commons, without opposition from any quarter. But in the Lords upon the second reading the bill was opposed by Lord Melville and by Lord Arden. Lord Arden was in the actual enjoyment of a very lucrative office, that of registrar of the admiralty court, granted to him while it was in reversion, with a second reversion to his brother Spencer Perceval, now chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Chancellor Eldon joined in the opposition, and Bankes's bill was thrown out in a very thin House without any division. Bankes, still persevering, almost immediately moved that an address should be made to the king not to grant any office in reversion before the end of six weeks after the meeting of next session of parliament, and this was allowed to be carried. This parliament was prorogued on the 14th of August: the king's speech, delivered by commission, was hopeful and cheerful.

The military operations of the year had been nearly all devised by the Grenville cabinet. Although Sir Home Popham had been brought to a court-martial, and censured for his disobedience, and although the leaders of that cabinet did not entertain a favourable opinion of the bold enterprises in South America, reinforcements had been forwarded to General Beresford; and an armament had been sent to the Rio de la Plata, under the command of General Sir S. Auchmuty, convoyed by Admiral Sir C. Stirling, who superseded Sir H. Popham. On the 18th of January the troops were landed near Monte Video. A sally made by the Spaniards, who were 6000 strong, was repelled with great slaughter; the town was forthwith invested; and on the 2nd of February it was taken by storm, with a loss to the English of 560 in killed and wounded. Before intelligence had yet reached England of the re-capture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, Brigadier-General Craufurd was sent on a wild expedition for the reduction of the vast American province of Chili. Craufurd had only 4200 men, and the naval force which accompanied him under Admiral Murray was proportionally small. The expedition had not been gone long ere the government learned—not that Sir S. Auchmuty had stormed and captured Monte Video, for there was not time for that intelligence to arrive,—but that Buenos Ayres had been lost, and Beresford obliged to capitulate. Instantly orders were sent after General Craufurd to tell him not to conquer Chili, but to go to the Rio de la Plata. These orders overtook Craufurd while he was at the Cape, and in pursuance of them he altered his course and made the best of his way for the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. Craufurd was a brave and experienced soldier, and so was Auchmuty; but they were only brigadier-generals, and, as the force gradually collecting in that latitude was getting considerable, it was considered that an officer of higher rank ought to take the general command. Unless they had taken General Mack out of the fortress into which the Emperor of Austria had thrown him, the English government could hardly have made a worse choice. General Whitelocke had attained to high rank in the army with scarcely any service beyond parade duty, and an attendance of palace-guards. He was a handsome well-spoken man, and, like Mack, had had the knack of making people who were no soldiers themselves believe that he was a great one, and a very consummate general. It was said at the time that he owed his appointment to the present command to the personal favour of George III.; but it should appear that ministerial and all manner of suffrages were united to procure him this advancement. Yet some few years ago, Whitelocke, then lieutenant-colonel, had shown, at St. Domingo, symptoms of shyness, which, as many persons thought, ought to have stripped him of his uniform, and subjected him to have his sword broken over

his head. Windham, who, as secretary-at-war, announced the appointment to parliament, said that it had been considered essential to employ a general officer of the highest rank and ability; and that his majesty had been pleased to name Whitelocke. With 1600 more land troops General Whitelocke left England in the month of March, to take the command-in-chief of all the British forces in the Rio de la Plata, and reduce the whole province of Buenos Ayres, at the very least. He arrived near Monte Video towards the end of May. By this time nearly 12,000 excellent British troops were collected on the Rio de la Plata—brave, active, and only wanting a proper general to command them. A portion of the population of the country were known to be weary of the Spanish government, and anxious for independence; and a little management (particularly if General Miranda had been called to head-quarters) might possibly have induced this party to treat with the English. But Whitelocke was as much of a diplomatist or statesman as he was of a soldier. Like Mack, at Ulm, he appears to have lost his head as soon as he reached the South American shore. He marched and fought when he ought to have been making his preparations and negotiating with the Independents; and he began to treat when he ought to have continued to fight. At first, he seemed to think that with such an army he could conquer the whole of Spanish America; but then, in a very few days, he pretended it was too difficult an enterprise to conquer even a single town. On the 28th of June he landed nearly 8000 men about thirty miles to the east of Buenos Ayres. He took about the worst roads which could have been selected, and he separated his little army into different divisions, subjecting them to the risk of being cut off among rivers and bogs, or being decimated in their passage through defiles and thick woods. If the Spaniards had been an active and enterprising enemy, it may be doubted whether this carpet knight would ever have reached the walls of Buenos Ayres. The inundating rains which set in periodically at the end of June, or the beginning of July, swelled the rivers, and rendered them almost impassable, and Whitelocke appears to have obtained no information as to the places where the rivers were fordable, or as to any other particulars connected with the nature of that excessively difficult country. All operations were conducted in the dark, although there were several well-trained staff officers with the expedition. Terrible fatigues—which might for the greater part have been avoided—were undergone by the troops, who must have marched not thirty but eighty or ninety miles through that to them unknown wilderness. The army forded many rivers and many swollen rivulets, and on the fifth day approached the Chiuelo, of great depth, width, and rapidity, which enters the Rio de la Plata at the eastern angle of the city of Buenos Ayres. There was a bridge across the Chiuelo near the town, and over it General Beresford had passed in June, 1806, when he captured the place; but this bridge was now reported to have been destroyed by the Spaniards; and, apparently without any attempt either to ascertain the fact, or to see whether the bridge could not be repaired, Whitelocke determined to proceed towards the interior, nearer to the river's source, where, he had been told, there was a good ford. He directed Major-General Gore with the light troops to keep to the northward, and to endeavour to pass at any place between him and the city, where the river might be found fordable, while he himself, with the main body of the army, traced the river to the southward. Major-General Gore, in his march, fell in with an intelligent American, who conducted him to the pass or ford of Chico, *only two miles above* the bridge, which was said to be destroyed. Gore and his light troops crossed the river without difficulty or interruption, the Spaniards, who were in considerable force on the opposite bank, giving way immediately, and flying in all directions. The rifle corps took possession of a strongly fortified position. The light troops were then halted upon some high ground which commanded a full view of the menaced city, Gore intending to wait until the main body should have crossed the river lower down. But Whitelocke, who had calculated, in his total ignorance of the country, that Gore must make a long march to the northward before he could find a ford, was in no hurry to cross the river, and he did not find a ford for himself as soon, or so near, as he had expected. Major-General Gore, tired of waiting, descended from his heights and moved along the road which led to Buenos Ayres; his light troops charged, and took some guns, reached the suburbs that night, dispersed the enemy, and pursued them to the very entrance of the city. The troops, from this forced and rapid march, were so exhausted that they could not avail themselves of the apparent timidity of the Spaniards, but fell back from the entrance of the city to the post where they had captured the guns, and where they remained on their arms the whole night. It was a night of rain: the soldiers were without cover, blankets, spirits, or provisions —*bread* they had not tasted for four days. This was on the 3rd of July. It had taken Whitelocke only five or six days to reduce his army to a half-starving condition. On the following morning the Spaniards, seeing that Major-General Gore's force was so small, and that Whitelocke, with the main body, was still on the opposite bank of the broad river, recovered from the panic into which they had been thrown the preceding evening and night. Gore sent a company to his rear to look out for his commander-in-chief; but this detachment found bodies of Spaniards collected on every side, and was obliged to rejoin Gore, who passed many anxious hours looking out for the main body. In the afternoon Whitelocke came up and found Gore rather warmly engaged, with his people nearly famished and overcome by fatigue. Nor was the main body in better condition; they had made a long roundabout march through a wretched

country, now almost entirely inundated, and the men had no blankets, no provisions, no spirits. The Spaniards, who had been engaging Gore, fell back, and halted in front of the town. They were left perfectly undisturbed for the remainder of that day, as Whitelocke thought he saw some appearance of a desire to capitulate on the part of the enemy, and as he entertained hopes of obtaining useful information—which he ought to have obtained before he divided his army, and then committed the whole of it in a situation where it might perish of want. Thus was the 4th of July consumed. But that day and night had been well employed by the Spaniards in preparing for the defence of their town, which, to all appearance, they would have abandoned without fighting, if a spirited concentrated attack of the entire British force had been made on the evening of the 3rd, when Gore had possession of the suburbs. From the British shipping in the Rio de la Plata Whitelocke could expect no assistance, either in his assault, if he made one, or in his retreat, if after his blunders he should have had recourse to that disgraceful movement. The broad river, or æstuary, of La Plata, though deep in the middle, grows so shallow towards the bank on which Buenos Ayres stands, that large vessels are obliged to anchor seven or eight miles from the town. Except flat-bottomed gun-boats, of which there were only five or six attached to the British squadron, no craft that we had could get within cannon-shot. Nor could the fire of these gun-boats have produced any speedy effect, nor was any such effect to be expected even from a bombardment on a large scale, with bombs and rockets and all the new inventions; for the houses of Buenos Ayres were of inconsiderable elevation, were flat-roofed, and constructed of soft brick, which a shot penetrates as through a mud wall, doing no injury except to the immediate place it strikes; and, as no wood was employed in the construction of the houses and churches except the incombustible Brazil-wood, and even that but sparingly, it was in vain to hope to set fire to the city. In case of a retreat there were no craft or rafts to carry the troops over the broad shoals and shallows to the shipping, and to march back by the way they had come to the place where they had first been landed was next to an impossibility. The passage of the river and swamps had been found difficult enough in the advance, when comparatively but little rain had fallen, but the deluges which were now falling were rendering even the rivulets absolutely impassable. As the troops were famishing, and exposed to the inclemency of the season without any shelter and without even the common necessary of blankets, Whitelocke could not remain where he was, and retreat, as we have shown, was next to a physical impossibility. On the morning of the 5th orders were given to make an attack by storm, as the only resource within the power of the general, and as the most prompt means of reducing the town, and thereby providing for the wants of the army. The soldiers formed into their columns of attack with order and spirit, and moved from their ground with the encouraging conviction of a certain victory. They were to assail in every quarter at once, and to rush along the streets of Buenos Ayres, which run in straight lines to the river, for the citadel* and the great square—the square of bulls, Plaza de Toros—in the centre of the city. The British soldiers went on like bulls, and kept the ground they gained with all the tenacity of true-bred English bull-dogs. But, while Whitelocke and his columns had been blundering all round about, 15,000 well-armed Spaniards and natives of the province had been collected within the city, nearly 200 pieces of artillery of all calibres had been disposed in good positions, barricades had been raised in the streets, and stones and other missiles collected on the house-tops, which were so many flat terraces with parapets in front. Whitelocke, remaining himself outside of the town and out of harm's way, with the reserve, an inconsiderable portion of his troops, ordered the commanders of the columns to proceed as far as was practicable, taking possession as far as was tenable; and each column was provided with sledge-hammers, crow-bars, pickaxes, &c., to clear away the barricades and force the houses.† As Whitelocke calculated that success must depend much on velocity of movement, that soldiers with loaded arms are prone to stop and make use of them when they can be of no essential service, that the bayonet was, *par excellence*, the weapon of the British soldier, that the Spaniards would never stand a bayonet charge in street or square, but fight from covered situations—from their houses and churches—where musketry in the hands of their assailants could have no other effect than, by prolonging their passage in the street, to expose them to a dreadful loss, he ordered that the men should all attack with unloaded muskets, and that no firing should, on any account, be permitted until all the columns had reached their final point and had formed. Much ridicule has been thrown upon these orders; but it must be allowed (and it was admitted by the court-martial which tried Whitelocke) that musketry would have been of little use, and might have led to the delay and losses he apprehended:—but, unluckily, bayonets were as useless against brick walls as musket-bullets could have been. For a time all went well. Sir Samuel Auchmuty's column, overcoming every obstacle, gained the Plaza de Toros, took 32 cannon, an immense quantity of ammunition, and 600 prisoners; the 5th regiment took possession of the church and convent of Santa Catalina; Colonel Guard took possession of the Residencia, a commanding station; and another post in the enemy's centre was gallantly carried at the point of the bayonet. But Brigadier-

* The citadel and all the strongest points were on the banks of the river, and, as the whole breadth of the town lay between the river and the English army, they could be approached only by the straight streets.

† Our caricaturists represented the English corporals as burglars and housebreakers, carrying, not sledges and pickaxes, but *picklocks*.

General Lumley, who was storming with two regiments, found himself opposed by a heavy and continued fire of musketry from the tops and windows of the houses: the doors of the houses were so strongly barricaded that it was almost impossible to force them: the streets were intersected by deep ditches, in the inside of which were planted cannon, pouring showers of grape on the advancing column. One of Lumley's regiments, the 36th, headed by the gallant general, reached its destined point, but the other, the 88th, was so weakened by the terrible fire as to be overpowered and taken. The flank of the 36th being thus left exposed, that regiment, together with the 5th, which had taken the church and convent of Santa Catalina, retired upon Sir Samuel Auchmuty's post at the Plaza de Toros, charging and dispersing on their way 800 of the enemy, and taking two guns. The left division of General Craufurd's brigade, under Colonel Park, approached the great square, with the intention of possessing itself of the Jesuits' College: but here the enemy's fire was most destructive; one part of the division threw itself into a house, which was not found to be tenable, and shortly afterwards was obliged to surrender; the other part of the division, after enduring a dreadful fire, in which Colonel Park was wounded, retired upon the right division of the brigade, where Brigade-General Craufurd was commanding in person. With what was left of his brigade, Craufurd now made a dash at the Dominican convent, and gained possession of that large and strong building. In making a sortie to save a three-pounder, which had been left in the street, Craufurd lost a great many of his light infantry, and Major Trotter, one of the best of his officers; the three-pounder was saved: but the Dominican convent was assailed with the greatest fury; the quantity of round shot, grape and musketry, to which they were exposed, obliged Craufurd's people to quit the top of the building: the enemy, to the number of 5000 or 6000, brought up heavy cannon to force the wooden gates: the cessation of firing in other quarters induced Craufurd to believe that the other English columns had not been successful; and at four o'clock in the afternoon, that general surrendered. "The result of this day's action," says Whitelocke, "left me in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Residencia, another strong post on his left, while I occupied an advanced position towards his centre: but these advantages had cost about 2500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The nature of the fire to which the troops were exposed was violent in the extreme. Grape-shot at the corner of the streets, musketry, hand-grenades, bricks and stones from the tops of all the houses: every householder, with his negroes, defended his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress; and it is not perhaps too much to say that the whole male population of Buenos Ayres was employed in its defence."*

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It appears that, during the remainder of the day, and the whole of the succeeding night, Whitelocke remained ignorant of Craufurd's surrender; at least he himself or his apologist says that he had pressed forward his dragoons into the town to keep up a communication with Craufurd, but that Craufurd had advanced beyond their reach, and, till the next day, no certain report was received of his operations. Two objects, it is said, had been achieved, and, but for the miscarriage of the third, and the surrender of Craufurd in the Dominican convent, the town must have remained in the possession of the British: for, as the Plaza de Toros commanded the citadel from the left, and as we had posts on their right and opposite their centre, the enemy could not have made any material resistance. After the surrender at the Dominican convent, the guns of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, firing from the Plaza de Toros, might have overawed the populace, but they would also have destroyed the British prisoners; and the repeated declarations of the enraged mob that they would massacre Craufurd's brigade and all the British who had surrendered, if the firing were renewed from the Plaza, paralyzed the army of Sir Samuel. We believe it would be difficult in any such circumstances to make British troops use their artillery.

On the following morning, the 6th of July, Linieres, the clever Frenchman, who was still commanding the Spanish troops in Buenos Ayres, and who had directed all the preparations made for the defence of the place, addressed a letter to Whitelocke, offering to give up all the prisoners taken in the late affair, together with the 71st regiment, and the other British soldiers who had been taken with Brigadier-General Beresford in the preceding year, if Whitelocke would desist from any further attack on the town, and withdraw his forces altogether from the Rio de la Plata; insinuating, at the same time, that, from the exasperated state of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners, if the English general persisted in offensive measures. At first, Whitelocke put a bold face on the matter, talking of the advantages he had gained, and of the means he had in his hands of retaliating upon the Spanish prisoners, if the populace should proceed to such bloody extremities, or if Linieres and his troops should forget the usages of war. But he soon altered his tone, and agreed to the terms which Linieres proposed. He says—"Influenced by this consideration (*i. e.* the threat used against the English prisoners), which I knew to be founded on fact, and reflecting of how little advantage would be the possession of a country, the inhabitants of which were so absolutely hostile, I resolved to forego the advantages which the bravery of our troops had obtained, and acceded to a treaty which I trust will meet the approbation of his majesty."* The definitive treaty was signed at the fort of Buenos Ayres on the next day, the 7th of July, by General Whitelocke and rear-admiral

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Sir George Murray,* and by Linieres and two Spanish generals.

Hostilities were to cease on both sides of the Rio de la Plata; the British were to retain possession of the fortress and place of Monte Video, which Sir Samuel Auchmuty had stormed and taken before Whitelocke's arrival, for the space of two months; but at the end of that time these buildings were to be delivered up to the Spaniards, with all their artillery, &c.; all prisoners whatsoever were to be mutually restored; Whitelocke's famishing army was to be supplied with provisions, and to be assisted in re-embarking and crossing over to the north side of the Plata river, with its arms, stores, equipage, &c.

The popular indignation at home was so excessive that if Whitelocke had arrived in England in the month of September, with the officer who brought home his dispatches, he would have run some risk of being torn to pieces by the people. He had committed faults enough, but these were all exaggerated, and others were invented for him by ignorance, malevolence, and an uncritical and unexamining fury. We are old enough to remember the rage excited by the report that, before sending his men to be slaughtered in a hopeless street fight he ordered all the flints to be taken from their muskets. The name of Whitelocke was universally adopted as a synonyme for white-feather; many believed him to be the most perfect compound of coward and traitor that had ever been known among Englishmen. It was said to be owing to his favour at court and in other high places that his trial was so long delayed: there might be other grounds for this procrastinating of justice; but it was not until the 28th of January, 1808, that he was brought before a general court-martial, held at Chelsea Hospital; and even then such numerous adjournments were allowed to take place that the trial was not concluded until the 18th of March. The mass of the nation certainly thought the sentence too mild which condemned him to be cashiered in the most disgraceful manner; but not a few thought that the ministers under whom he had been employed, and under whose general and insane orders he had acted, ought to have been called to a severe account.*

In a very opposite direction another armament, dispatched by the Grenville administration, led to no very honourable result. Towards the end of November, 1806, when our diplomatists at the Ottoman Porte had been circumvented by the French, and had failed in their endeavours to prevent Sultan Selim from engaging in a war with the czar (an event which acted as a capital diversion in favour of Bonaparte, by obliging the Russians to keep a large army on the Lower Danube), Admiral Louis appeared off Tenedos and the coast of Troy with three line-of-battle ships and four frigates. It was an ancient rule, recognised in treaties with the Porte, that no ships of war, with their guns on board, were to be allowed to pass either the straits of the Dardanelles or the straits of the Bosporus. Nevertheless Admiral Louis sent through the Dardanelles a ship of the line and a frigate. The Turks, who certainly wished to avoid hostilities with the English, let the two ships pass their tremendous batteries on the straits without firing at them, and allowed them to come to anchor without molestation off Constantinople, near the point where the Bosporus opens into the Propontis or Sea of Marmora. While this single ship of the line (the 'Canopus' of 80 guns) and this single frigate lay thus, with their broadsides towards the Seraglio, or palace of the sultan (a most vain and impotent menace), some attempts at negotiation were renewed on shore; but the active, able, and intriguing Sebastiani was an over-match for our ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, who had several of the qualities of an old woman, and who was at this

* Admiral Murray, in a separate despatch, explained the reasons for which he had consented to sign the treaty. He said that, on going ashore, he was told by Whitelocke that he was of opinion, as well as were the other English generals, that it could answer no good purpose to persist, and that one great object was attained in getting back all the British prisoners who had been taken in South America this war; that the destroying of the town could not benefit us; that he (Whitelocke) saw no prospect whatever of establishing ourselves in this country, as there was not *a friend to the English in it;* that the inveteracy of every class of the inhabitants was beyond belief; that those of our men the enemy had taken prisoners were in the power of an enraged mob, &c. "Under these circumstances," added the admiral, "and being persuaded that the people of this country did not wish to be under the British government, I signed the treaty." It appears that the "All Talents" ministry, who appointed Whitelocke, or submitted to his being appointed to the command, and who meant to achieve the conquest of a vast continent with less than 12,000 men, were so ignorant of the state of the country and of the feelings of the inhabitants as to believe that if they did not welcome the English as deliverers they would offer at the most but a feeble resistance. Whitelocke, we know, always persisted in saying that he had been misled by his instructions, and by the incorrect information given to him by government. Taking this as truth, it will, however, only serve as a very incomplete excuse for that general's conduct in the field. If our cabinet had cordially given the hand to General Miranda, if they had proclaimed independence for the South American colonies, and if they had rallied round our standard the many adventurers or discontented spirits among the Spanish Americans, the British army might indeed have found friends in abundance: but we believe that the strong decided feelings of George III. would have been a bar to any such scheme, if Lord Grenville and his brother ministers had ventured to propose it. But it should seem that no such proposition was ever made on their part—that the scheme was altogether too extensive and too bold a scheme for them to entertain. We will not go into the question of the abstract merits of it: but either some such scheme ought to have been adopted and promoted by a far greater force than was sent out, or we ought to have left South America alone.

* The charges he was tried upon were in substance—1. Having insisted, in the summons of Buenos Ayres, that civil officers and magistrates should be prisoners of war, which, it is averred, is contrary to all the customs of war, and had a decided effect in inflaming the civil population to resistance. 2. Exposing the army in the attack upon Buenos Ayres to a destructive charge of musketry from the town, without furnishing that army with any means of defence or attack. 3. Not being present personally in the advance against Buenos Ayres; also not keeping open a communication between the main body of the troops and the detachment under General Craufurd, which compelled that officer to surrender. 4. Surrendering the fortress of Monte Video without necessity, which was capable of making an effectual resistance against any force which could be brought against it.

The plan of attack upon Buenos Ayres adopted by General Whitelocke was one proposed to him by Lieutenant-General Gore. This was stated by Whitelocke himself in his defence, and Gore admitted that the basis of the plan adopted was not unlike his.

Generals Craufurd, Auchmuty, Gore, and others, in their evidence, were unanimous in the opinion of Whitelocke's inconsistent, very undecided, and wavering conduct, and of his total want of arrangement in not supplying the troops with provisions, &c. General Auchmuty "did not think that any advantage would have resulted from having the arms loaded;" and the court was very anxious that it might be distinctly understood that they acquitted Lieutenant-General Whitelocke of that part of the 2nd charge which related to his not furnishing the army with that means of defence. With this exception the court-martial found the general guilty of the whole of these charges: and adjudged, "*That the said Lieutenant-General Whitelocke be cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever.*"

time suffering under the depressing influences of a slow fever; the victories that Bonaparte was then obtaining over the Austrians and Russians gave a great weight to Sebastiani's diplomacy; the Austrian ambassador, whose court was opposed to the pretensions of Russia with respect to Turkey, remained neutral and motionless; the Prussian chargé d'affaires followed the instructions and example of his government, and shuffled and tergiversated; the ministers of Spain and Holland backed Sebastiani with all their might; the ministers of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, and of our other ally the King of Sweden, represented courts too insignificant to allow of their making any favourable impression in the way Arbuthnot wanted; the diplomatising came to nothing, and Count Italinsky, the Russian ambassador, who feared that he might be torn to pieces by the Constantinople rabble, or be committed, according to the ancient usage of the Porte, a close prisoner to the Seven Towers, was allowed to embark in one of the English ships, which carried him down the sea of Marmora and through the passage of the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean, where the British flag had the undisputed sovereignty of the sea. Mr. Arbuthnot lingered on shore, but scarcely showed himself out of his house, his malady being increased by domestic affliction. Some agents of the Porte announced that a large English fleet was on its way to the Dardanelles and Constantinople, and some months before Italinsky's departure the divan had been threatened with the bombardment of their capital by a young and hot-headed member of the British legation—a threat which had produced, for the time, the desired effect, but which had certainly contributed to put the Turks on their guard. For a fleet to have effected all that was desired it ought to have come at once, without any threat or announcement: It is true that the Turks were slow and procrastinating, and scarcely to be roused except by the immediate presence of danger; but the sultan had several alert Frenchmen in his service, and Sebastiani and General Andréossi were both excellent artillery and engineer officers. To the popular fury against the Russians, the most hated enemies of the Turks, there now began to be added a loud outcry against the English. Mr. Arbuthnot thought himself exposed to the double risk of being massacred by the rabble or of being detained as an hostage. His apprehensions were aggravated by the delay of the divan in giving a passport to an English courier, and by the military preparations he saw in progress under the direction of the French officers. He therefore made secret preparations for his own departure, and devised a scheme for carrying off with him the persons attached to his embassy, and the British merchants settled at Constantinople. After disclosing his project to two or three confidential persons, he requested the captain of the English frigate, which still remained at anchor near the mouth of the Golden Horn to invite him, his legation, and the merchants to a grand dinner on board. The invitations were sent, and on the 29th of January, 1807, secretaries, attachés, drogomans, all in their best attire, repaired on board the 'Endymion,' not knowing that there was anything in the wind beyond a good dinner and a few patriotic toasts. When they were all assembled the ambassador communicated his intentions, and told them that they must go away with him as they were, and without holding any communication with the shore, as that might excite the suspicion of the Turks. Some of the drogomans had wives and numerous families, some of the English merchants had wives also, and all of them had left on shore, in their warehouses and dwelling-houses, bales of goods and other precious commodities. The sudden announcement struck them like a thunderbolt; but they were told by his excellency that in all probability the Turks would not murder their wives and children, and that if their goods were plundered or burned the generous British government would pay for them all.* There was a dinner served up in the captain's cabin, but the appetite of the guests failed them, and their countenances were sad. At eight o'clock in the evening, when it was very dark, the 'Endymion' cut her cables and got under weigh. She nearly struck on the rocks which project a little beyond the Seraglio Point, towards which she was impelled by the strong current of the Bosporus; but the necessary manœuvres were executed with order and in perfect silence; the Turkish guards, as usual, were either fast asleep or smoking their chibouks, and, being freed from her momentary danger, the trim frigate, favoured by current and by wind, glided down the Propontis or Sea of Marmora, and was near the inner mouth of the Dardanelles before the divan knew that she was gone, or that Arbuthnot had embarked in her.† Close by the entrance of the straits was posted the capitan-pasha with a ship of the line, five frigates, and a brig; but this grand admiral neither knew nor suspected what passengers she was carrying, and the 'Endymion' was allowed to run through the Dardanelles without search or challenge. Off the island of Tenedos the 'Endymion' joined Admiral Louis's squadron. Finding himself now in security, Arbuthnot wrote to Constantinople to explain to the divan the motives of his sudden and unceremonious departure, and to propose the renewal of negotiations. The present object of the English minister was merely to gain time, and to induce the Turks to suspend the preparations they were making on both sides of the Dardanelles to give the English fleet a hot reception, if (which they much doubted) it should really risk itself in that narrow and formidable passage. The Turks fell into the snare, and ordered Feyzi-Effendi, a Mussulman of high rank in the court,

* Before departing, Arbuthnot wrote a note to General Sebastiani recommending to his protection the English families and the nondescript families of the drogomans, &c. in the English service. Sebastiani claimed the merit of a zealous protection; but we believe that none was needed, and that not even the Janissary rabble ever thought of offering any insult to the forsaken women and children.

† Juchereau de Saint-Denys, Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808.—Private information, collected on the spot.

to open a conference with the British ambassador. Arbuthnot would not venture himself on shore; but he sent Berto-Pisani, his head drogoman, to the town or village of the Dardanelles, to amuse Feyzi-Effendi. Pisani, who had a double hereditary claim to cunning, as a man in whose veins the Genoese and Greek bloods were mixed, did his spiriting with great ability, his task being rendered the more easy by the decided English predilections of the Turkish negotiator, who had all along opposed the policy of the divan in provoking a war with the great naval power. In vain M. de Lascours, General Sebastiani's aide-de-camp, who had been sent to the Straits to superintend the preparations, argued and stormed; in vain the other French officers urged the necessity of immediate and extraordinary exertion. Feyzi-Effendi kept negotiating; the capitan-pasha, a true dreamy Turk, said it was not written in the Book of Destiny that the English should come; that if they came, there were guns enough to sink them all; that the probability was that all the English would attempt to do would be to blockade the outer mouth of the Straits, as the Russians had several times done in former wars; that such expenses as the French recommended were unnecessary; and that God was great. And there was this excuse for the capitan-pasha—he had little or no money with him, and he could get none from Constantinople. The workmen who had been pressed into the service, instead of staying to repair the old batteries and make new ones, fled in all directions like packs of famishing jackals. At last, on the 10th of February, Sir John Duckworth, a favourite admiral of the "All Talents" administration—who had certainly made his victory in the West Indies cream over rather too much *—arrived off Tenedos with some more ships of the line, and two bomb-vessels. This force, being united to Admiral Louis's ships, made up not a fleet, but a squadron of eight line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and two bombs. The arrival of this force neither interrupted Berto-Pisani's conferences, nor put more activity into the Turks: Feyzi-Effendi hoped the negotiation would yet end well, and the capitan-pasha kept smoking his pipe and uttering his Inshallahs! and Mashallahs! The confidence of this grand admiral in his *Kismeth*, or destiny or happy star, may possibly have been augmented by a terrible disaster which befel the 'Ajax,' one of Sir John Duckworth's squadron. At nine o'clock on the evening of the 14th of February, just as Captain Blackwood had retired to rest, the officer of the watch ran into the cabin and acquainted him that the ship was on fire. Signals of distress were made and alarm-guns were fired; but, before any succour could approach, the conflagration burst up the main hatchway, dividing the fore from the after part of the ship. Although the moon was shining brightly, lighting up the peaks of Mount Ida and old Olympus, revealing the Trojan plains, and silvering the Scamander, which was winding and flowing through them as in the days of Homer, in ten minutes the smoke became so dense that the officers and men on the upper deck could only distinguish each other by speaking or feeling. In this situation the only boat that could be hoisted out was the jolly-boat. About 380 of the officers, seamen, and marines dropped overboard from the bowsprit or other parts of the rigging, and were picked up by boats of the squadron that were now approaching. Captain Blackwood leaped from the spritsail-yard; all the rest—about 250 souls—perished in the flames or in the water. Among the victims were two women, and two of the merchants who had been kidnapped or entrapped on board the 'Endymion' at Constantinople by the too timid British ambassador. The burning ship drifted on the island of Tenedos, struck on the rocks, and blew up with an awful explosion which was heard all through the winding Dardanelles, and far away in the Archipelago and the Sea of Marmora among the cypress-groves of Sestos and Abydos, the olive-clad hills of Gallipolis, and the cliffs of Lemnos and Imbros. The Turks and the French from the heights behind the village of the Dardanelles could not only hear the final roar, but could also see the long-fed flames which preceded it.

There was then no possibility of threading the narrow passage of the Dardanelles in the teeth of an impetuous current running down incessantly from the northward, without a good breeze from the south or south-west. This favourable wind did not set in until the morning of the 19th of February. Then, at about 7 A.M., the squadron weighed, and Duckworth steered for the entrance of the Dardanelles. In less than an hour the 'Canopus,' his leading ship, arrived abreast the outer castles, one of which stands on the European and the other on the Asiatic shore. Both castles opened their fire upon the 'Canopus,' and in succession upon the ships in her wake, which followed in a long line, with considerable intervals of space between each of them. Neither the 'Canopus' nor any other ship returned the fire: the squadron moved majestically and silently up the Strait, as though despising the vain loud noise of the Turkish batteries. It was a grand holiday with the Osmanlees—one of the days of their Courban-Beiram—and they were keeping it in their ordinary manner: the cannoneers of the inner batteries, instead of being at their posts, were dispersed in the coffee-houses, smoking their chibouks, listening to itinerant story-tellers, or witnessing the pleasant pranks of Karaguse, the Turkish Punch. Even the two outer castles which had opened the fire had only a part of their artillerymen at their guns. Our squadron was well in the

* Some one said in the National Convention, to that great maker of decrees, reports, and dispatches, Barrère—"*Vous faites trop mousser nos victoires!*

Duckworth had been attached to the Mediterranean fleet of Lord Collingwood, to whom the Admiralty orders had been, in the first instance, transmitted. These orders contained the highest compliments to Duckworth. They said, "As the service pointed out will require much ability and firmness in the officer who is to command it, you are to intrust the execution thereof to Vice-Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth."—*James, Naval Hist.—Parliamentary Papers.*

channel before the capitan-pasha would believe that they seriously meant to pass through. He then tore his beard and ran about like a madman, giving hurried and contradictory or unintelligible orders; and it was the French vice-consul at the Dardanelles, Sebastiani's aide-de-camp and the other French officers on the spot, rather than the sultan's grand admiral, that got some of the Turkish cannoneers and soldiers into the upper batteries on the Asiatic side of the channel. On the opposite or European side, where there were no such active and intelligent agents, the greater part of the Turks appear to have continued their *keff** and their smoking. Still favoured by the fresh wind from S.S.W., and breasting the foaming current, the British squadron went quickly on, presenting a magnificent spectacle. At about half-past nine A.M. the leading ship arrived abreast of the castles and batteries of Kelidil-Bahar and Sultanie-Kalessi, which stand on the narrowest part of the channel, where the coasts of the two continents are scarcely a mile and a quarter asunder. The capitan-pasha had thrown himself into one of these works, and Feyzi-Effendi into another. From either shore a tremendous fire was opened upon the English ships, which now for the first time began to reply, with broadsides starboard and larboard, and with a precision of aim which the Turks could neither comprehend nor imitate. In Asia and in Europe the neatly whitewashed bastions and parapets tottered to their fall: the capitan-pasha could not stand this horse-play, and, pretending that he was going on board his flag-ship, he sneaked out of his battery, and disappeared. The Turkish cannoneers and janissaries soon followed the example of their chief, threatening to murder the French officers who attempted to keep them to their guns. These Frenchmen were left almost alone on the batteries, to witness the triumphant progress of the British ships, of which not one seemed to have sustained any serious injury from the cross-fire, hot and terrible as it had been while it lasted. The Straits might now be said to be passed; but there was still some work to do. A little above the Castle of Abydos, and stretching on towards Nagar-Bournu, on the Asiatic side, lay a Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64-gun ship, four frigates, four corvettes, two brigs, and two gunboats. One of the brigs cut her cables and made sail for Constantinople, to convey the intelligence that *the delhi Ingleez*,† the mad English, were really coming. This brig ought to have been pursued and taken by the English, if it had only been to stop the news she was carrying; but it appears that Duckworth gave no orders to that effect. It was scarcely to be expected that the capitan-pasha, a landsman, like nearly all Turkish admirals, who had been scared out of a land battery, would adventure his person on board ship in the face of such a superior force: he had gone to a hill-top to curse his *Kismeth* and calm his agitation with a pipe. But the captain who was on board the 64-gun ship had some of the courage and obstinacy of a true Turk, and as Duckworth's van came abreast of him he fired at the British ships, and his fire was followed by that of his frigates and corvettes. Having returned this fire *en passant*, the 'Canopus,' 'Repulse,' 'Royal George,' and 'Windsor Castle' stood quietly on to an anchorage about three miles above the point, leaving the 'Pompée,' 'Thunderer,' 'Standard,' and the two frigates to deal with the Turkish flotilla. These three ships of the line and two frigates were led into action by Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, Duckworth's second in command, who ought to have had the chief and sole command of the expedition. Sir Sidney ran in and anchored within musket-shot of the Turkish squadron, as well as of a redoubt on the point which mounted 31 heavy guns. At these close quarters the firing commenced at about half-past ten A.M. In considerably less than half an hour the Turkish 64, and all the other vessels, except one frigate, one corvette, and one gunboat, ran ashore on the Asiatic side of the Straits. The corvette and the gunboat were captured: the frigate ran across the channel and forged herself on the rocks on the European side, where she was soon burned by the boats' crews of the 'Active' frigate. While the boats of the 'Thunderer' and the 'Standard' boarded and set fire to the Turkish ships which were stranded on the Asiatic side, the 'Pompée' threw a few shells and dispersed a considerable body of Asiatic troops, both horse and foot, who had gathered on the hills behind the redoubt; and the marines of the 'Pompée,' headed by Lieutenant Mark Oates, landed and captured their green standard. The Turkish frigates now began to explode, the fire reaching their powder-magazines; and other deposits of powder, which the careless Asiatics had left exposed near the beach, blew up also. "It was like the Day of Judgment," said a poor Armenian who was present; "the sky seemed on fire, the mountains shook!" The Turks in the bastion, which had continued to fire with its 31 great guns, fell into a consternation and panic; the reverse or land side of their work, like the reverses of all the batteries along the Straits, was miserably weak and ill-constructed; and, as they saw a handful of marines and sailors coming to attack them in the rear, the cannoneers threw away their linstocks, the janissaries their arms, and all rushed out of the back of the redoubt, and scampered away for the near hills. In a very few minutes nothing living was to be seen on shore except a few English red-coats and blue-jackets busily employed in spiking the guns of the bastion. At last the Turkish 64 went into the air; and at five P.M. Sir Sidney Smith joined his commander-in-chief. In destroying the Turkish squadron and bastion he had lost only 4 killed and 26 wounded. In passing the castles Duckworth had had 6 men killed and 51 wounded,

* *Keff* is Turkish for joy or joviality.

† A name very commonly applied by the Turks to English sailors, and *sometimes* to English *consuls*. It is a superstition of that people, that madmen enjoy in a peculiar manner the favour and protection of Heaven.

and a part of this loss had arisen from the accidental bursting of a mortar on board of one of the bomb-vessels. Thus the total loss sustained by the British in doing what the Turks had considered it impossible for mortal men to do, amounted only to 10 killed and 77 wounded.

But sad was the fate which awaited poor Feyzi-Effendi, the dupe of Arbuthnot's diplomacy and of his own friendly feelings for the English: he was accused of treachery or of imbecility, and his head was soon taken off his shoulders, to be put into the niche over the seraglio gate. The capitan-pasha, though far more culpable than Feyzi-Effendi, had friends within the seraglio walls; and, though he lost his fortune and his place, he saved his head for the present. Even Berto-Pisani, Arbuthnot's chief drogoman, who had been negligently or barbarously left on shore negotiating when Duckworth weighed anchor from Tenedos and began to force the passage, had a very narrow escape for his life, and suffered a long captivity: he was arrested in the village of the Dardanelles, just as Duckworth's ships came abreast of it, and it could scarcely have been less than a miracle which saved him from the fury of the Turks: he was carried as a prisoner of war to Brusa, and thence to Kutaiah, in the interior of Asia Minor, where he lived in sad plight till the conclusion of peace between England and Turkey.

Nearly everything depended upon speed; but Sir John Duckworth, after getting well through the Straits, seemed not to be disposed to make any great haste. That night, though the wind blew as fair as fair could be, he carried very little sail; and on the following day, the 20th, the wind lessened considerably. This circumstance, and the unchangeable nature of the current from the north, caused such delay that it was ten o'clock at night before the squadron could be got to anchor off the Princes' Islands, which lie at the edge of the Sea of Marmora, under the Asiatic coast, opposite to Constantinople, and from eight to ten miles distant from that city. The Turkish brig which had escaped from the Dardanelles had arrived several hours before this, and had carried dismay into the divan and a panic-terror into the seraglio. The women, the eunuchs, black and white, with all the strange beings that compose a Turkish court and household, ran screaming about the palace, which from its situation was of all the city the part most exposed to bombardment; the grand vizier and the other ministers saw at first no hope of salvation except in acceding to the demands of the English, in submitting to the conditions offered by the Russians, and in breaking off all connexion with the French. Sultan Selim even sent Ismael Bey, one of his favourites, to acquaint General Sebastiani with the decision of the divan, and to ask him whether he would not oblige the Turks by quietly taking his departure. But Sebastiani, hoping that the degrading terror of the harem and the Porte had not reached the Turks of the town and the suburbs, declared that the arrival of the English fleet gave him no alarm, that he was under the safeguard of the Porte, and would not quit Constantinople without a positive command from the sultan himself. Sebastiani's firmness gave the Turkish ministers time to recover from their first panic; and Duckworth's unpardonable indecision allowed the Turks abundant time to put their city and harbour in a good state of defence.

On the 21st, at daybreak, the wind blew fair from the south-east, and everybody on board the squadron, except the admiral and the ambassador, expected that the ships would weigh, proceed to take their station off the town, and be ready to bombard it. But Arbuthnot, according to the instructions from government at home, was to give the word when to begin, and he hesitated about giving the order; and Duckworth would do nothing without it, although circumstances had occurred which rendered this submission to instructions—which after all were conditional—dangerous, preposterous. Instead of moving with his whole squadron, the vice-admiral sent the 'Endymion' frigate with the ambassador's dispatches and his ultimatum, which simply signified that the sultan must deliver up his fleet to the British as a security to be kept till the return of peace, dismiss Sebastiani, and renounce his French connexions. The English admiral added a note of his own, stating, in a bungling, rhodomontade style, that he had it in his power to destroy the capital and all the Turkish vessels, and that the Turkish government must send him an answer upon the instant of the reception and translation of his note. The 'Endymion' came to anchor at a spot four miles from Constantinople. Sir John Duckworth said in his dispatches that she could not get nearer on account of the lightness of the wind and the strength of the current; but the Turks, who by this time had certainly got ready batteries which might have sunk the frigate (and probably no flag of truce would have prevented them firing upon her), attributed her respectful distance to other causes and considerations. The captain of the frigate sent forward a boat, bearing a flag of truce, with the dispatches. The Turks would not permit the officer to land, but they took the dispatches, and returned no answer to them.* This was at about two o'clock in the afternoon. Late in the evening Mr. Arbuthnot addressed a note to the Reis-Effendi, or Turkish minister for

* Juchereau de Saint-Denys says that the English officers who carried these dispatches landed and were conducted to Ali Effendi, minister of the marine; that the rather brutal reception they met, and the threatening air of the Turkish officers and sailors, with some indiscreet words that were let drop, made them believe that the Turks were going to violate the law of nations—that is, were going to murder them; that on being called up to the seraglio they believed that their last hour was come, and, instead of repairing to the green Kiosk, the place named for the conference (and which was very often the place of execution), the English officers and the boat's crew rowed away, as hard as they could row, towards Duckworth's squadron, without being stopped by the Turks, and also without having delivered the letters they had brought from the ambassador and the admiral. But we have reason to believe that the letters were delivered and carried across the harbour to the seraglio; that the officers did not quit their boat, but saw Ali Effendi at the arsenal, which lies along the Galata or Christian side of the port, and has quays and piers projecting into the water.

foreign affairs, telling him very solemnly that an answer to the admiral's note must really be delivered within half an hour. The sun set, the moon rose over that beautiful group of islands where Duckworth was lying as if spell-bound, and midnight arrived, without the arrival of an answer from the Reis-Effendi, or from any other Turk, great or small. Sir John Duckworth then wrote and dispatched another threatening note. But he knew not how to threaten with effect; and in this note, which was the very bathos of that sort of the sublime, he said, "As we have discovered by our glasses that the time granted to the Sublime Porte to come to a decision is employed in warping ships of war into places more susceptible of defence, and in constructing batteries along the coast, it is the duty of the vice-admiral to lose no time." Time! he had already lost a night and a day, and with it an almost certain chance of success! If, instead of going to anchor at Princes' Islands on the evening of the 20th, he had come-to off the Seraglio Point, a broadside or two and a few shells would, in all probability, have obtained from the panic-stricken Porte whatever he was sent to demand. But Sir John's delays were not over yet—far from it. The sun rose again from behind the snow-covered ridges of Mount Olympus, and still no answer from the contumacious Turks. Up went the signal "Prepare to weigh" to the mast-head of the 'Royal George,' the admiral's ship. The impatient sailors hailed the glad sign; the breeze was blowing freshly and fairly; an hour's sailing or less would have brought the ships within range of the sultan's palace and the splendid mosques which stand behind it; but Duckworth left his preparation flag flying from five o'clock A.M. till noon, and from noon till four o'clock in the afternoon, without giving the other signal to weigh and be gone. He could not blame the wind, for that continued fair from sunrise till four o'clock P.M., an interval quite sufficient to allow him to do his work on the city if it was to be done at all. At four the steady breeze began to slacken; at five P.M. it subsided almost to a dead calm; and then he could not go were he ever so well inclined. Mr. Arbuthnot, who had never been well, was taken so very sick this afternoon, that he was put *hors de combat*, or out of the paper war, which was the only combat they had been carrying on since passing the Dardanelles; and from this time forward the diplomatic correspondence fell entirely to the vice-admiral, who, judging from the papers he wrote on this and on some other occasions, was a miserable hand at the pen, with a style altogether unlike an English sailor's, being prolix, long-winded, verbose, and inconclusive. Thus passed the 22nd of February. Sir John had now been acting two days or more in direct contradiction to the instructions of his commander-in-chief, Lord Collingwood, which said, "At the crisis, should any negotiation be proposed by the Turkish government, as such proposition will probably be made to gain time for preparing their resistance or securing their ships, I would recommend that no negotiation should continue more than half an hour; and, in the event of an absolute refusal, you are either to cannonade the town or attack the fleet, wherever it may be, holding it in mind that the getting possession, and next to that the destruction, of the Turkish fleet is the object of the first consideration." This fleet, at the moment of Duckworth's arrival, lay huddled together in the Golden Horn, in a condition in which they could have offered scarcely any resistance; and at that moment there was not one formidable land-battery in readiness on either side of the harbour to cover or protect them.

On the morning of the 23rd, while the British seamen were again expecting the signal to weigh, Sir John was in his cabin writing another rigmarole letter to the Turks—the most contemptible epistle, we presume, that had ever yet proceeded from a British admiral.* The Turks, who were, now making excellent use of every hour he allowed them, and who were beginning to despise as much as they had feared him, pretended to agree to treat. And thus passed the 23rd. On the 24th Sir John intimated that he had come to the resolution of personally conducting the negotiation, proposing that a Turkish minister should be sent on board the 'Royal George,' or offering himself to go ashore on any one of the Princes' Islands. The Turks named Kadikeiu, a village on the Asiatic shore, a short distance from Scutari, which may be considered as one of the suburbs of Constantinople, as a very proper place of meeting. Sir John said that Kadikeiu was too far off; and he now discovered that there was no precedent of an admiral and commander-in-chief quitting his squadron. As he would not venture to go on *terra firma* among the Turks, and as no Turkish minister would venture to go to him, there was no meeting that day; and so, with a little scribbling and much talking, passed the 24th. On the following day, or perhaps it was on the 26th, Sir John wanted to send Admiral Louis to Kadikeiu or some other place to treat with the Turks; but Louis preferred

* In this inconceivable epistle Sir John Thomas Duckworth, vice-admiral of the White, after hinting that he expected to be joined by another great naval force, said in the tone of a Captain Bobadil—"I must tell you frankly, I will not consent to lose any more time. I owe it to my sovereign and to my own honour not to suffer myself to be duped, and those who are capable of thinking so meanly of others justly become themselves the object of suspicion. You are putting your ships of war in motion; you take every method of increasing your means of defence; but, if the Sublime Porte really wishes to save its capital from the dreadful calamities which are ready to burst upon it, the thought of which is shocking to our feelings of humanity, you (the Reis-Effendi) will be sent here very early to-morrow morning with full powers to conclude with me the work of peace, which Mr. Arbuthnot would by this time have set out to conclude on shore if he had not been prevented by a very serious indisposition. I now declare to you, for the last time, that no consideration whatever shall induce me to remain at a distance from your capital a single moment beyond the period I have now assigned; and you are sufficiently acquainted with the English character, not to be ignorant that, in a case of unavoidable necessity, we are less disposed to threaten than to execute. But understand me well. Our object is peace and amity: this depends on you."

Well may the blushing historian of the British Navy exclaim—"Can it be wondered that the Turkish minister, having the shrewd Sebastiani at his elbow, should laugh at all this verbiage, and treat with contempt both the writer and the government of which he was the organ?"—*James*.

remaining on board his flag-ship, and had probably concluded before this that negotiation was nonsense, and that Duckworth had lost his senses. The Princes' Islands lie no more than three or four miles from the Asiatic shore, which was now covered with irregular troops; there were cases upon record, and one striking case which had occurred in Sir John Duckworth's own time, in which the Turks had made a desperate rush in open boats across an arm of the sea, and taking them by surprise had inflicted a dreadful blow on their enemies; but, notwithstanding these circumstances, no proper look-out appears to have been kept, and on the morning of the 27th Sir John discovered to his amaze that a body of Turks had landed from the main on the island of Proti, one of the Princes' Islands, and the nearest to his anchorage; and that they were actually erecting a battery to fire upon his ships. These adventurous Turks were dislodged in the course of the day by some grape-shot fired from the ships, and by the landing of some marines and sailors; but even this petty operation was nearly spoiled by Sir John's indecision and vacillation, and it cost the lives of two braye officers and of five men, while two officers and seventeen men returned on board wounded; and, after all, the greater part of the Turks were allowed to escape in their boats even as they had come. It has been said that two most important personages, Sebastiani and the chief Agha of the janissaries, were on the island of Proti, and might have been made prisoners and carried on board the English squadron; and that from this double capture great advantages might have been derived. But it is quite certain that neither the French general nor the janissary Agha risked his person in that desperate enterprise; and that, if they had both been there, and had both been made prisoners, the Porte would not now have complied in any one important particular with the demands of the English.*

During the 25th and 26th of February there had been a calm or contrary winds; but on the 27th the wind blew right into the Golden Horn, and continued so to blow during the whole of the 28th. But no one on board the squadron could now rationally expect the fighting signal which at first had been so eagerly desired; and the Turks were now quite ready to meet and repel the attack of a force far superior to that of Sir John. The enthusiasm and fury of all classes of Mussulmans kept up the heart of the sultan's ministers; or rather, perhaps, their first fear of the English squadron was dissipated by the more terrible apprehension of being torn to pieces by the janissaries and the populace if they quailed before the enemy and yielded to his demands: for it was the unvarying practice of these Turks to avenge the misfortunes of their country on the men who governed it, and to murder or attempt to murder whatsoever minister had done amiss or had incurred their suspicion. This was their one great constitutional check: their impeachments were made, not with glowing words, but with fire and the sword. They called for vengeance upon the English, who had attacked them in a time of peace, who had forced the closed avenue to Constantinople, battering the castles and killing the faithful, who had burned a Turkish squadron, and had then come on to dictate the law to their sultan by threatening to burn his capital and palace. Encouraged, enchanted by this national spirit, General Sebastiani sought and obtained a private audience of Sultan Selim, the morning after Duckworth's arrival at the Princes' Islands: he offered his own services and the services of several engineer and artillery officers whom Marshal Marmont had opportunely sent from the Adriatic to the Bosporus; he represented that immense advantages might be derived from a close alliance with his master the Emperor Napoleon, who was beating the Russians out of Poland, and who would assuredly conduct his victorious army to St. Petersburg, and there dictate a peace to the czar which should preserve and guarantee the integrity of the Turkish empire, as well in Europe as in Asia. Selim was no hero, but his heart and hope rose at these bright prospects. He cleared out his harem, sent all his women with their black and white guardians away to an ancient palace of the Greek emperors situated in the heart of Constantinople; he admitted soldiers and workmen into the interior of the seraglio, into its most sacred or mysterious recesses; and he allowed them to cut away walls and to plant batteries among the cypress trees and on the terraces of the garden. The point and two sides of the triangle on which this palace of the sultan stands, soon bristled with cannon. In the name of the sultan a call was made upon all the faithful to be under arms or to serve in the batteries, and the rayah subjects of the Porte, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and the rest, were invited or pressed into the service, and employed to drag the cannon, to carry the earth and fascines, the powder and the shot. Counting all the suburbs and the villages on the Bosporus, Constantinople might have at this time a population of 800,000 souls; and out of this number nearly every male that had passed the age of childhood, and had not attained to the blindness or decrepitude of old age, was set in active motion. Every day too brought in levies and volunteers from European Turkey and from the plains and hills of Asia Minor. A number of new bat-

* The Turkish officer in command of the party that landed on the island was a janissary from Kadikeiu. ] He might have been captured with his whole party; but, owing to the spiritless, imbecile manner in which Sir John ordered his operations, landing first one handful of men and then another mere handful to support the first, the English got worsted before the miserable walls of a Greek monastery, and were recalled on board by the admiral; and it was not through any fighting or loss they had sustained, but through the apprehension of an attack in greater force on the following morning, that the janissaries stole away in the night. Sir John's strange orders to the parties that landed were "that no risk whatever must be run"—that they were "not to pursue their object should it be attended with any hazard."

Juchereau de Saint-Denys says that the English lost a great many men, and that the Turks remained masters of the monastery. But the Turks certainly fled in the night, as we have stated. This able Frenchman, who bore an important part in all the military operations carried on at Constantinople, is quite right in saying that the attack on the Turks at Proti "was conducted without prudence and without discernment;" and that the spirited advice of Sir Sidney Smith was never once followed after the British squadron had got through the Dardanelles.

teries had been traced by a French officer of engineers before our ambassador fled from Constantinople, but not one of them was mounted when Duckworth first arrived. In the course of the ten days which our admiral allowed them the Turks mounted and manned all these batteries, with a good many more besides. Exclusive of the military men by profession, Sebastiani collected about 200 Frenchmen, secretaries, and clerks of the embassy, travellers, merchants, brokers, who volunteered to serve in the batteries, and who all (like nearly every Frenchman of that generation) knew something of the art or practice of war. These Frenchmen, too, gained golden opinions by the liberal distribution of golden napoleons with which they had been furnished. The Spanish ambassador, the Marquis de Alménara (subsequently minister of the interior to Joseph Bonaparte, when Joseph gave up the kingdom of Naples to become king of Spain), was almost as active and energetic as Sebastiani and his Frenchmen: day and night he was in the batteries with his secretaries, attachés, and the rest of his legation; and he organised a company of cannoneers out of the Spanish sailors that happened to be on board of merchant vessels in the Golden Horn.* By the evening of the 22nd from 200 to 300 pieces of artillery were placed in battery; but by the 26th or 27th 1200 guns of all calibres were mounted and ready. Parapets and other works had risen, as if by magic, on both sides of the port and at the Asiatic suburb of Scutari; and the rock which lies nearly *à fleur de l'eau* between the Point of Scutari and the Seraglio Point, and which is surmounted by an ancient tower, called by the Turks the Maiden's Tower, and by the Franks of the country (absurdly enough) the Tower of Leander, had been provided with some immense guns, and with a furnace for red-hot shot. The fleet lying in the Golden Horn consisted of ten or twelve large ships of the line, some frigates, and a multitude of small craft: many of these vessels were going fast to ruin, and they were nearly all dismasted and without their crews on board when the British squadron first arrived; but while Duckworth was lying at Princes' Islands seven of these line-of-battle ships were manned, brought out, and moored across the mouth of the harbour and the entrance of the Bosporus, supported by a longer and double line of gunboats. The Turks had also prepared, and in great numbers, a species of fire-ships. A great dread continued to be entertained of Duckworth's two bomb ships, for, except the seraglio, the mosques, some of the bazaars, and a very few other public buildings, all the houses of Constantinople and the suburbs are built of wood; but pumps were placed in all directions, water-carriers were pressed into the service, and detachments of janissaries armed with axes as well as with guns were distributed in the streets and squares to stop the conflagration wherever it should burst out.

On the morning of the 1st of March the wind blew from the N.E., a fair wind for returning to the Dardanelles. At eight o'clock the British ships got under sail, standing in line of battle. Sir John Duckworth says that, in order to give the Turkish fleet an opportunity to come out and attack him, he stood on and off Constantinople during the day: but this has been properly described as a flourish, for the Turks had been able to get ready for sea only five sail of the line and four frigates. On the approach of night Sir John bore up for the Dardanelles. On the evening of the 2nd of March he reached the inner mouth of the Straits, and came to anchor, preferring daylight for passing the castles and batteries, although there were no difficulties of navigation, and if he had gone through in the night he must in all probability have escaped the injury which he sustained by broad daylight. Here the admiral got rid of his only trophy by giving up the Turkish corvette, which Sir Sidney Smith had captured, to the prisoners.

On the morning of the 3rd of March, at half-past seven o'clock, and not earlier (as if he had been anxious not to disturb his enemies in their beds at too early an hour), Duckworth again weighed and bore up under topsails with the wind still fresh at N.E. About eight o'clock the ships began to enter the channel, in much the same order as they had observed in going up. They now had not only the wind, but also the rapid current, in their favour; but upon these increased advantages for passing there was this serious drawback,—while Sir John had been dozing at Proti some new works had been raised; some of the old ones had been considerably improved; some Turkish engineers, who had been instructed by the French, and 200 well-trained cannoneers, had been sent down from the capital; a vast body of troops and of workmen had been collected on the spot; and, what perhaps was of as much consequence as almost anything else, it was not now a holiday with the Turks. The old castles on either side the Hellespont were abundantly garrisoned; all the cannoneers were at their posts; and the enormous cannons of the batteries on the water's edge, some of which carried granite balls weighing each 700 or 800 lbs., were not neglected now, as they had been during the upward passage. As they approached the Castle of Abydos the English were saluted by a cross fire of shot and shells of the hottest kind; and as they rushed rapidly down they ran the gauntlet between the castles and batteries of Europe and Asia, to which they replied with occasional broadsides, but without stopping (which was next to an impossibility), and without attempting to moderate the rapidity of their movement. Luckily for the English, those immense guns on the water's edge took a long time for loading, and could be fired only in one direction. During the two hours that our squadron was passing through the close and most dangerous parts of the Straits, the 'Canopus' had her wheel carried away and her hull much damaged by the stone shot; the 'Repulse' received a stone shot which went through between her poop and quarter-deck, killing 10 and wounding 10; the

'Royal George' had several of her lower shrouds cut away, and sustained other damage; a stone shot of 800 lbs. weight struck the main-mast of the 'Windsor Castle,' and cut it more than three-quarters through; and another enormous granite shot of nearly the same weight, discharged from the Castle of Sestos, entered the lower deck of the 'Standard,' and caused an explosion which badly wounded a lieutenant and 46 men. Sir Sidney Smith's ship, the 'Pompée,' had the good fortune to escape without being struck by a single shot in hull, masts, rigging, or sails; but the 'Thunderer' was a good deal damaged; and the 'Active' frigate was perforated by one of the 800 lbs. granite shot.* This was nearly all the damage sustained by the shipping; and the total loss in officers and men did not exceed 29 killed and 140 wounded. A little before noon Sir John Duckworth got to his old anchorage between the island of Tenedos and the Plains of Troy, where he was safe from all molestation. He was immediately joined by the Russian admiral Siniavin, with eight sail of the line. It is said, but the story is somewhat doubtful, that Siniavin requested Sir John to return with him, and renew the attack or the negotiations; and that Sir John declined, saying that where a British squadron had failed no other was likely to succeed.

Thus ended the famed expedition to the Hellespont and the Bosporus. It had broken the spell by which the passage of the Dardanelles had been guarded for so many ages; but the result of the whole was little more than a brilliant bravado, followed by a series of wretched and dishonouring blunders. No investigation was instituted into the causes of the failure. On the 16th of May, 1808, Colonel Wood moved in the House of Commons for the log of the 'Royal George,' Sir John's flag ship, with the view of grounding a charge against that admiral; but the motion was rejected on the principle that the inquiry appertained more properly to a court-martial. On the 20th of May, after many severe strictures, as well on the principle as on the management of the whole affair, Mr. M. A. Taylor moved the censure of the House upon the planners of the expedition, the members of the late administration, for not having made arrangements adequate to the occasion. The mover insisted that Lord Collingwood ought to have been allowed to choose the officer for conducting the expedition, and ought not to have had Sir John Duckworth forced upon him by ministers; that disgrace had been brought upon the British arms unnecessarily and stupidly. Mr. Canning, then secretary for foreign affairs, admitted that it was obvious the expedition might have done more than it did; and Windham, late secretary-at-war, insisted that the failure of the enterprise could not be attributed to any misconduct of the late government. But the question was introduced merely as a retaliation on the party of the late ministers, who had violently assailed the justice and policy of the attack upon Copenhagen by Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, which had been ordered by the new administration; and in the strife of parties Sir John Duckworth was almost lost sight of. Taylor's motion was got rid of by Canning's moving the order of the day; and afterwards a whirlwind of business of the most exciting kind carried the attention of parliament away from the subject; and Sir John chose rather to submit to the imputations cast upon him by Canning, Windham, and many others of less name, than to challenge —as he well might have done, and as he seemed in honour bound to do—an investigation into his conduct by a court-martial.

From Tenedos, where he left the Russian squadron under Siniavin to blockade the Dardanelles, Sir John hastened down to the mouths of the Nile, to co-operate in a still more imbecile expedition which had been planned by "All the Talents." Ever since the evacuation of Egypt by the British troops that country had been the scene of anarchy and civil war; the Mameluke chiefs, or such of them as survived the destructive battles fought by the French, fighting against Mehemet Ali, the sultan's pasha and governor, and his Albanian troops, and both parties committing frightful excesses, and plundering and murdering the poor Arabs and Egyptian Fellahs. The Grenville administration seem to have had great faith in sudden national friendships: they thought that the South American Spaniards would renounce their prejudices and join General Whitelocke; and they thought that, if some other British general were sent into Egypt, the Mameluke beys, the Arabs, the Fellahs, and all classes except the wild Albanian soldiery in the pay of Mehemet Ali and the Porte, would either rush to his standard or joyfully submit to his authority. With some of the Mamelukes a friendly correspondence had been maintained for some time; but there was slight dependence to be placed upon that capricious, treacherous, and lawless confederacy, and Mehemet Ali had decidedly proved that the Mamelukes were by far the weaker party. There had been a rumour that the sultan had entertained the notion of a treaty, by which Egypt was to be given up to the French as the price of Bonaparte's assistance against the Russians on the Danube, in the Crimea, and in the other vast regions round the Black Sea, which the czars had successively torn from Turkey; but the French could neither keep nor so much as take possession of Egypt so long as England maintained her superiority at sea. The landing of a British army in Egypt might indeed serve as a present diversion highly favourable to our ally the Emperor Alexander, who, while outnumbered and hard pressed by Bonaparte between the Vistula and the Niemen, was obliged to keep an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men on the Danube; but to

* The aperture made by this shot was so wide, that the captain, on looking over the side of his frigate to ascertain what damage had been done, saw two of his crew thrusting their heads through the hole at the same moment. The gigantic ball, which lodged on the orlop deck, close to the magazine scuttle, without injuring a man, had passed through the 'Active's' side only two feet above the water. Had there risen a necessity for hauling to the wind on the opposite tack, the 'Active' must have gone to the bottom.

effect this desirable object our ministers ought to have sent 15,000 or 20,000 men, instead of a diminutive force which was not capable of contending with Mehemet Ali, and which was crushed and disgraced without so much as the marching of an oda of janissaries from Constantinople, or from any part of European Turkey, or from Asia Minor, or from Syria.

On the 5th of March from 4000 to 5000 men, taken from our army in Sicily, were embarked at Messina, under the command of Major-General Mackenzie Fraser, who was escorted by a ship of the line, a frigate, and a 16-gun brig-sloop. A storm scattered the transports; but on the 16th, the 74 and fourteen sail of transports anchored a little to the westward of Alexandria. At this time nothing appears to have been known in Egypt of Sir John Duckworth's failure; and General Fraser believed that squadron had been successful at Constantinople. Major Misset, the English resident and consul at Alexandria, came off in a boat, and made a favourable report to the general as to the disposition of the inhabitants. Fraser then summoned the town and fortresses. On the morning of the 17th of March, Mehemet's governor replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity. On the evening of that day, from 600 to 700 troops, 5 field-pieces, and about 60 sailors were landed without opposition, and 300 more soldiers were landed on the 18th. On the evening of the 18th, these troops moved forward, and carried the enemy's advanced works, with the trifling loss of seven killed and ten wounded. On the next day the nineteen missing transports reached the anchorage in Aboukir Bay, and on the 20th the remainder of the troops were landed without the slightest opposition, the Castle of Aboukir having been previously secured. Having taken up ground to prevent the arrival of a reinforcement of Albanians, General Fraser on the morning of the 20th sent in, by a friendly Arab that had stolen out of the town and joined him, a manifesto, addressed to the inhabitants of Alexandria, warning them of the danger of implicating friends and foes in the event of the English being obliged to take the town by assault, and urging them to force the governor to capitulate. This, added to the arrival of the nineteen transports and the landing of the troops they brought, had the desired effect; Mehemet's governor immediately sent out a flag of truce, and, in the course of the afternoon, agreed to and signed a capitulation. On the 21st, Fraser took possession of the forts of Caffarelli and Cretin, and marched into Alexandria. In the old harbour were found two Turkish frigates and one corvette, which remained prizes, but their crews were to be sent to a Turkish port, under condition not to serve against England or her allies till exchanged. In the course of the following day, Sir John Duckworth arrived with his squadron and his bad news. We had taken Alexandria, but the poor soldiers soon found that they had taken it only to starve in it: provisions were scarce, the neighbouring sands supplied nothing, and the open country beyond remained in possession of Mehemet Ali's Albanians, who cut off all supplies. So badly had the transports been supplied, that the men had eaten almost their last biscuit before they landed. The inhabitants of Alexandria, who ran the risk of being starved as well as the British troops, assured General Fraser that there was no hope of obtaining provisions unless he extended his conquest along the coast, and got possession of Rosetta and Rhamanieh; and upon this assurance, and with the concurrence of Admiral Duckworth, Fraser on the 27th of March—only six days after gaining possession of Alexandria—detached about 1200 men, under Major-General Wauchope and Brigadier-General Mead, to Rosetta. The troops were allowed to march forward in the most confident and blindest manner, for their generals all fancied that the inhabitants of Rosetta were as quiet and friendly as the people of Alexandria. Instead of keeping their posts on some heights which command the town, and instead of taking any precautions, Wauchope, without any previous examination, rushed with his whole force into the streets of Rosetta, the gates of the town having been expressly left open. The Albanian commandant let them rush on and cram themselves in close columns in those narrow, crooked streets; and then, from every door-way, window, and house-top on either side of the streets, he hailed upon them with musket-shot and carbine and rifle-ball. Almost without seeing the enemy that assailed them, three hundred of the British fell dead or badly wounded. General Wauchope himself was slain; and, before they could extricate themselves from that infernal labyrinth into which the folly of their commanders had led them, another hundred men and officers fell under the murderous fire of the Albanians. When our people got out of the town, they formed in good order, and so retreated for Alexandria; but the Albanians, who always fought best under cover and behind walls, and who dreaded an encounter with European troops in the open field, made no attempt to throw them into disorder by following them. Thus, instead of provisions, General Fraser received a list of 400 killed and wounded—a sad reduction to a force so small as his. At a moment when absolute famine was threatening the British army, the city of Alexandria, and all their *friends*, Sir John Duckworth, leaving the command of the squadron to Rear-Admiral Louis, who died shortly after, quitted that unpleasant coast in the 'Royal George,' and arrived safely in England on the 26th of May.

It appears, however, that the scarcity of provisions in Alexandria was far from being so great as the people chose to represent it; that, though wheaten bread was rather scarce, there was abundance of rice in the magazines; that supplies were brought in by water; and that good and abundant provisions might have been obtained without going to Rosetta for them. But the Surbadji, or chief magistrate, who very probably had his instructions from Mehemet Ali, again represented that the

people would be starved; and General Fraser thereupon sent 2500 men, under the command of Brigadier-General Stewart and Colonel Oswald, to take Rosetta by regular siege. On the 9th of April, Stewart took post on the heights, summoned the town, and, receiving an answer of defiance, began to form his batteries. The British commander-in-chief attached great importance to a promise he had received from the Mameluke Beys, that they would come down from Upper Egypt and join him. Instead of trusting to his own resources, and driving on the siege with vigour, Brigadier-General Stewart waited for the arrival of the Mameluke cavalry, and Colonel Macleod was sent to seize an important post at the village of El Hammed, for the purpose of facilitating a junction with the expected succour. But day after day passed without bringing any succour or even any intelligence of it. Mehemet Ali had collected a great force at Cairo, which kept the Mamelukes in check. The pasha was also sending reinforcements to Rhamanieh and Rosetta, and other corps intended to drive Stewart back to Alexandria. On the morning of the 22nd of April, sixty or seventy vessels were seen sailing down the Nile with some of these reinforcements from Cairo; orders were immediately sent to Macleod to retreat from his position to the main body; but these orders were intercepted, and the detachment at El Hammed was completely cut off. On the 23rd of April, the besiegers of Rosetta, who were absurdly scattered over a wide space of ground, with scarcely any entrenchments, were assailed by a vastly superior force, and were driven from all their positions. Stewart retreated, fighting all the way to Alexandria; but he lost altogether, in killed, wounded, and missing, from 1000 to 1200 men. It has been suggested that, had this expedition against Egypt been planned by the new ministry, which came into power on the 25th of March, they would have supported it by reinforcements from Messina or from Malta. But they did not approve of the expedition; and their strong disapprobation was not long kept a secret from General Fraser and the officers serving under him. We conceive that, for the honour of our arms, the new ministers were bound to make the best of the blunder committed by their predecessors, and to send out at least such succour as should enable Fraser to withdraw from Egypt without disgrace. But, unhappily, party passions, and an eagerness to throw a crushing weight of opprobrium and unpopularity upon their predecessors, seem to have confirmed them in a resolution to do nothing. This was not the first time, nor the last, in which the character of the nation was committed in order that a political party might be discredited. It was, however, particularly painful that Egypt, which had been the scene of our first bright military exploits during this war, should be so soon made the scene of our miserable discomfiture and failure. It was destroying a *prestige*.

No Mamelukes arrived; but Mehem Ali gradually collected an immense force of horse and foot between Cairo and Alexandria; and now the inhabitants of that city, and all the Arabs and Fellahs in the neighbourhood, showed the steadiness of their friendship for the English by concerting plans for their expulsion, cutting off their supplies, and murdering the men at the outposts. By the end of July, Fraser was in a hopeless condition: on the 22nd of August, on the near approach of some of Mehemet's columns, he sent out a flag of truce, announcing that, if the pasha would deliver up all the British prisoners taken at Rosetta, El Hammed, and elsewhere, the army under his command should immediately evacuate Egypt. This was readily agreed to; and on the 23rd of September what remained of the English army set sail for Sicily.

Irritated by all these hostile proceedings, the sultan had declared war against England, had seized all British property or merchandize in his dominions, had concluded a close alliance with the French, and had sent an ambassador into Poland to follow in the train of the triumphant Bonaparte, who duped him with fine promises so long as it suited his purpose, and then left Turkey to defend herself as she best might against the Russians.

While Admiral Siniavin was blockading the Dardanelles, another Russian squadron came down the Black Sea, and blockaded the mouth of the Bosporus. In the month of May, a Turkish squadron of eight sail of the line, six frigates, some corvettes, and about fifty gun-boats, under the command of a new capitan-pasha, came boldly out of the Dardanelles; but on the 22nd of May, after a running fight of two hours, and after losing three ships, which were stranded through bad seamanship, they ran back into the narrow channel, and took shelter above the castles. On the 22nd of June the Turks issued forth with ten sail of the line, six frigates, and five smaller vessels. On the 1st of July they were attacked by the Russians, who had ten sail of the line and two frigates. The loose running battle lasted the whole day, and ended in the Turks losing three ships of the line and three frigates. On receiving the news of the treaty of Tilsit, which converted Russia from a friend and ally into an enemy of England, Admiral Siniavin hurried down the Mediterranean; and, after detaching two ships of the line and some smaller vessels to take possession of the island of Corfu, which France had ceded to Russia, he hastened away for the Straits of Gibraltar with the remainder of his force, scarcely hoping to get into the Baltic before open war should be declared between Russia and England—in which case his capture would be inevitable. Before the second of these naval battles was fought Sultan Selim had ceased to reign, and his chief ministers and advisers had been savagely massacred, as they would have been during Duckworth's visit if they had yielded to our demands.

Some slight essays had been made by two of his immediate predecessors, but Selim may be considered as the first great innovator, and as the founder

Constantinople.

of that system of reform, military and civil, which was afterwards carried out and established by Sultan Mahmoud, the father of the Turkish sovereign now reigning. From the commencement of his reign Selim laboured to uproot many of the religious and social prejudices which had kept the Turks in a state of barbarism, while all the nations of Europe were rapidly advancing in civilization; and he had strenuously endeavoured to introduce the sciences and arts of the Christians, together with their military organization and tactics, which for the last hundred years had invariably given them the advantage in the field over the disorganized and degenerate janissary militia, and all the irregular levies and masses of the Osmanlees, who had rarely any other military quality than that of a headlong courage. Several absurd but ancient and cherished laws had been abrogated; the sultan had surrounded himself with Europeans, or with Greeks who had travelled and resided in the most civilized parts of the continent; he had sent ambassadors to reside in the principal courts, and had encouraged a number of Turkish gentlemen, who never till now used to quit their homes, to travel through the most enlightened countries in search of improvement. He had begun to create a regular army, disciplined after the most approved European models, and instructed by French, Italian, and other European officers. Selim's nizam-gedittes, or troops of the new regulation or ordinance, already amounted to some 10,000 foot, tolerably well trained; and in addition to this force he had two or three regiments of cavalry, disciplined and armed in the European manner, and a small but good corps of artillerymen, who had learned to manage the excellent light field-pieces which had been presented to the sultan by the French Directory in 1796, when France was courting the friendship of Turkey. Splendid barracks had been built in the suburbs of Constantinople, for the accommodation of the nizam-gedittes, and one of the chief occupations and greatest pleasures of the sultan seemed to be in reviewing these favourite troops. To provide for the necessary expenses some new taxes of an unprecedented kind were imposed, and were levied with some harshness. Certain necessary alterations were made in the national costume, which from the first gave mortal offence to the great body of the people. Like most reformers, Selim attempted to do too much at once; and, mild, humane, amiable, and somewhat indolent, he wanted the indomitable courage, the unflinching firmness and ruthlessness, which had enabled Peter the Great to put down the janissaries of the Russian empire, the Strelitz, and which, twenty years after Selim's death, enabled his cousin Mahmoud to extinguish the Turkish janissaries, and the total spirit of anti-reform, in a sea of blood. Selim would not deceive, betray, and put to death, and therefore he was betrayed, dethroned, and in the end murdered. At a most critical moment death deprived him of an enlightened and friendly mufti, who had favoured and sanctioned most of his reforms, and repressed the discontents of the oulemas. The successor of this "pontiff-magistrate" was a Turk of the old stamp, a sworn enemy to all innovation, and personally an

enemy to Selim. He encouraged the discontents which the late mufti had checked, and the mosques and medressés, the temples and colleges of the Osmanlees began to echo the murmurs of popular complaint and disaffection. When this present war broke out, in November, 1806, the janissaries, though sure to be beaten themselves, insisted that the nizam-gedittes should not march to the Danube: and, claiming their ancient right of being in the van of all Turkish armies, some janissary-odas took the field in their own disorderly manner, and the sultan was obliged to separate his disciplined troops, and send a large portion of them into Asia Minor. All the janissaries of the turbulent capital did not march to fight the yellow-heads; many odas remained behind, dissatified, disaffected, ready for any mischief; and, by a sort of affiliation or freemasonry, nearly every desperate vagabond in Constantinople was connected with some one of these odas, who took up his cause when he felt himself aggrieved, whether he were in the right or wrong, and fought his battles with the agents and servants of government. Even the rayah subjects, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Bulgarians, the Bosniacks, the Slavonians, the very Jews themselves, could partake of the benefits and protection of these affiliations, by paying for them. This was another of the *constitutional* checks on the arbitrary absolute power of the sultans, and one to which sufficient attention has not been paid by those who have written on the subject of Turkish despotism. It will be understood that this checking power very often led to more terrible abuses than any that proceeded from the imperial sovereign power. This system of janissary union and affiliation was not confined to Constantinople; it existed in full force in all the great towns, and by its ramifications it extended over the whole surface of the empire. Everything was ripe for revolt, when, towards the end of May, 1807, a quarrel broke out between the disciplined troops and the yamacks-tabiélis, or assistants at batteries. These yamacks, whose name is still a word of terror in the country, were composed of wild Albanians, still wilder Lazes from the neighbourhood of Trebizond, and of other bands of desperate adventurers from Georgia and Circassia and the other mountainous regions on the Asiatic side of the Black Sea. The sultan intended (a most insane intention) to subject suddenly these yamacks to the European discipline, and to incorporate them with his nizam-gedittes. Traitors near his person, and high in office, concealed the real state of things; and, at the very moment that the yamacks were preparing to fall upon the disciplined troops, he sent Mahmoud-Effendi to the castles and batteries on the Bosporus, with uniforms like those worn by the nizam-gedittes, and with positive orders to make the yamacks throw off their old Oriental dresses, and put on the new, half-European, and somewhat shabby costume. Scarcely had his attendants unrolled the first bundle of blue jackets and tight pantaloons, ere the yamacks fell upon the poor effendi, to strangle him. The nizam-gedittes rallied round the minister of the sultan, and a fierce and bloody combat ensued. In the heat of the fight Mahmoud-Effendi got to his boat, and descended the Bosporus as far as the village of Buyukderé, where he hoped to find refuge in the summer palace of the French ambassador. But hot yamacks were there, and were everywhere on both sides of that lovely channel, and the effendi and his secretary were slaughtered the moment they put their feet on shore. Another officer of high rank was murdered on the Asiatic side, and his body thrown into the sea. After a desperate contest the nizam-gedittes were driven from the castles and batteries on both sides the channel. Such of them as were left alive retreated in good order to their barracks at Constantinople; other corps might soon have been brought over from Scutari, and the proper timely employment of these disciplined forces would have destroyed the mutineers; but his traitors assured the Sultan that it was merely a momentary commotion, that there was no danger; his ministers never did to-day what they could possibly put off till to-morrow; and Selim himself was averse to energetic measures, which must end in the slaughter of many of his subjects. The moment was lost, the opportunity was thrown away, and there was no possibility of recovering it. Secret emissaries glided through the populous quarters of the capital, telling the janissaries that the time was come for taking their vengeance on the nizam-gedittes; messengers mounted on swift horses went and came between the head-quarters of the yamacks and Constantinople; the mufti and his principal oulemas secretly distributed gold, and the sheiks and imams preached mysteriously in the mosques, beginning by lamentations, and ending at the proper moment with menaces. The yamacks, after leaving strong guards in all the batteries, united in the beautiful valley which runs from the European side of the Bosporus behind Buyukderé towards the village and forest of Belgrade: and there, in the shade of the magnificent plane-trees, and in concurrence with secret envoys from the janissaries and oulemas, they took a solemn vow to defend unto death the common cause, their religion, their ancient laws and usages; and then elected to be their chief and generalissimo one Cabakchy-Oglou, a fierce, fearless, unlettered Asiatic, to whom they gave the power of punishing with instant death every man among them that should prove a coward or a traitor. Cabakchy-Oglou remained inactive for three days in the valley of Buyukderé, awaiting his signal to march from the chiefs of the conspiracy in the capital. The Spanish ambassador, the same Marquis de Alménara who had helped the Turks to man the batteries from which Duckworth had retreated, chanced to be in the village of Buyukderé, and he very easily penetrated the bold and extensive designs of the mutineers. He hurried to Constantinople, he ran to the divan, he visited the honest ministers of the sultan, and endeavoured to awaken them to a sense of their

danger; but they met him with Mashallahs! and Inshallahs! and with assurances that they knew very well what to do, that tranquillity would soon be re-established, and that the marquis's fears and conjectures were all visionary. On the morning of the 29th of May, Cabakchy-Oglou got the word to march; on the afternoon of that day he was in the heart of Constantinople, and before the sun went down he was joined by the janissaries, by some of the galiongees, or sailors of the fleet; by nearly all the topgees, or cannoneers; and by nearly all the rabble. In the course of the night a general massacre began of the sultan's ministers (except those who had betrayed him), and of all the friends of reform. The list of proscription—and there was one in writing—must have been drawn up by the mufti or some of his oulemas and imams, for Cabakchy-Oglou could neither write nor read. It was read by torchlight in the great square of the Hippodrome; and thither, as they were successively seized and decapitated, were brought the streaming heads of the victims, and piled in a heap under the ancient Greek obelisk which faces the temple of Santa Sophia and the more magnificent white marble mosque of Sultan Achmet. These summary executions continued all that night, and all the following day, the 30th of May. Not only the ministers, officers, and men in employment, but every Turkish gentleman who had shown a predilection for reform and innovation, and the manners and usages of Christian Europe, or who had distinguished himself by his acquirements or love of study, was hunted down by the yamacks and janissaries. It was a fatal thing then to know how to read and write, or to have manuscripts or books in one's possession, for, where other evidence was wanting, this was enough to prove to the anti-reformers that the possessor's faith was heretical and unsound—that he was an enemy to the prophet and the people of the prophet, and a friend to the Ghiaours and their unclean accursed usages—and so off went his head. The bostandji-bachy, one of the principal dignitaries of the empire, and especially odious to the yamacks and janissaries, had taken refuge in the seraglio, which the Turks in their fiercest insurrections had generally respected as a sacred asylum. The yamacks and janissaries presented themselves at the great gate of the palace called the Sublime Gate, threatening to force it open, and demanding the bostandji-bachy's head. Selim's terrified courtiers advised him to give up the victim demanded, as the only means of preserving the sanctity of the palace and restoring tranquillity. The sultan hesitated, for the man had been a faithful servant and warm friend; but when the bostandji-bachy threw himself at his feet, and himself demanded to die in order to save his master and the palace, Selim covered his eyes with both his hands, and muttered words equivalent to the death-sentence; and in an instant the bostandji-bachy's head was struck off and thrown over one of the battlements to the yamacks, who picked it up with a transport of savage joy, and, carrying it to the Hippodrome, laid it at the feet of Cabakchy-Oglou. The sultan sent out a decree and proclamation, abolishing for ever the corps of nizam-gedittes, and promising for the future to be entirely guided by the ancient laws and institutions of the Osmanlees. But this humiliating measure, and the shameful sacrifice of the bostandji-bachy, instead of guaranteeing the sultan's safety, only increased the audacity of the rebels. The mufti and the oulemas had determined from the first not to trust Selim, or rely on any of his promises. At their prompting, Cabakchy-Oglou, on the morning of the 31st of May, from his seat or throne in the Hippodrome, sent a deputation of the people to put this comprehensive question to the pontiff-magistrate:—"If any padishah (emperor or sovereign) by his conduct and his regulations combats the religious principles consecrated by the Koran, does he deserve to remain on the throne?" The mufti feigned to be sorely afflicted; but, not satisfied with a short, sonorous negative, he went on to confirm the popular belief that Selim had sinned against the principles of the Koran—had endeavoured to assimilate the Osmanlees to the infidels, and had merited dethronement. He then retired and penned his *fetva*, or bull, and wrote at the bottom of the paper containing the question which the deputation had submitted to him—"No: God knows the best." As soon as the *fetva* and the answer were read in the Hippodrome, the yamacks, the janissaries, and the mob shouted that they would have no more of Selim; that his cousin Mustapha, son of the late Sultan Abdul-Hamid, should be their lawful sovereign! As Mustapha, who was thus proclaimed, was, according to the ancient usage of securing all the princes of the blood, a prisoner in the seraglio, at the mercy of the dethroned sultan, and as Selim, by doing as other padishahs had done before him, might stop his promotion by cutting off his head, and as it was apprehended he might be driven to this desperate step if the seraglio were attacked and forced, there was a short and anxious pause in the proceedings, which had hitherto run on so smoothly and so rapidly. But the sleek and slippery mufti stepped in at the moment of need: his person was as sacred as the innermost recesses of the seraglio, his life was guaranteed by ancient laws, and he offered to go into the palace, to acquaint Sultan Selim with his destiny, and engage him to resign himself to it, as to the unalterable doom of God and man. He knew the weaknesses of Selim's character, and the dread he always had of civil war. When he presented himself at the seraglio gate, and intimated—without explaining the object of his mission—that he wished to speak with the sultan, Selim ordered that the holy man, the sheik islam, or head of the faith, should be instantly admitted. He found his sovereign surrounded only by a few timid trembling servants; and with some little religious cant he told him that he had ceased to reign; that it was the will of Heaven, and of the janissaries and all the people of Constan-

tinople, that his cousin Mustapha should be sultan and master: "All this was written in the Book of Destiny: what can we poor feeble mortals do against the will of Allah?" Selim, seeing that he had no means of resisting it, calmly submitted to the will of Heaven, as interpreted by the sheik islam, and retired to the humble apartments in the seraglio which he had occupied before he ascended the throne. His cousin Mustapha then came forth into the grand hall of audience, and was saluted as padishah. He was much applauded for not administering the bowstring to the deposed sultan; but, as we shall see, in the course of a few months Mustapha finished his own career by murdering his cousin.* Sebastiani regretted the sudden revolution which had taken place, for Selim had treated him in the most friendly manner, and showed every disposition of steadiness and attachment to the alliance with Bonaparte; but as soon as he was deposed, Sebastiani cultivated a close friendship with Cabakchy-Oglou, the violent and brutal man who had overthrown him, and through Cabakchy's means the French influence at the Porte remained undiminished. But for this revolution, which bewildered and paralysed the pashas commanding on the Danube, the Russian army in that quarter, being spread over a wide extent of territory, and in part occupied by tedious sieges, might have suffered, if not defeat, some very serious losses.

One little expedition which took place under the Grenville administration, and which showed that they, as well as their predecessors, had a hankering after petty conquests and unhealthy colonies, was attended with complete success. On the first day of the year Captain Charles Brisbane captured the Dutch island of Curaçoa. The entrance to the harbour, only fifty fathoms wide, was defended by regular fortifications; the principal fort, Fort Amsterdam, mounted sixty pieces of cannon in two tiers; and athwart the harbour were ranged a large Dutch frigate, a 20-gun ship corvette, and two large schooners; while at the bottom of the harbour, and upon a high steep hill, there stood Fort République, which was within grape-shot distance. Yet the gallant Brisbane's force amounted only to four British frigates. In a short morning's work, and with no other loss than three killed and fourteen wounded, and of a spritsail-yard shot away from the 'Arethusa,' the Dutch frigate was boarded and carried, the ship-corvette was secured, Fort Amsterdam, two minor forts, the citadel, and the town were stormed, and Fort République, being threatened in the rear by 300 sailors and marines who had climbed up the rocks, was reduced to capitulate.

The first expedition sent out by the new ministry was attended by some painful circumstances, but with complete success, at least to our arms. The terrible chastisement which the Danes had received at the hands of Lord Nelson had not promoted any friendly feeling towards England. They had professed to remain neutral; but, even more than before that chastisement, they had favoured the French. A woful experience had taught England and her allies how little Bonaparte respected the neutrality of any country that was weak when it suited his purpose to violate it. The predominant idea of that conqueror now was to enforce what he termed his "continental system;" to carry into effect in every maritime state of Europe his Berlin decree, in conformity with which all ports were to be closed against the British flag and trade. Russia and Prussia, by events which will be explained hereafter when we have finished the narrative of our own military and naval operations, had been compelled to accede; the Hanse Towns, with all the rivers of the north of Germany, Holland, and its outlets, were occupied by French troops; Sweden could not long offer any valid opposition: but the system would be incomplete in the north of Europe unless Denmark, who holds the keys of the Baltic in her hand, and whose trade and enterprise and mercantile marine were very considerable, should be, by negotiation and treaty, or by military force, brought into it. It was known to our cabinet that there had been negotiations of a secret nature, and it was equally well known that Bonaparte would not hesitate to employ force if negotiation failed. The north of Germany was swarming with his troops, and with the troops his brother Louis had brought into Hanover from Holland; an entire *corps d'armée* was lying not many days' march from that frontier of Denmark where the heroic and unfriended Blücher had been compelled to lay down his arms. There was no army in Denmark at all capable of resisting these French forces: the country was indubitably Bonaparte's as soon as he might choose to take possession of it, and with the country he would gain a fine fleet and well-stored arsenals and dockyards. If England could have relied on the friendship of Denmark, there was no relying on her weakness; if the court, the cabinet, and the country had been devoted to us, instead of being alienated from us—if, instead of an evident leaning towards France, which had lasted for many years, there had been a high and resolute spirit of patriotism, with the determination to resist foreign interference and dictation, we could not have relied upon the ability of the Danes to oppose the mighty will which had overthrown a great military power like Prussia almost at a single blow, which had for the time subjugated Russia as well as Austria, and which had involved in a vortex all the old principalities and powers of Europe. A capital part of the case reduced itself

* Juchereau de Saint-Denys, *Révolutions de Constantinople*.—Private information.

M. Juchereau says that all the details relating to the events which took place in the interior of the seraglio were communicated to him by one of Sultan Selim's pages; an eye and ear witness. With the persons resident in Constantinople at the time, and with all those who were best acquainted with the circumstances, M. Juchereau's admirably written book passed as a most correct and authentic account. Except in some slight particulars, the information we ourselves collected on the spot, twenty-one years after the events, closely agrees with Juchereau's details.

simply to this—if we did not make sure of the Danish fleet Bonaparte was sure to get it, a little sooner or later. The justification of the conduct adopted by our government may be explained with almost equal brevity:—a man knows that his next or near neighbour has in his possession a huge barrel of gunpowder; he may believe that this neighbour will not set fire to his powder so as to endanger his house and property; but he knows that there is an evil-disposed person living over the way who has a design upon the powder and the intention of blowing up his house with it, and, knowing at the same time that the owner of the powder cannot defend it or keep it out of the way of the evil-disposed person, he demands that it should be put into his hands, which are strong enough to keep it, and which can put it beyond the reach of the evil-disposed party, offering to restore it when the danger shall be passed, or to pay the price of it; and when the weak neighbour rejects this proposition he takes the powder by force, to prevent its being seized and employed against his own house and property. One of the greatest writers on the law of nations says—"I may, without considering whether it is merited or not, take possession of that which belongs to another man, if I have reason to apprehend any evil to myself from his holding it. I cannot make myself master or proprietor of it, the property having nothing to do with the end which I propose; but I can keep possession of the thing seized till my safety be sufficiently provided for."* The great law of nature, the instinct and duty of self-preservation, would recommend and justify this course; and, in order to attain success, execution must follow rapidly and suddenly on the conception of the plan, for if the person over the way learns the project beforehand, he will seize the gunpowder before the threatened man can secure it:—and thus our government rushed to its object without a declaration of war against Denmark, which would have defeated everything, and have thrown the Danish fleet into the hands of Bonaparte. It was utterly impossible for the Prince Royal of Denmark to keep his ships out of the clutches of our mortal enemy, who intended to avail himself of the subjugation of the continent in making the most strenuous efforts for creating a new French navy, and for bringing into action along with it all the fleets of Europe. Bonaparte had too thoroughly rent the book of the law of nations for any British ministry in its senses to count upon one of its torn pages. The enemies of the conqueror had already suffered too severely from binding themselves by laws which were less than gossamer to him. The uncontrollable rage which he felt and expressed on learning the daring blow which had been struck at Copenhagen clearly evinced his intentions as to Denmark and her fleet, and the bitterness of his disappointment at finding the prize seized before he could clutch it.† But there was more than this: the Danish government, which had said nothing against the Berlin decree, although it was an attack on the rights of all neutral commercial nations, had raised a terrible clamour against the retaliating order of council of January the 7th, 1807, wherein the British government prohibited the trade of neutrals, with property belonging to an enemy, from any one port to another, both being in the possession of France or of her allies. At the end of the American war, when the armed neutrality or maritime confederacy of the northern powers had been projected, Denmark had put herself in the van; and there was now not only ground for believing that that confederacy against the maritime superiority of Great Britain was to be revived, but our cabinet had also obtained information that the Emperor Alexander had agreed to place himself at the head of it, and the Crown Prince of Denmark to become a party to it. The court of Copenhagen would certainly have given us no previous notice of its intention; it would have held up the treaty of peace with England as a screen to conceal its hostile preparations, and as soon as the opportune moment came it would, "in a time of profound peace," have turned its cannon against our heart of hearts. Surely it is time to have done with all this ridiculous verbiage about the attacking Denmark in a time of profound peace! What ministers could not then declare to a loud and passionate opposition, who showed a wonderful alacrity in putting the French construction upon the whole case, and in echoing and re-echoing Bonaparte's cry about the violation of the law of nations, was revealed ten years after, when the reasons for concealment were removed by the death of the persons who had made the discovery:—a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, which provided for the seizure of the Danish fleet by France and Russia, was publicly revealed, and an authenticated copy of it produced in parliament. In 1807 and 1808 ministers, in reply to all the taunts and challenges of their political adversaries, could only state that they had good grounds for believing that this article existed, and that the seizure of the Danish fleet only formed a part of an extensive system for uniting the navies of the world against us. When we come to treat of the affairs of Portugal, another neutral, weak, and helpless power, we shall see that the first demand the French ambassador made was that the Portuguese should unite their naval forces to the French, and seize and confiscate all the British property in their dominions. After all this, doubts (which might suit party purposes for the time) ought no longer to be expressed by Englishmen as to the immediate designs of Bona-

* Grotius.

† "The success of the attack on Copenhagen," says Fouché, "was the first thing which deranged the secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, *in virtue of which the navy of Denmark was to be put at the disposal of France.* Since the catastrophe of Paul I., I had never seen Napoleon in such a transport of rage. That which struck him most in this vigorous *coup de main* was the promptitude and resolution of the English ministry."—*Mémoires de Fouché, Duc d'Otrante, &c.*

We have some doubt whether these Memoirs were written by the hand of Fouché, but we have none whatever that they were written under his dictation, or upon materials furnished by him.

parte against the fleet and naval stores of the Danes, or as to the extent to which the government of Denmark would have acquiesced in his demands.

Early in the summer a powerful expedition was fitted out in our ports, with a secrecy and promptitude highly honourable to the new ministry. A fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, with upwards of forty frigates, sloops, bomb-vessels, and gun-brigs, and 377 transports, was prepared and got ready for sea; and about 27,000 land troops, of which more than one half were Germans in British pay, were embarked. These mighty preparations appear to have been commenced and concluded within less than a month from the time at which the cabinet took its determination. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Admiral Gambier, and the command in chief of the army to Lord Cathcart, who had been previously dispatched to the shores of the Baltic with some troops to act as auxiliaries to the King of Sweden, whose fate it had been to do very little for the coalition. It was the good fortune of Lord Cathcart to have under his command Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose exploits in India had already gained for him a high reputation throughout the British army. On the 26th of July, Gambier set sail from Yarmouth Roads—where Nelson had landed after his great battle of the Baltic—with the principal division of the fleet. On the 1st of August, when Gambier was off the entrance of Gothenburg, he detached Commodore Keats with four ships of the line, three frigates, and ten brigs, to the passage of the Great Belt, to cut off any supplies of Danish troops that might attempt to cross from Holstein to Zealand and the capital. Admiral Gambier himself proceeded to the Sound, passed the castles there without molestation or challenge, and got to anchor in Elsinore Roads. By the evening of the 9th of August, all the transports were safely collected round the admiral, and Lord Cathcart had arrived with the troops from Stralsund. The crown prince was with the main body of the Danish army at Kiel, in Holstein. That army was from 20,000 to 30,000 strong, but, from the station which he occupied in the passage of the Great Belt, Commodore Keats kept it completely in check, or at least prevented its crossing over to the island of Zealand for the protection of the capital. Mr. Jackson, who had resided for some years as British envoy in the north of Germany, and who was personally acquainted with most of the Danish ministers, was sent over to Kiel to attempt an amicable arrangement with the crown prince, on the basis of his delivering up the Danish fleet to the British admiral, on the solemn assurance that it should be restored at a general peace, or at the conclusion of the war between France and England. The answer was an angry and indignant refusal. Jackson returned on board: the prince sent a messenger to Copenhagen with orders to put the city in the best possible state of defence. It was the evening of the 10th of August when this courier reached Copenhagen, which had been taken so completely by surprise, that scarcely a gun was mounted on the ramparts, and the whole armed force collected in the city or stationed on the whole island, exclusive of sailors, but inclusive of 2000 militia and about 3500 citizen volunteers, did not exceed 12,000 or 13,000 men. On the morning of the 11th the crown prince himself quitted Kiel, and embarked to cross over from Holstein to his capital: as he was accompanied only by his staff and attendants, the British ships of war allowed him to pass; and Mr. Jackson was sent after him to attempt again to bring him to a compliance by representing the impracticability of any valid resistance, and by assuring him of the liberality and steadiness of England if he would only contract an alliance offensive and defensive with us. The crown prince, who arrived in his capital about the hour of noon on the 11th, repeated his refusal, and is said to have exclaimed—"You offer us your alliance; but we know what it is worth! Your allies, who have been vainly expecting your succours for a whole year, have taught us what is the worth of English friendship!" If the prince said not the words, he might, with some reason, have said them: the "All-Talents" ministry had left our ally the czar unsuccoured for nearly a year. If the Russians had been properly supported by England there would have been no secret article between the czar and the French, there would have been no treaty of Tilsit, and no occasion for these measures in the Baltic, which the said ministers, as heads of a clamorous opposition, imputed to the present cabinet as high state crimes. Instead of treating with Mr. Jackson, the crown prince hurried on the preparations which his people were making for the defence of his capital, and urged them as patriots to defend Copenhagen and its port to the utmost. But the prince did not stay, as he had done at the time of Nelson's visit, when the strife was more equal, to take a part in the combat: he quitted his capital on the 12th, and, leaving the command of the forces in Copenhagen to a major-general, he went into Jutland. Contrary winds kept the British fleet stationary in Elsinore Roads until the morning of the 15th, when, at a very early hour, the men-of-war and transports weighed, and worked up to the Bay of Wedbeck, about midway between Elsinore and Copenhagen. Here Admiral Gambier and the bulk of the fleet anchored, while a small squadron proceeded higher up the Sound to make a diversion. On the morning of the 16th a part of the land troops were disembarked at Wedbeck, without opposition. The fleet then weighed, and made all sail for Copenhagen. Before quitting Wedbeck Lord Cathcart and Admiral Gambier issued a proclamation to the Danes, declaring that the recent treaties of peace and the changes of government and territory had so far increased the influence of France on the continent as to render it impossible for Denmark to preserve its neutrality, if ever so much inclined so to do; that it was necessary for England to take measures to prevent the arms of a

Copenhagen. From a print by Harradin.

neutral power from being turned against her, and that therefore she judged it expedient to demand the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his majesty's ports; and that, as became the duty he owed to himself and his people, his majesty's demand was supported by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with everything necessary for an active and determined enterprise. The proclamation did not fail to express friendly sentiments towards the Danish people, and regret for the necessity of the present proceeding. "We come to your shores," it said, "not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe from compelling the force of your navy to be employed against us. We ask deposit—we have not looked to capture: so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your government, and it is hereby renewed, that, if our demand be acceded to, every ship belonging to the Danish navy shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her, in the same condition and state of equipment as when received under the protection of the British flag. It is in the power of your government, by a word, to sheathe our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you; . . . . but if these offers are rejected, and the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason and the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be shed, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads and those of your cruel advisers." The crown prince's general replied with a counter proclamation or edict ordering the seizure of all British vessels and property. On the 17th, the Danish gunboats, taking advantage of a calm, set fire to an English merchant vessel, fired at some of our transports coming from Stralsund, and also attacked with round and grape shot the piquets of Lord Cathcart's army. These gunboats were driven into Copenhagen harbour by our bomb vessels; and on the evening of the 17th, Admiral Gambier, with sixteen sail of the line, came to anchor in Copenhagen Road, about four miles to the north-east of the Trekroner, or crown battery, which had fired with such terrible effect into Nelson's ship. By the 21st the island of Zealand was completely surrounded by the British ships, which prevented all ingress or egress; on the 22nd General MacFarlane's division, having been landed the preceding evening, joined the army and encamped in rear of head-quarters; and in the course of the 23rd Lord Rosslyn, who had landed with another division of troops in Keoge Bay, joined the main army and covered its centre. While the English army were engaged in securing their positions, in drawing up their heavy artillery, and in choosing ground for their batteries, the Danish praams and gunboats, manœuvring in shallow water, where our ships could not approach, made several furious attacks on the British batteries, and cannonaded the right of the British line, composed of the guards, who had taken up their station in the suburbs of Copenhagen. But the guards, on the 27th, were covered by a good battery; and four 24-pounders, being brought to bear on the Danish

gun-boats, soon drove that division away with considerable loss. On the 29th Sir Arthur Wellesley marched to Keoge, where some of the Danish troops and militia had taken up a strong intrenched position with the view of molesting the besiegers in their rear. These Danes were completely defeated and dispersed, Sir Arthur taking upwards of sixty officers and 1100 men, ten or fourteen pieces of cannon, and a quantity of powder and other stores. Though intrenched, the Danes could not stand the charge of the 92nd regiment, which led the attack, and in their flight they threw away their arms and clothing. The Danes in Copenhagen attempted several sorties, but they were each time driven back with loss. In one of these affairs Sir David Baird was twice wounded, but he did not quit the field.* There was some more hot skirmishing with praams, gun-boats, and floating batteries on the 31st; and one of our armed transports was blown up by a shell thrown from the Trekroner. On the 1st of September it was found necessary to detach Commodore Keats to blockade Stralsund, for that place was already in possession of the French, who might have made some desperate attempt to send across reinforcements to the island of Zealand. So great had been the necessity of rapid and decisive movement—so short the time which would have been necessary for the location of an imposing French force in Copenhagen. On the evening of the same day—the 1st of September—the army having nearly finished its gun and mortar batteries, the two British commanders-in-chief summoned the Danish major-general to surrender the fleet. The Dane requested time to consult the crown prince his master. Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart refused to allow him any such delay; and on the 2nd all the British land-batteries opened upon the town, and our bomb-vessels began to throw some shells into it. The town, which contained many wooden buildings, was set on fire by some of the first shells that were thrown; but the Danes made a good use of their fire-engines, and continued to answer manfully with their shot and shell. It was a terrible night; the city and the space immediately round it looked like a volcano in a state of eruption. The British continued their bombardment without any intermission till eight o'clock on the morning of the 3rd; they suspended their fire till the evening, and then, though they again continued it throughout the night, they fired with less vigour, wishing to avoid inflicting a greater mischief on the poor inhabitants than was necessary; but, on the morning of the 4th, seeing no symptoms of surrender, they renewed the bombardment with more fury than ever. Without counting the bomb-vessels afloat, about fifty mortars and howitzers, and twenty 24-pounders, well placed in land batteries, rained shot and shell into the devoted town, which began to burn and blaze in all quarters. A huge timber-yard was set on fire by our red-hot shot; the steeple of the metropolitan church was ignited and knocked down in a blaze to spread the conflagration; the fire-engines were all knocked to pieces, and many of the firemen killed or wounded. On the evening of the 5th the Danish governor sent out a flag of truce, and requested an armistice of twenty-four hours to allow him time to treat for a capitulation. Lord Cathcart answered that an armistice must lead to unnecessary delay, and that no capitulation could be granted unless it were accompanied by the surrender of the whole Danish fleet. The Danish major-general then consented to the surrender of the fleet; and Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lieutenant-Colonel George Murray, deputy-quarter-master-general, and Sir Home Popham, whose disgrace for the South American escapade had only lasted until the downfall of the "All-Talents" ministry, and who was now acting as captain of the fleet,* were appointed to settle the few and simple remaining conditions of the capitulation. By the morning of the 7th of September the articles were signed and ratified. The British were to be put in possession of the citadel, and of all the ships-of-war and their stores; as soon as they should have removed the ships and stores, or within six weeks from the date of the capitulation, or sooner if possible, they were to deliver up the citadel to the Danes and quit the island of Zealand: no person whatsoever was to be molested, and all property, public or private, with the exception of the ships and vessels of war and the naval stores belonging to his Danish majesty, was to be respected; and everything was promised to be done which might tend to produce union and harmony between the two nations: all prisoners taken on both sides were to be unconditionally restored; and any English property that might have been sequestrated in consequence of the existing hostilities was to be given back to the owners thereof. On the 8th the British troops entered the town and citadel, and the sailors instantly began to get the Danish fleet ready for sea. So great was the rapidity with which they worked, and so well were the Danish stores arranged in the warehouses, that in nine days fourteen sail of the line were towed out from the inner harbour to the road, and got ready for sea, although all these ships had only their lower masts in, some of them had scuttle-holes made in their hulls in order to sink them (a measure which the Danes contemplated in their despair), and all of them stood in need of repair. Within the space of six weeks three more ships-of-the-line, with the frigates and sloops, were got ready, and the arsenal and its store-houses were completely cleared. There were three seventy-fours on the

* Lord Cathcart's Journal in Ann. Regist.—Sir Arthur Wellesley's dispatch to Lord Cathcart in Colonel Gurwood's Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, &c.

Lord Cathcart gratefully and warmly acknowledged the essential services he had received, both in the field, and diplomatically in negotiating the capitulation, from Major-General Sir A. Wellesley.

* In his dispatches Admiral Gambier makes a particular acknowledgment of the aid he has derived from Sir Home Popham, captain of the fleet, "whose prompt resources and complete knowledge of his profession, especially of that branch which is connected with the operations of an army, qualify him in a particular manner for the arduous and various duties with which he has been charged."

stocks; two of them were taken to pieces, and the best of their timbers were embarked; the third ship was destroyed, as were a rotten old 64 and two or three old frigates. This left in the possession of the captors seventeen ships-of-the-line, one 60, two 40, six 46, and two 32-gun frigates, fourteen corvettes, sloops, brigs, and schooners, and twenty-five gun-boats. It has been properly said that the benefit to England was not what she had acquired, but what Denmark had lost.* Some of the ships were old and not worth repairing; one of the 80-gun ships grounded on a sandbank a little below Copenhagen and was destroyed, and a storm in the Cattegat led to the destruction of all the gun-boats except three. The most valuable part of the seizure consisted of the masts, spars, timber, sails, cordage, and other naval stores. The quantity was so immense that, exclusive of the stores that were shipped on board of the British and Danish men of war, ninety transports, measuring more than 20,000 tons, brought away full cargoes. The ordnance brought away is stated at 2041 long guns, 202 carronades, and 222 mortars. The prize-money due to the troops alone was estimated at nearly 1,000,000*l.*

On the 20th of October the last division of the British army was re-embarked with the utmost tranquillity, and without a single casualty. The total loss sustained in the whole course of the operations on shore and afloat amounted only to 56 killed, 179 wounded, and 25 missing. The loss of the Danes, in the bombardment of the town, appears to have been much exaggerated; but probably about 1000 persons (among whom were, unhappily, included women and children, the governor not having availed himself of the opportunity offered him of sending out of the town the women, children, and old men) were either killed or wounded; above 300 houses were destroyed, and nearly all the rest were more or less injured. On the 21st, in the morning, the British fleet, with its prizes and its transports, sailed from Copenhagen Road in three great divisions; and, at the close of the month, it reached in safety Yarmouth Roads and the Downs.† Bonaparte seems to have been astonished that the English did not carry away the hardy Danish sailors as well as their ships.

Mr. Jackson, before taking his final leave, made some more diplomatic overtures, to which the exasperated crown prince would not listen. As soon as the British fleet had passed the Sound, the Danes fitted out a number of small armed vessels, which made very successful depredations on the English merchant-men in the Baltic, who seem to have had neither a proper warning from our admiral or government, nor the necessary protection of convoy. A declaration of war followed on the part of the crown prince, who had a formidable French army at his elbow, and an alliance with the Emperor of Russia in perspective. On the 4th of November the British government ordered reprisals to be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of Denmark. But it had not waited so long to invade and possess itself of Danish territory. On the 4th of September, three days before the governor of Copenhagen finished his capitulation, Vice-Admiral T. Macnamara Russell and Captain Lord Falkland captured the small Danish island of Heligoland in the German Ocean. The place was a perpendicular unproductive rock, with a barren sandy flat at the foot of it: its entire circumference did not exceed three English miles, and it was subject to such rapid waste by the beating and washing of that stormy sea that there appeared a chance of its being some day washed away altogether. But there were circumstances which rendered the bare inhospitable spot of exceeding great value to England at that moment: it was situated off the mouth of the Elbe, and at the distance of only twenty-five miles from the mouths of the Weser and the Eyder; it could scarcely be better placed as a dépôt for British manufactures, colonial produce, and other goods, which could be smuggled up the mouths of the neighbouring rivers and conveyed into the interior of the Continent; and, at the same time, it afforded a safe asylum in those dangerous waters to the English men-of-war and cruisers, which were now shut out from every port in the North Seas, except those of Sweden, and which were very soon to be excluded from the Swedish ports also. Heligoland, too, served as an admonitor: it constantly reminded the mariners and coast-dwelling people of those northern regions, that there was an element which did not own the sway of Bonaparte; and the French could hardly look seaward from their conquests in Oldenburg and Hanover without seeing the proud flag of England floating over that near rock.

In the month of December, the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John's, and Santa Croce surrendered, without resistance, to a squadron commanded by Sir Alexander Cochrane, and a small military force under General Bowyer. A great many merchant vessels, carrying the Danish flag, were captured.

In the course of this year, our quarrels with the United States of America became so violent as to threaten a new war with that country; but we reserve the narrative of these transactions for the year 1812, when hostilities actually commenced. We have now related all the really important operations of the British fleet and army during the year 1807, and must proceed briefly to recapitulate the operations of the Grand Army, and the other proceedings of Bonaparte, which were mixed up with nearly all our transactions, and had led directly to several of our measures besides our attack upon Copenhagen.

We left the Emperor of the French comfortably quartered in the city of Warsaw. The Russians, after gaining the terrible battle of Pultusk, retired to Ostrolenka, where they found better winter quarters, and where they were joined by the *corps*

* James.

† James—Brenton, Naval Hist.—Dispatches of Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart, in Ann. Regist.

*d'armée* of Prince Galitzin, who, on a distant point, had defeated a French division on the same day on which the battle of Pultusk was fought. General Beningsen, the Russian commander-in-chief, now found himself at the head of 90,000 men. More Cossacks were spurring onward from the Don and the Wolga; and, though the French attempted to speak contemptuously of these irregular spearmen, it is certain that they suffered great loss from their spears, and oftentimes hunger, from the cunning and rapid attacks the Cossacks made on their convoys of provisions. The critical situation of the King of Prussia, cooped up in Königsberg with only a few thousand men, and threatened by the gradual approach of the divisions of Marshals Ney and Bernadotte, did not allow Beningsen to take a long repose. He resumed offensive operations with great spirit, spreading his Cossacks abroad over the whole country near the Vistula, and making many prisoners. This forced the French from their winter quarters into the field—a field covered with snow and ice, and swept by pitiless winds. On the 25th of January, a terrible conflict took place near Mohrungen, and, though they claimed a victory, the French suffered a decided reverse. A diversion was effected in favour of Königsberg; and the brave and faithful Lestocq was enabled to relieve and throw reinforcements into Graudentz, an important town on the Vistula, below Warsaw, which still remained in possession of Prussian troops. It would still have been the policy, and it was the wish, of Beningsen to protract the campaign, and wear out the French army, which was daily suffering diminution from the severity of the climate and the spears of the Cossacks; but the thievish and execrable Russian commissariat had again brought that army into a starving condition; the Poles of the country were all hostile; and the commander-in-chief had not money enough to cope in the Jew market with the golden napoleons. The Russian troops had no resource but to prowl about, and dig in the earth for the corn and provisions the Polish peasantry concealed. This labour, added to their military duty, scarcely left them time for any repose, and when the poor fellows lay down to sleep they had no bed but the snow, no shelter but the sky, no covering but rags.* It was better to fight than starve; it was better to perish under French grape-shot and bayonets than to linger on thus. The army became clamorous for battle, and the able general, against his better judgment, led them into it, or rather allowed them to meet it, on the 8th of February, at Eylau, or more properly Preussisch-Eilau, or Prussian Eylau, in the circle of Königsberg. Bonaparte had actually on the field 85,000 men, including 16,000 cavalry; Beningsen, who had been obliged to detach some of his troops, had only 75,000 men, counting the Prussian division of Lestocq, of which a part was not in line when the battle began: in artillery the Russians were superior, having 460 guns to oppose to about 380; but in cavalry they were very inferior, and the nature of the country was favourable to charges of horse. There remains to be added another immense advantage on the side of Bonaparte; besides the army with which he engaged, he had on the Vistula from 30,000 to 40,000 more men, in Silesia 21,000, on the frontiers of Hanover 8000, in front of Dantzic, near the mouth of the Vistula, 24,000, and in Pomerania 16,000 men, all elated with victory; whereas Beningsen had hardly any troops near him except the 15,000 Russians whom he had been obliged to detach, and about 10,000 or 12,000 Prussians who were protecting their king and queen in Königsberg. The French, in their accounts, not satisfied with falsifying the numbers on the field, always put out of sight the numbers in the vicinity—the columns and divisions ready to give support in case of a reverse, and in case of victory to co-operate in making the most of it. Taking the whole field of war, the French had at least 200,000 men, even without counting the army of Saxony, to oppose to 120,000 or 130,000 Russians and Prussians.

The bloody battle of Eylau began at daybreak on the 8th of February. Half-starved, half-naked as they were, the Russian infantry fought heroically, and their artillery shattered the column of Augereau, and beat back Marshal Soult, who had advanced to the attack preceded by 150 pieces of French artillery. A snow storm was raging at the time, and so thick was the snow in the air that the shattered French columns did not perceive that the Cossacks were upon them on one flank, and the whole Russian right on the other, until the Cossack spears almost touched them; and as soon as they made these unwelcome discoveries the French broke and fled towards the town or village of Eylau, in as perfect a confusion and panic as had ever been displayed by veteran troops on a field of battle. French standards and imperial eagles were taken; Augereau and two generals of division were desperately wounded; more than 14,000 men and officers were killed, wounded, or captured; out of 16,000 men only about 1600 got into Eylau; Augereau's corps was in fact destroyed. One of the Russian divisions followed the fugitives into the streets of the town, and nearly captured Bonaparte, who was standing on a mound on which he had placed a small battery. Having rallied the corps of Marshal Soult, which had suffered greatly, but which had not been destroyed like that of Augereau, the French emperor ordered a grand charge to be made by his entire cavalry and imperial guard, supported by Soult's rallied divisions. It should appear that the movement of the Russian right, and the hot pursuit after Augereau's fugitives, had disordered Beningsen's lines: his front line gave way before the shock of 15,000 horse and 25,000 foot; his regular cavalry, so inferior in number, was driven back by the enormous squadrons of Murat; and 200 pieces of French artillery poured destruction on the receding corps, and met in the teeth the columns that were closing from either wing to succour and relieve them. But Beningsen

* Sir Robert Wilson, Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland in 1806-7.

at the head of his staff galloped to the Russian front, pressed the movements of his closing columns, brought up the reserves to unite with the first line, and then ordered a bayonet charge. Before this bold and unexpected onset Murat in his turn receded, the imperial guards did the same, and Soult's divisions were again discomfited and shattered. With numbers fearfully diminished, the French assailants got back to the ground from which they had started. At the moment when their attack had seemed to be successful, one of their regiments of cuirassiers dashed through an opening in Beningsen's lines, and penetrated as far as the baggage in his rear; but heavily did they pay for their temerity: they were charged by Platoff, the hettman of the Cossacks; they were enveloped by those hurrahing spearmen, they were unhorsed, pierced through and through, killed and stripped in a trice: only 18 of them ever got back to their own lines; 530 left their shining armour to be worn in triumph by so many Cossacks. But shortly after the hurried retrograde movement of Murat and Soult, Marshal Davoust, who had been manœuvring since the beginning of the battle to turn Beningsen's left, got fairly behind the Russian rear, and threw their left wing and a part of their centre into disorder. But the battle of Eylau was a battle of many crises, or of many changes of fortune: scarcely had Davoust obtained this advantage ere Lestocq arrived with his Prussians, and, rushing past the left of the French and the right of the Russians, formed in three columns, and pushed on to meet Davoust. These Prussian columns, properly commanded by an honest, loyal man, a patriot and a hero, behaved as well as ever Prussian troops had behaved under Frederick the Great: they never halted, they never fired a musket until they were within a few paces of the enemy, and then a mortal volley was succeeded by a close bayonet charge. The French reeled back, an entire regiment and a battalion of another were totally destroyed or made prisoners, some Russian guns were recovered, and another of Bonaparte's eagles was captured. Davoust tried to maintain himself in a wood, hoping for a respite from the darkness of night, for the sun, which had been scarcely visible the whole day, was now sinking in the west; but Lestocq, being joined by some regular Russian cavalry, and by some pults of Cossacks, dashed into the wood, and in spite of his superiority in numbers, and of a fine speech he is said to have uttered about brave men dying there and cowards living to be carried into the deserts of Siberia, Davoust found himself compelled to give ground, to yield all the advantage he had gained, and to fly back to the main body of the French army, leaving behind him a great number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. It was now dark night; but the fury of battle did not cease, nor did the chances and changes of the fortune of war, which render this battle of Eylau one of the most interesting in modern history. Marshal Ney, who had followed Lestocq, drove in a Prussian detachment, and carried the village of Schloditten, which stands on the road that leads to Königsberg. The loud shouting of Ney's corps announced their success to Bonaparte, and was heard by both armies. As the possession of Schloditten would interrupt his communications with Königsberg and endanger the king and queen of Prussia, Beningsen sent a Russian division to storm the village; and at ten o'clock at night Marshal Ney was driven out of the place, and his corps retreated through the deep snow, staining it with their blood. Here ended the fighting: the Russian infantry had stood like stone ramparts, or like walls of brass: the French had utterly failed in all their attacks, and in some of their retreats they had betrayed nearly every symptom of military demoralization; one of their largest and finest corps (Davoust had 19,000 foot and 700 or 800 horse with him) had been pushed off the field by an inferior number of Prussian bayonets, and from 10,000 to 12,000 French soldiers had quitted their colours in the evening under pretence of looking after the wounded. The loss on both sides had been tremendous: in the absence of regular authentic returns it has been roughly stated at 50,000 killed and wounded; but it should appear that of this number about 30,000 were French. The Grand Army had lost 12 of its eagles, and was certainly in no humour to attempt the recovery of them. If Beningsen could have staid where he was, Bonaparte, who was after all obliged to fall back to the Vistula, must have been under the necessity of making a rapid retreat, and such a retreat has almost invariably had a fatal effect upon French armies. But so wretchedly was Beningsen provided, that he had consumed nearly all his ammunition in the obstinately contested battle, which on various points had endured without intermission from six o'clock in the morning till ten o'clock at night; his soldiers had eaten up almost their last scrap; and the neighbouring country offered neither bread for the hungry, nor shelter for the wounded. The Russian and Prussian generals, on horseback, and by a midnight bivouac fire, held a council of war. Some of them, and especially Lestocq, recommended staying where they were, pledging their lives that if the Russians would only form and make a slight advance on the morrow the French must of necessity retire; and dwelling upon the moral effect which would be produced in Prussia, in Austria, in every part of Germany, and throughout Europe, by the unconcealable retreat of Bonaparte and his Grand Army. But the Russian commander-in-chief, besides being checked and depressed by the serious circumstances already mentioned, seems neither to have suspected the enormous amount of the French loss, nor to have known how long or how short a time it might take the French at Dantzic, or on the lower Vistula, to reinforce their emperor: he felt, too, that in case of his sustaining any reverse, the person of the king of Prussia would be put in imminent peril; and upon all these weighty considerations Beningsen ordered a retreat upon Königsberg. But some of the troops did not move till the next morning,

when they deliberately traversed the field in front of the French, who offered them not the slightest interruption, being evidently as much astonished as they were overjoyed at their departure.

The best testimony as to the real effect of the battle of Eylau was borne by Bonaparte himself: four days after the battle he dispatched a courteous message to the King of Prussia, proposing a suspension of hostilities, and hinting that, if his majesty would make a separate peace with him, he might be induced to forego all the advantages he had gained by the battles of Auerstadt and Jena, and to restore nearly the whole of his dominions. Frederick-William, who was no longer in the hands of the juggling ministers who had formerly disgraced him, and whose tricks and cunning had been the real cause of his present ruin, refused to desert and betray his ally the Emperor Alexander—refused to accede to any peace in which Russia was not included—refused to agree to the armistice. It was Bonaparte's invariable principle to follow up hotly and closely every success obtained in the field; but now he lay motionless at Eylau for eight days, and then, instead of advancing along the open road which leads to Königsberg, he began to send off his baggage and stores in the opposite direction; and on the 19th of February he evacuated Eylau, and retreated to his old line on the Vistula, being followed by clouds of Cossacks, who surprised and took many prisoners, and made a great booty.

Beningsen now advanced again; crossing the bloody field of Eylau, and gradually occupying all the country evacuated by the enemy. Near the right bank of the Vistula, and along the course of the Narew, there was a desultory war of posts, attended with varying success; but there was no more fighting between the two main armies for more than three months after the battle of Eylau. In this interval, however, Bonaparte strengthened Marshal Lefebvre, who had invested Dantzic, and ordered him to press that siege with the utmost vigour. At the same time he called Vandamme and his 20,000 men out of Silesia, where the dastardly or treacherous surrender of a variety of fortresses and Prussian posts had enabled Davoust and Ney with their powerful corps to cross the Vistula, and take part in the battle of Eylau. Still, however, the situation of Bonaparte after his retreat from Eylau was very critical—so critical that due exertion on the part of England for her allies, with a little resolution on the part of Austria, might have made it altogether desperate. The Emperor Alexander, whose troops had everywhere behaved so manfully, was in no want of brave men wherewith to reinforce Beningsen in Poland and Prussia; but he required a supply of muskets, and he was sadly in want of money, without which those forces could not be put in motion. He applied to the British government, on whose assistance he assuredly had the strongest claim: this time he requested our government to negotiate for him a loan of six millions sterling, and make him an immediate advance on account: it is said that the security he offered was not bad; if he had offered no security at all, the money ought to have been raised and sent to him (it might have saved many of those millions that were afterwards spent in the war); but the "Talents" ministry thought fit to decline the transaction, whereby they gave a mortal offence to the czar, and almost paralysed his exertions in the common cause. From this moment Alexander seems to have doubted both the sincerity and generosity of Great Britain, and to have begun, partly in revenge, and partly from natural disposition and the selfish calculation of his Russian advisers and ministers, to consider how he should get out of the coalition with the least possible loss, and derive benefit and aggrandizement from a treaty with Bonaparte. It is easy to expose and exclaim against the selfishness, cunning, and duplicity he afterwards displayed; but it is not quite so easy to prove that he was not driven to this line of conduct by excessive provocation. In the course of the months of February and March, Alexander made repeated and urgent applications for an English army to co-operate with the Swedish forces in Pomerania. The congelation of the Baltic prevented such an expedition from the end of December till the beginning of April; but by the middle or at furthest the end of April a British fleet might have landed an army in Pomerania, or even in the neighbourhood of Dantzic. The siege of Dantzic was not brought to its successful close at the end of May, so that there was abundant time to have forced Lefebvre to have raised it, and to have thrown a united British and Swedish army, with a part of the Prussian garrison of Dantzic, in Bonaparte's rear. Such operations would have led to a general rising in all the north of Germany, where the people were incensed at the murder of Palm the bookseller, and at numerous acts of tyranny and cruelty, and driven almost to desperation by the enormous military contributions the French were levying in all directions, as well in the states of those they called their friends and allies as in the territories of their enemies. With this encouragement, and with the timely aid of an English subsidy, the Emperor of Austria would have converted his army of observation on the frontiers of Bohemia into an active army on the Elbe, and that army, reinforced, would have carried Dresden and Leipsic, and have stood as a barrier between the Grand Army of Napoleon and the Rhine and France.* To the earnest request of Alexander for a British auxiliary force, Lord Howick, then secretary for the foreign department, replied on the 10th of March, "Doubtless the spring is the most favourable period for military operations, *but at the present juncture the allies*

* Napoleon afterwards confessed that he trembled lest 150,000 Austrians should appear on the Elbe—that he saw he had placed himself at the mercy of his enemies—that more than once he bitterly regretted having suffered himself to be drawn into those remote and inhospitable regions beyond the Vistula—that the cabinet of Vienna had then even a safer opportunity of re-establishing its preponderance than that which it chose in 1813. He attributed his salvation to the want of resolution in the cabinet of Vienna, and to his own firm countenance. But the irresolution of the Austrians must have vanished if the circumstances to which we have alluded in the text had taken place, and then Bonaparte's firm countenance would have availed him but little.

*must not look for any considerable land force from Great Britain.*" This was poor encouragement for the Russians, who had so recently strewed the field of Eylau with 20,000 of their killed and wounded. A fortnight after the date of Lord Howick's note, the ministry of which he formed a part was no more. The rival party who succeeded to the management of affairs remitted 500,000*l.* to the court of Petersburg; but this was not money enough, and the Tory cabinet sent out no troops to the Baltic until it was too late. No excuse can be found for this stinted and insufficient subsidy, and we doubt whether they could be excused for not having got a British armament into the Baltic before the end of May, and therefore before the surrender of Dantzic. Although no preparations had been made by their predecessors, who went out of office on the 25th of March, assuredly, by proper exertions, a fleet of transports, a few men-of-war to convoy it, and (as a first division) 25,000 troops, taken from the home army, which was lying round the coasts doing nothing, and without a prospect of having anything to do, might have been got ready and embarked by the 25th of April, when the thawed or thawing ice would have allowed access to any part of the Baltic, except perhaps the Gulf of Finland, where our presence was not wanted. When this same new ministry resolved upon the expedition to Copenhagen—an expedition which would have been unnecessary in August, if Russia had been supported in April or May—a much greater land force and an immense fleet of ships of war were got into a state of readiness in four or five weeks. A glance at home transactions, and the debates and struggles of parties in the British parliament, will reveal the fact that the new ministers—Canning, Castlereagh, Perceval, and all —were thinking rather more of the means of securing themselves in power than of the war on the continent, or of enabling Russia to make the most of the vantage-ground which she had gained, or which she might have gained by one strenuous effort more. It is possible, however, that the conduct of their predecessors may have produced a moral effect most difficult to correct. In unconstitutional countries neither the good nor the evil of our constitutional system is ever understood: the Emperor Alexander, at the head of a despotic government, whose single will was the only law, could not comprehend how entirely the King of England was subjected to the varying will and changing systems of parliamentary majorities and successive cabinets, and he may have attributed to insincerity and treachery what was merely the result of a change or changes of ministers. It is in this way that the continental nations, even in complimenting the honour, integrity, and steadiness of the English character, as displayed individually and in private transactions between man and man, have been, and still are, accustomed to hold up the conduct of the cabinet of St. James's as fickle, unsteady, frequently treacherous, and always changeful. It is at least probable that some such impression may have sunk deeply into the heart of Alexander, and have led him into measures or expressions, or even into a correspondence, calculated to excite on the other hand the suspicions of our cabinet. On former occasions Russia had proved herself a slippery ally, and the prevailing principles in her diplomacy and general policy had nearly always been cunning and duplicity. Bonaparte subsequently said of Alexander himself that he was astute and duplex like a Greek of the lower empire; and we fear, notwithstanding the higher and better qualities of the czar, this stigma must remain upon his name and memory, with only this mitigation, that the character of a native sovereign must be formed by the character of the people over whom he rules, or by the character of that part of them through whom and by whom he governs.

The positive historical facts of the case are clear enough. The English cabinet sent no troops to the Baltic till the month of July, when the German legion, about 8,000 strong, was landed in the isle of Rugen, near Stralsund. They were so slow in sending 160,000 muskets to Königsberg that an immense body of Russian militia were unable to march for want of arms—that these muskets did not arrive until the middle of June, when they came just in time to fall into the hands of the French, who took Königsberg a few days after the battle of Friedland. The Emperor Alexander sent such inconsiderable reinforcements to Beningsen that that army was never even raised to its original computation of 90,000 men. Austria remained paralysed, and the peoples of the north of Germany, left without encouragement or assistance, continued in the condition of exasperated but passive spectators. The time he wanted was allowed to Bonaparte, who called upon France, upon Italy, upon Holland, upon the confederated states of the Rhine, upon every country where his authority or influence was established, to forward him supplies in men, money, arms, stores, clothing, and provisions. Enormous requisitions were made again in Prussia and all the north of Germany: in France another conscription was anticipated, and 80,000 men, instead of being levied in September, 1808, were ordered to be levied in March, 1807. This was the third anticipated levy which had been demanded since the commencement of the war against the King of Prussia in October 1806! Come weal, come woe, defeat or victory, it was a physical impossibility that France could for many years stand these frightful drains on her population.

By the month of June Bonaparte had 200,000 men on the Vistula, and between that river and the Niemen. The Prussian General Kalkreuth surrendered in Dantzic, on the 27th of May.* On

* Dantzic might have held out much longer but for want of gunpowder, although Marshal Mortier had reinforced Lefebvre, who had been so long investing the place. Kalkreuth had abundance of provisions, of courage, of cannon (900 pieces became the prey of the French), and of everything except powder. After some misdirected attempts made by the Swedes to throw the precious article into the place, Captain Christopher Strachey, of the British 18-gun ship sloop 'Dauntless,' made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt to supply the garrison with 600 barrels of gunpowder! On the 16th of May, taking advantage of a favourable wind, the 'Dauntless' ran up the river

the 14th of June the great battle of Friedland took place. The scene of the combat, on the river Aller, was only a few miles from the field of Eylau; but the Russians fought not with the same spirit. There appears also to have been a want of energy on the side of Bonaparte, who remained in a state of inaction at Eylau, without giving any precise orders as to the operations to be undertaken, and seemingly without knowing that Beningsen's entire force was in his front. Thus the battle, which might have begun much earlier, did not commence, in earnest, until four or five o'clock in the afternoon, and the French emperor did not arrive on the field till later. Again the beginning of the action was highly favourable to the Russians: their imperial guard charged and drove in the division of Ney, and shook the division of Dupont, who had been sent to support Ney; this tremendous charge was followed up by a charge of Russian cavalry; two French regiments lost their eagles; a number of men and several officers of note were killed or badly wounded; it was rumoured that Ney himself had fallen; the French infantry reeled back, attempting to form in square; the Russian horse continued their charge almost up to the muzzle of the guns which Senarmont, Bonaparte's excellent general of artillery, had placed in battery. But these tremendous batteries decided the fate of the day: the battle of Friedland was not a battle of bayonets, but one of artillery. While Beningsen had scattered his guns along his line, Senarmont had collected and concentrated upon one point nearly all the French cannon; and as the Russians approached in solid column he assailed them with a tremendous fire of ball and grape-shot. This sort of battle lasted for nearly three hours, and during that time the French artillery discharged more than 3000 ball and 500 grape-shot charges. The Russians fell back, and, instead of concentrating their own artillery, they renewed their attempt to storm the terrible battery with infantry and cavalry. At last they were worsted, and as night approached they began to retire behind the Aller, crossing that river by a ford, and carrying with them all their artillery and baggage. It appears that they did not lose so much as a single gun or a single tumbril. The French say they did not follow them because it was night, and because Murat had been detached towards Königsberg; but the nights in the middle of June are not dark in those latitudes, and they had with them the dragoons of Latour-Maubourg and an abundance of other cavalry. It is evident that their own losses in the combat, and the resolute countenance and orderly retreat of the Russians, who were only worsted and not thoroughly beaten (as reported by bulletins and Moniteurs), prevented their following across the Aller. Scarcely a prisoner was taken except among the badly wounded; and the field seemed as thickly strewed with the French as with the Russian killed and wounded. Many of the regiments of the Grand Army were reduced to less than one half—whole companies had disappeared to a man. "The character which the war had taken ever since the battle of Eylau," says a French writer, "was exceedingly destructive—everywhere a terrible carnage—nothing to be got without losing torrents of blood! With the Austrians and the Prussians one might, by means of strategy, make whole masses prisoners; one might finish a campaign by means of decisive marches, which threw into the hands of the Emperor Napoleon the half of an army as captives; but with the Russians there was nothing but to kill and to be killed, to break their ranks down to the last man with cannon ball, and that too without any considerable result! In general, when armies are not barbarous, soldiers do not like to multiply deaths; they desire a victory with as little possible blood and with as much profitable result as is possible; these butcheries end by carrying fear and disgust into the hearts of the most veteran troops."*

Even after the reverse at Friedland, steadiness and fortitude on the part of the czar, with no extraordinary exertions on the part of his allies, would have rendered him certain of victory if Bonaparte had ventured to cross the Niemen and penetrate into Russia; and if that conqueror had not advanced he must have retreated once more behind the Vistula. Sickness had broken out among the over-fatigued French troops; between the sick and the wounded 50,000 men of the Grand Army were in hospitals; the recruits which arrived from France and from other countries were scarcely sufficient to fill up the fearful gaps made by war and disease; these recruits could not be compared to the practised soldiers who had fallen or were lying in the hospitals, and even the *vieilles moustaches*, the veterans of the army, were getting thoroughly disgusted with a war that offered nothing but hardship, suffering, and destruction—they were so sick of Poland that they had no wish to try the remoter regions of Russia. It may be doubted whether mutiny and a general revolt would not have followed an order to cross the Niemen, or even the appearance of a disposition to remain long in any part of Poland to the north of Praga and Warsaw. Nor could Bonaparte now have well ventured to prolong his absence from France: it was already nearly a year since he had quitted Paris; he knew that the immense sacrifices made in this war had excited both despondency and criticism, and he felt the danger of allowing the French people to believe that they could be governed without his immediate superintendence. If he had left the Grand Army, his genius would have left it with him. That army could only perform prodigies when he was with it. In his absence the most boasted of his generals appear to

with studding sails set, firing on the enemy as she stemmed the rapid current; but the wind, from shifting, or from an unexpected bend in the river, became unfavourable; the channel was far too narrow for the 'Dauntless' to work in; the point-blank fire of the enemy was too heavy to be resisted; and Captain Strachey ran his vessel upon the sand-banks within half musket-shot of the French batteries, and surrendered.—*James, Naval History.*

* Capefigue, L'Europe pendant le Consulat et l'Empire.

have subsided into mediocrity: his jealousy and his despotism had smothered nearly all the military genius which had been displayed in the days of the republic, although that genius was certainly not of so high a kind as it has been the fashion to represent it. Take away Bonaparte and Soult, and we believe old Beningsen would have been a match for any of his lieutenants and marshals.

The Russian general slowly retired to Tilsit, on the Niemen, destroying all the bridges, and falling back upon his reserves. He was joined by 15,000 or 20,000 infantry, who were followed by a multitude of irregular cavalry, chiefly drawn from the Crimea and from Asiatic Russia, and including some hordes of Baskirs and other Manchu Tartars, armed with bows and arrows. But the Emperor Alexander, from the causes already related, had an earnest wish, an impatiency, for peace; and this feeling released the Emperor of the French from what at the least was a hazardous and painful dilemma. It is never likely to be clearly ascertained which party was the first to make overtures: the Russians insist that the first proposition came from the French; the French that it came from the Russians. What seems certain is that the first *open* step was taken by Bonaparte in sending Duroc to the Russian head-quarters at Tilsit, where the czar himself now was, to demand an armistice and to propose a personal interview between the two emperors. The suspension of hostilities was immediately agreed to; and on the 25th of June Alexander and Napoleon met on a raft in the middle of the Niemen, at a short distance from Tilsit. From that moment the young czar appears to have been dazzled and cajoled by the brilliant and insinuating Corsican. The King of Prussia, who in losing Königsberg, which fell immediately after Beningsen's retreat behind the Aller, had lost his last town, had fled to the Niemen with his fair and broken-hearted queen; but he was not present at the interview, and he seems to have been almost forgotten by his ally. On the following day, the 26th of June, the two emperors took up their residence in the town of Tilsit, leaving the King and Queen of Prussia for some days to occupy a humble mill in the suburbs. He had defamed and traduced her before the war began, and now that it was ended Bonaparte behaved to Louisa Augusta with harshness and with insolence, insulting and stinging her in the very act of pretending gallantry and magnanimity. When she ventured to ask for a trifling addition to the territorial restitution he proposed making to the king her husband, he is said to have brutally told her that she ought to remember that it was he, Napoleon, who offered, and that her majesty had only the task of accepting what he should choose to give. With the Emperor of all the Russias, who was not a dispossessed king, but great and powerful, with his real power untouched as yet by the war, he was all courtesy and condescension: he rode out with him, he spent the long evenings alone with him, keeping up the talk till the midnight hour; and he lived with him almost as with a brother; but the King of Prussia he shunned as much as he could, and treated him contemptuously when obliged to meet him.

Emperor Alexander.

The negotiations at Tilsit were soon finished.* On the 7th of July was signed the treaty of peace between his majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c., and his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and on the 9th the separate treaty with Prussia was signed. Frederick William was restored to about one half of his former territories, as far as the Elbe; but all the principal Prussian fortresses and all the sea-port towns were to remain in the hands of the French till the general peace, or until England should be reduced to submission. The portion of Poland acquired by Prussia in the partition of 1772 was disunited from that kingdom, and erected into a separate territory, to be called the Great Duchy of Warsaw, but to be held not by a Polish prince, or a republic of Poles, but by the King of Saxony, that faithful ally of Bonaparte; and it was stipulated that his majesty of Saxony, in order to have a direct communication with his new acquisition, should be allowed an open military road through the Prussian province of Silesia—a sure way of keeping up a perpetual jealousy between the King of Prussia and the King of Saxony and Grand Duke of Warsaw. Prussia was made to renounce for ever all claim to the possession of Dantzic; and that city, with a strip of surrounding territory, was, with a pretty mockery, declared to be free and independent, and under the joint protection of Prussia and Saxony; *only*, until the conclusion of a general peace, Dantzic was to be garrisoned by the French. As he kept possession of the whole sea-board, it was scarcely necessary to in-

* Two Prussian ministers (Hardenberg and Lucchesini) have not hesitated to declare in statements given to the world that the principal motives which induced the Emperor Alexander to conclude the treaty of Tilsit, were the refusal of Lord Howick to guarantee the Russian loan, &c.; the slowness of the new English administration in furnishing the promised supplies of money, arms, and ammunition; and the refusal of Austria to take any part in the contest. It is said, too, that Lord Howick, who, after the catastrophe of Jena, had earnestly solicited Alexander to fly to the succour of Prussia, gave his refusal in a cold, haughty manner, peculiarly painful to the feelings of the czar.

troduce the clause; but Bonaparte bound Frederick William to shut all his ports, without any exception, against the trade and navigation of the English, to allow no shipment to be made from any Prussian port for the British isles or British colonies, nor to admit any ship from England or her colonies into any Prussian port. Bonaparte took every opportunity to declare, that, if Frederick William was yet allowed to reign, it was solely owing to his friendship for Alexander. The czar, as a matter of course, was not called upon to make any territorial sacrifices: on the contrary, he was gratified with the cession of a part of Prussian Poland, which weakened the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and materially strengthened his own frontier. By the secret articles of the treaty, France allowed Russia to take Finland from Sweden, and Russia on her part engaged to close all her ports against British vessels, and to head a new armed neutrality or coalition of the north. Russia, as well as Prussia, ratified all the changes and all the wrongs which Bonaparte had made and committed on the European continent, acknowledging the thrones which he had erected, and recognising the confederation of the Rhine and all the other leagues he had formed. Nay, they even did more than this, for they acknowledged and recognised a throne which was not yet erected, but which was going to be erected —they recognised that scapegrace, his Imperial Highness Prince Jerome Bonaparte, as King of Westphalia, which kingdom, it was declared, "shall consist of the provinces ceded by the King of Prussia on the left bank of the Elbe, and of other states at present in the possession of his majesty the Emperor Napoleon." In return, and expressly out of deference to the Emperor Alexander, it was agreed that his relatives or connexions, the Dukes of Saxe-Cobourg, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, should be restored to the complete and quiet possession of their states; but still, only upon condition that their seaports should remain in the possession of French garrisons till a definitive treaty should be signed between France and England. Throughout both treaties the means of giving effect to the Berlin decree, and of totally excluding the commerce of England from the continent, were kept steadily and constantly in view.

Loud were the lamentations raised by the Polish patriots and dupes, who had kept on dreaming about the reconstruction of their once great nation under a native prince and a free and happy constitution. In order not to rouse Austria, the part of Poland she had obtained in the partitions was left to her undisturbed possession; the portion of Russia was increased; and the portion of Prussia, as we have seen, was handed over to the King of Saxony, now a mere satrap of Bonaparte. A thing called a constitution was indeed given to the grand duchy of Warsaw; but it was so framed as to give no umbrage to the despotic governments of Austria and Russia, to excite little or no envy or longing in the Poles who remained under the dominion of those two absolute crowns; and, as it was concocted by Bonaparte himself, it may be conceived that it was a dwarfish unhealthy plant, never likely to grow into a system of free and permanent institutions. The little good this constitution conferred was paid for at a terrible price, and it was soon found that the civil government of the King of Saxony could oppose no limits to the military government of Bonaparte: the Poles of the grand duchy of Warsaw were oppressed with taxes and imposts, which were really ordered at Paris, or wherever the French emperor's head-quarters might be; their sons were seized by the conscription, and hurried away to fight the battles of Bonaparte, and to perish in Portugal and Spain; their landed property was in many instances seized by the fiscal and sold to the highest bidder, in order to pay the excessive taxes; the old habits and customs of the country, which even the despotism of Prussia had respected, were rudely and wantonly violated; and, added to all these woes, the Poles of the grand duchy of Warsaw had the dismal certainty that, whenever war should break out again between France and Russia, or between France and Austria, their country would necessarily become the theatre of that war. Nevertheless the Polish officers who were gathering fame (such as it was) by following the French eagles, and who were getting crosses and ribands to tie to their button-holes, and plenty of money to spend, professed great gratitude for the creation of the Warsaw duchy, and believed, or affected to believe, that at some not very distant day Bonaparte would keep all his promises, reconstructing Poland, and making it again the great power of the North.

The Turks had at least as much reason as the Poles to complain of the treaty of Tilsit: they had been tempted and dragged into the war by the most solemn promises that Moldavia and Wallachia, with all their territories on the left bank of the Danube, should be secured to them, and by the fond hope of re-obtaining, through the assistance of French arms and French negotiations, the whole of Bessarabia and of the Crimea, of all that the Russians had taken from them since the beginning of the reign of Peter the Great; but now all that they got was a temporary suspension of hostilities, with the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, which provinces, however, were not to be occupied by the troops of the sultan till after the exchange of the ratifications of a *future* definitive treaty of peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and within fifteen months after the date of the treaty of Tilsit we shall find Bonaparte allowing and encouraging the Emperor Alexander to overrun and keep even Wallachia and Moldavia. He said to Alexander, "I lay no stress on the evacuation of Wallachia and Moldavia by your troops; you may protract it if you wish. It is impossible any longer to endure the presence of the Turks in Europe; you are at liberty to drive them back into Asia; but observe one thing,—Con-

stantinople must not fall into the hands of any European power." This was said even at Tilsit; and, although the compacts were not committed to writing—were not inserted even in the most secret clauses of the secret treaty—it is rather more than suspected that Alexander was dazzled and excited by the picture, drawn by Bonaparte, of Europe as divided into two great empires, the empire of the east to be under the sceptre of the czar, and that of the west to be ruled by Napoleon; that in the intoxication of his vanity Alexander complacently listened to, and for a moment entertained, the project which was to destroy for ever the independence of all minor states and the power of all governments except those of Petersburg and Paris; and that in the course of their private conferences by night at Tilsit the French emperor did not hesitate to open to the czar his designs against Spain and Portugal. His account indeed is only to be taken *cum grano;* but Bonaparte subsequently declared on several occasions that Alexander gave him his word of honour that he would throw no obstacle in the way of his Spanish project.

When it was far too late, Mr. Canning dispatched Lord Leveson Gower to reconcile the irritated czar, and bring him back to that close alliance with England which had been broken by English folly, faction, slowness, and want of timely liberality. Alexander would not even grant an audience to the noble envoy; and his lordship returned to England with the painful convictions that Russia had taken her part, that she had entered very deeply into the projects of France, and that she had agreed to place at the temporary disposal of Bonaparte her own fleet of nineteen or twenty sail of the line, and to allow him to obtain, by fair means or by foul, the fleet of Denmark and the eleven or twelve sail of the line which belonged to Sweden. When the news of our attack on Copenhagen and our seizure of the Danish fleet reached him, Alexander joined chorus in the outcry that was raised by France; but, whether it was that he had already recovered from some of his temporary illusions, and from the spell which the Emperor of the West had thrown over him, or whether it was but a proof of habitual Russian duplicity, Alexander is said to have expressed to a distinguished British officer (Sir Robert Wilson) his very great joy at the bold and decisive step which the British government had taken.*

Almost entirely abandoned by England, who had brought down the 8000 men landed in the isle of Rugen, to assist in the Copenhagen enterprise, and threatened with immediate hostility by her late ally and nearest neighbour, Russia, the poor kingdom of Sweden was left in a most perilous situation. Even after the peace of Tilsit the enthusiastic Swedish monarch kept his ground at Stralsund, and issued spirited addresses to the great Germanic family, calling upon them, in God's name, to shake off their ignominious bondage. Marshal Brune was sent against him with a mixed army of Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Bavarians, and other un-German Germans. A terrible battle was fought in Pomerania, about eight miles from Stralsund: the French, or rather their allies, were beaten to pieces; a Dutch regiment was cut up, a Bavarian regiment destroyed by a masked battery; the days of Gustavus Adolphus and of Charles XII. seemed to be returned: but, alas! Brune was reinforced from different nations or countries until his army amounted to 70,000 men, while the King of Sweden, who could no longer draw a man or a musket from his own dominions, and who had now little reason to hope for any proper succour from England, saw his small army dwindle down to eight or ten thousand men. On the 19th of August, seeing that the population of the town was disaffected, or not at all disposed to brave the hazards of a siege, he evacuated Stralsund, destroying his magazines, spiking his cannon, and smashing their carriages and throwing them into the ditches. Early on the 20th he and his troops were safely landed on the island of Rugen, where various fortifications and field-works were erected. His majesty soon crossed the Baltic to Stockholm. Almost as soon as he was gone the troops he left in Rugen discovered that the island was not tenable; and early in the month of September they capitulated to the French general, who obtained easy possession of all the other Baltic islands on the German coast. The crown of Gustavus was by this time in jeopardy: he had been steady and faithful to the coalition into which England had drawn him, and his reward was to be dethronement and the expulsion of his dynasty.

In the meanwhile Bonaparte, after more than a ten months' absence, had returned to Paris. He

* Hardenberg, the Prussian minister, says:—"The capture of the Danish fleet was not the *cause*, but the *pretext*, of the rupture of Russia with England. The cabinet of Petersburg was not sorry at so fair an opportunity for getting quit of all restraints upon its meditated hostilities in the north; and, notwithstanding all its loud declamations against the Copenhagen expedition, it beheld with more satisfaction the success of England in that quarter than it would have done the junction of the Danish fleet with the navy of the French emperor." General Jomini, the most scientific, and in all other matters one of the best informed, of all Bonaparte's biographers, has not the shadow of a doubt as to Bonaparte's intention of gaining possession of the fleet of Denmark, in common with the fleets of all Europe. He deliberately lays down and expounds the system which was to be adopted, and the use which was to be made of this vast aggregate naval force. Speaking in the person of Bonaparte, Jomini says, "After Russia joined my alliance, Prussia, as a matter of course, followed her example; Portugal, Sweden, and the *pope* alone required to be gained over, for we were well aware that Denmark would hasten to throw herself into our arms. If England refused the mediation of Russia, all the maritime forces of the continent were to be employed against her, and the continent could muster 180 sail of the line. In a few years this force could be raised to 250 sail of the line. With the aid of such a fleet, and with my immense flotilla, it was by no means impossible to carry a European army to London. One hundred ships of the line employed against the British colonies in the two hemispheres would have drawn away from home a large portion of the British navy; and then eighty more ships of the line assembled in the Channel would have sufficed to assure the passage of the flotilla, and avenge the outraged rights of nations. Such was at bottom my plan, which only failed of success from the faults committed by my generals in the Spanish war." In the calculation to make up this 180 sail of the line there were several false numbers, and other ships were counted upon, besides those of Denmark, which he never got into his power. The French ships of the line were set down at sixty, the Spanish at forty, the Portuguese at ten, &c. France had not sixty ships of the line left; Spain had certainly not forty that were seaworthy; and both the Spanish and Portuguese fleets escaped his grasp, and rallied under the flag of England.

Bignon, another of Bonaparte's well-informed biographers, is equally clear as to his fixed intention of getting possession of the Danish fleet and of the fleets of all Europe.

arrived at his capital on the 9th of July. Having stripped the Elector of Hesse-Cassel of his dominions, because he had not joined him in the war against Prussia, and having despoiled the Duke of Brunswick of his dominions, because his father had joined Prussia against the French, the conqueror created out of these and other countries and districts, including the greater part of Hanover, the so-called kingdom of Westphalia, whose existence had already been recognised in the treaties of Tilsit, both by Russia and by Prussia; and on the 18th of August he gave investiture to his brother Jerome, who took up his residence at Cassel, and began to establish such a government and court as the world had never before seen. He could now proclaim to his submissive and applauding senate and *corps législatif*, that France had only four avowed enemies, Sweden, Portugal, Sicily, and England. By an iniquitous compact with Spain, who in every possible way was preparing her own utter ruin, he confidently calculated on obtaining undisturbed possession of Portugal. While he was making Europe ring with his maledictions against England for violating the neutrality of Denmark, he was devising schemes and giving positive orders for falling upon Portugal in a time of peace. The only justification he attempted for this assault on a weak neutral state was that the Prince Regent of Portugal had refused to enforce the Berlin decree against England, and that the court of Lisbon was so entirely devoted to that of St. James's that to attack Portugal was much the same thing as to attack England or one of her colonies. By a treaty concluded at Fontainebleau on the 27th of October between France and Spain, it was agreed—1. That Spain should grant a free passage through her territory, and supply with provisions, a French army appointed to invade Portugal; and that she should also furnish a body of Spanish troops to co-operate with the said invading French army. 2. That as soon as the conquest should be finished, the provinces which now composed the kingdom of Portugal should be divided between the King of Etruria, the King of Spain's grandson, and Manuel Godoy, the Queen of Spain's infamous favourite: the province of Intra Douro e Minho, with the city of Oporto, was to be given in full property and sovereignty to the King of Etruria, and to be erected into a kingdom under the name of Northern Lusitania; and the sovereignty of the Algarves and Alentejo was to be given to Manuel Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, who was thenceforward to assume the title of Sovereign Prince of the Algarves. These two principalities were to acknowledge the King of Spain as their protector. But France was to guard and keep until the period of a general peace the city of Lisbon and the provinces of Tras-os-Montes, Beira, and Estremadura. In consideration of obtaining this new kingdom in Portugal, this miniature kingdom of Northern Lusitania, the Queen of Etruria, acting as regent for the king, her son, who was a minor, was to abdicate and place in the hands of the Emperor Napoleon the districts in Italy which it had pleased the conqueror to erect for a brief space of time into the kingdom of Etruria, for the benefit of that branch of the family of the Spanish Bourbons. The most important part of this treaty was put into execution nine days before the treaty itself was signed at Fontainebleau; for on the 18th of October a French army of 30,000 men, commanded by Junot, had crossed the Bidasoa, and commenced its march through Spain for the Portuguese frontier. It was already believed by those who best understood his policy, that this conquest of Portugal, in conjunction with Spain, was only a pretext for introducing a French army into the heart of Spain, and for getting possession of an important line of operation; and, if the folly of the Spanish court had not been co-extensive with its want of principle, it must have foreseen the inevitable consequences of the villainous treaty of Fontainebleau. On the approach of the thunder-storm the Portuguese Prince Regent offered to submit to the will of France, and even proceeded to confiscate all English property and to close his ports to our flag; but Bonaparte proclaimed in his Moniteur that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe. Junot, with his 30,000 men, and some Spanish auxiliaries, penetrated into Portugal, and entered Lisbon without opposition on the 30th of November, the prince regent and his court, and an immense number of the Portuguese nobility, having on the preceding day embarked for Brazil in the Portuguese fleet of eight sail of the line, four frigates, three corvettes, a schooner, and twenty large armed merchant-ships, crammed with goods and passengers, which for greater security were accompanied a part of the voyage by a strong British squadron under the command of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, and the rest of the way, as far as Rio Janeiro, by four ships of the line under the command of Captain Graham Moore. In all, about 18,000 Portuguese thus abandoned their homes and their country. Before the fleet got well out of the Tagus the French were seen crowning the heights behind Lisbon. Sir Sidney Smith returned to blockade the Tagus, in which was now lying in a very helpless and embarrassing situation our late friend Vice-Admiral Siniavin, with the Russian squadron, which had not been able to get into the Baltic in time. Junot, who had formerly been Bonaparte's ambassador to the court of Lisbon—having been sent there to make money, and if possible a party, and to obtain all the information necessary for the military occupation of the kingdom—immediately disarmed the inhabitants of Lisbon, and began to levy contributions, and to treat the country as a conquest of France. The Spanish auxiliaries of the French augmented by their insolence and rapacity the fury of the Portuguese people, who everywhere cherished the intention of rising upon the invaders, and looked to their old ally, England, whose flag was never out of sight on the coasts, for succour and assistance in

money, arms, and troops. And, while Spanish troops were co-operating in this work of spoliation and iniquity in Portugal, the Spanish court and royal family broke furiously out into unnatural quarrels which threatened a civil and family war, and which, by exposing the weakness and profligacy of the government, offered to Bonaparte temptations difficult to be withstood even by a less grasping and more conscientious ruler.

On the 16th of November, Bonaparte quitted Paris to visit Milan and Venice. He had many objects in this journey to his Italian kingdom; but he particularly aimed at the completion of his so-called continental system, determining to close every port in Italy to the English flag, and hoping to induce Austria by fear and by negotiation to enter into the league against the commerce of Great Britain. On the 17th of December, being at Milan, he issued his celebrated Milan decree, declaring all merchant vessels, of whatsoever nation, which should submit to the British orders in council to be lawful prizes to the French. Forthwith a number of merchant vessels belonging to the United States of America were seized and confiscated in the ports of Italy, in the ports of France, and in the other harbours of Europe which the French occupied, upon the ground that they had submitted to the British orders in council, and by so doing had infringed the law of nations, and injured the interests of the whole civilised world. This step might seem to have been calculated to draw immediately down upon him a declaration of war from the American republic; but he was tolerably well acquainted with the strong French sympathies and the strong English antipathies of that people, and he hoped from the first to make his Milan decree, and his seizures and confiscations of American property, the means of driving the United States into a war against England.

Having summoned the queen-regent of Etruria and her infant son into his presence, he signified to her that she must instantly resign Tuscany, or the kingdom of Etruria, for that new kingdom of Northern Lusitania which had been carved out of Portugal by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Although this Spanish princess appears to have foreseen that her son would never get those dominions in Portugal, she could offer no resistance, and could venture on no remonstrance against the absolute will of this maker and unmaker of kings. Forthwith Tuscany, with all its ports, was occupied by French troops; and in the month of June following the country was formally annexed, not to the kingdom of Italy, which Bonaparte pretended to be building up with a view to the unity of that fair peninsula, but to the French empire, of which it was made to form three new departments. There now remained in all Italy only the seaports of the Roman states, on the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian seas, open to the British flag; and these he determined to close immediately. French troops were sent to occupy Civita Vecchia, and guard the mouth of the Tiber; and on the Adriatic side a strong garrison was thrown into Ancona. The poor pope appealed in vain to the rights of neutrality, to the rights of nations, to the more sacred laws which had supported in former times the heritage of St. Peter. Not satisfied with seizing his cities, fortresses, and harbours, Bonaparte insisted on the pope declaring war against England. Pius VII. replied that he was a sovereign of peace, and that he could not declare war against any Christian power. Bonaparte said that, as the lawful successor of Charlemagne, he was Emperor of the West, King of Italy, and suzerain of the pope; that the English were heretics, and therefore enemies of the holy see; that the donation of territory made by Charlemagne to the church had been made expressly for the defence of the Holy Church against its enemies; and that, if the pope did not comply with his wishes, he, as the successor of Charlemagne, and as having both the right and the power so to do, would resume the donation which that Emperor of the West had made. Pius told the conqueror that, although he feared it might prejudice the interests of the Irish and the other Catholic subjects of his Britannic majesty, he would close his ports against the ships and trade of England, if that would satisfy him. No! said Bonaparte, who had made up his mind to seize all the Roman territory, and who merely wanted a pretext, No! you must declare war against the English, you must contract with me an alliance offensive and defensive, my enemies must be your enemies, and my friends, and none other, your friends! Can you presume to resist the Emperor of the West and your suzerain? And before recrossing the Alps he sent orders to General Miollis, who was commanding the French forces in Tuscany, to get ready to march into the territories of the Church. In the month of February, 1808, Miollis entered Rome, occupied the castle of St. Angelo, took the papal troops under his own command, and began to govern the country as a conqueror. Miollis's arrival in the Eternal City was preceded by the lying and treacherous declaration that he was going to reinforce King Joseph Bonaparte in Naples, and that his intention was merely to pass through Rome with his 6000 men; and Alquier, the French ambassador, solemnly confirmed the lie of the French general. The poor pope shut himself up in the Quirinal palace, which the French surrounded with their artillery in order to terrify him into an entire submission. All the cardinals that were natives of the Neapolitan kingdom were called upon, in the name of Joseph Bonaparte, their legitimate sovereign, to quit Rome and the pope within twenty-four hours, and to return to Naples; and all the cardinals that were natives of Upper Italy, or of any of the provinces or states now included in the so-called kingdom of Italy, were called upon in the name of King Napoleon to take their departure in the same manner, and repair to their several homes. These princes of the church were all told that if they did not go willingly they would be forced to go by the French soldiery, and to travel like felons under the escort of gendarmes.

More French troops were brought from Tuscany and from Lombardy into the papal states; and on the 2nd of April, 1808, Bonaparte, by one of his sweeping decrees, annexed the Marches, or Adriatic provinces of the pope, to his kingdom of Italy. The magistrates and ecclesiastics of those provinces, being called upon to take the oath of fidelity to their lawful sovereign, Napoleon, King of Italy, refused almost to a man; and this led to midnight arrests, to sudden transportations to state prisons and fortresses in the Apennines and Alps, and, in the rude regions of Dalmatia, to popular discontents and insurrections, to military tribunals and bloodshed. This was but an ungrateful return for the services and condescension of Pius VII. in the matters of the concordat and coronation: he could scarcely have been worse used if he had refused—as his conscience disposed him to do—to gratify Bonaparte in those essential particulars, for *essential* the conqueror had considered them at the time. Even though the mouths of Miollis's cannon were pointed at his dwelling, the pope put forth a solemn and spirited protest, reproaching his oppressor with ingratitude, falsehood, and treachery, and prophesying that a dominion founded on such injustice was not calculated to endure.*

A.D. 1808. The British parliament was opened on January 31st by commission. The speech delivered for the king dwelt at great length upon foreign affairs, and mentioned nearly every country in Europe as in a state of hostility to England. Some light was thrown upon the system conceived by Bonaparte for uniting all the navies of Europe against us. It was shown how he had counted upon obtaining the fleet of Portugal, as well as the fleet of Denmark. Regret was expressed that in the case of Denmark we had been compelled to resort to force. The now hostile conduct of Russia was attributed to the military successes and political machinations of France. Allusion was for the first time made to our serious differences with the United States of America; and the determination was announced of never yielding to pretensions inconsistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain. Parliament was informed that the order in council, with which we had retaliated for Bonaparte's Berlin decree, must be followed up by other measures of greater rigour, which would require parliamentary aid to give them full effect. The increased produce of the taxes and duties, in spite of the war and the Berlin and Milan decrees, was dwelt upon as a proper subject of congratulation. The speech concluded with asserting that the sole object of the war was the attainment of a secure and honourable peace, which could only be negotiated upon a footing of perfect equality; that never was there a war more just and national than the present; that the eyes of Europe and the world were now fixed upon the British parliament; that his majesty confidently trusted that they would display, in this crisis of the fate of the country, the characteristic spirit of the British nation, and face unappalled the unnatural combination which had gathered around us; and that his majesty was firmly persuaded that, under the blessing of Providence, the struggle would ultimately prove successful and glorious to Great Britain. In both Houses the addresses were carried without a division.

The opposition lost no time in reprobating the attack on Copenhagen; but we have already said enough on that subject, and need only mention that in all their motions the anti-ministerial party were out-voted by immense majorities.

On the 5th of February the chancellor of the exchequer (Spencer Perceval) moved that the orders in council should be referred to the committee of ways and means. The opposition immediately declared that we ought not to attempt to retaliate by any such measures; that the orders in council, unjust in themselves, would do us much more mischief than the Berlin and Milan decrees; that those orders were as contrary to justice as to policy; that they went to violate both the law of nations and the municipal law of England. On the other side it was maintained by ministers that we had a complete right of retaliating upon the enemy his own measures; that, if he declared we should have no trade, we had a right to declare that he should have none; and that, if he proclaimed British manufactures and colonial produce good prize, we had a right to do the same with respect to France. They also insisted that, if neutrals acquiesced in restrictions imposed by one belligerent, the other belligerent was warranted in considering such neutrals as a party to those restrictions. This vexed question will occur again, and call for more particular notice in the account of our differences with the United States, for it agitated parliament and the country for years, and eventually became one of the great causes of the hostility of the trans-Atlantic republic. Lord Grenville even now declared that these orders in council, that these restrictions put upon the trade of neutrals, would involve us in a war with America; and that France had assured America she would never put her Berlin and Milan decrees in force against American ships. France, said his lordship, without a navy, has not the means of putting in force her own decrees; it is England that is now lending France the aid of the British navy to give the Berlin and Milan decrees full effect, and thereby, at one and the same time, to annoy and distress British commerce, and ruin the trade of neutrals. A bill brought in by the chancellor of the exchequer for regulating the orders in council as they affected neutrals was carried through both Houses, and by great majorities, before the end of March. It was followed by a Bill for regulating commercial intercourse with the United States, which was intended to give time for making some amicable arrangement with the Americans, continuing in the meanwhile another act without which trade could not have been carried on with England in American vessels.

In opening the budget for the year Spencer Per-

* Carlo Botta, Storia d' Italia.

ceval stated the amount of the supplies at about 43,000,000*l.* for England and 5,700,000*l.* for Ireland, and the produce of the war taxes at 20,000,000*l.* Among the ways and means were a loan of 8,000,000*l.*, and additional taxes to the amount of more than 300,000*l.* The events rapidly passing in Spain, the occupation of Portugal, the threatened invasion of Sicily, which was only preserved from the grasp of the French by the presence of British forces, the obligation of succouring the King of Sweden, who had been brought to the brink of ruin by our alliance, all called for an increase to the number of soldiers and sailors. The number of seamen voted for the service of the year was 130,000. In the army the regular infantry establishment, which in 1807 had been 109,000, was raised to 132,000. The whole establishment of the army was stated by the secretary-at-war, Lord Castlereagh, at not less than 300,000 men. All the corps were represented as being far more complete than they had been when the late ministry quitted office. The militia, too, was nearer to its establishment than it had been last year, notwithstanding that 24,000 men had been drafted from it into the regular army. The volunteer corps were nearly in the same state as last year. The foreign corps in our pay were somewhat increased by an addition made to the German legion. On the motion of Lord Castlereagh a bill was introduced for establishing a local militia of 200,000 men, to meet and be trained for twenty-eight days every year. The bill was passed into a law, and its principle was extended to Scotland. Lord Castlereagh also moved for the insertion of a clause in the Mutiny Bill, to permit soldiers to enlist for life, and this was carried in spite of the strong opposition of Wyndham, whose system it seriously affected. Early in the session Mr. Bankes reproduced his bill for preventing the grant of offices in reversion, or for joint lives with benefit of survivorship. It passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. Mr. Bankes then brought forward a new bill, limited to one year's duration, which was allowed to pass into a law.

In the course of the session there was a vehement debate on the state of Ireland. The late ministers and their friends attributed the disaffection and the disorder again prevailing in that country to the illiberal coercive policy of the present cabinet; and went to some scarcely justifiable lengths in the way of sinister prophecy. In debating a different question Lord Hawkesbury said, that ministers and the country had at least one obligation to the disaffected in Ireland. Ministers had learned that there were secret engagements in the treaty of Tilsit; that the view of the parties was to confederate all the powers of Europe, and particularly to engage or seize on the fleets of Denmark and Portugal—they had heard this from their public ministers then abroad —they had heard it from their faithful ally Portugal —they had also received information of the hostile intentions of Denmark, from a quarter to which they had often been indebted for the first knowledge of the designs of Bonaparte, *i. e.* from, or rather *through*, the *disaffected* in Ireland!—they had learned that Ireland was to be attacked from two points, from Lisbon and from Copenhagen; *and they had never found the information of these parties, however they came by it, false.*

Colonel Stanley presented a petition from certain distressed inhabitants of Great and Little Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, praying that no opportunity for the negotiation of a peace should be let slip. But these honest cotton-spinners declared that their petition did not spring from any dread of the enemy, and that if the ambition of the enemy should lead him to insist upon demands incompatible with an *honourable* peace, the petitioners would, with one heart, suffer much greater privations, rather than see the security and honour of their country compromised. The petition was ordered to lie on the table. Whitbread, after a call for papers and a review of the information they contained, moved three resolutions condemning the ministry for having refused the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, and that of the Emperor of Austria, and affirming that there was nothing in the present circumstances of the war that ought to preclude his majesty from acceding to or commencing a negotiation with the enemy. These resolutions were negatived, by a majority of about three to one.

The charges against the Indian administration of the Marquess Wellesley were fully disposed of during this session. The marquess's best defender was Sir John Anstruther, who had occupied for many years a high judicial situation in Bengal. Sir John entered fully into the whole history of his Indian government, showing that the conduct of Lord Wellesley was in perfect conformity to the wishes, intentions, and interests of his employers; and that the security of Bengal had imperiously demanded the energetic measures and the bold line of policy he had pursued. Sir John Anstruther's motion, that the noble marquess had been actuated by an ardent zeal for the service of his country, and by an ardent desire to promote the safety, interests, and prosperity of the British empire in India, was carried by 189 against 29. Some contrary resolutions moved by Sir Thomas Turton were negatived by equally large majorities. General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, in 1806, had ably defended the administration of his brother, with which his own conduct in India was necessarily mixed up, was not in the House during these debates, the most important result of which was that the road was left open to the general's promotion, and to his employment, under favourable auspices, just at the critical moment in which we were to begin the glorious campaigns in the Spanish peninsula. Everybody knew that the admirable management of the Copenhagen expedition had been mainly owing to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had had (what few British officers except those who had served in India could possibly have had) the handling and managing of large armies in actual warfare, and on

an extensive field. In communicating the thanks of parliament for his services in the Copenhagen expedition, the speaker of the House of Commons neither forgot his Indian exploits, nor failed to point him out, by implication, as the officer best fitted to command in chief a great expedition.* Thus we may be said at least to have gained General Wellesley, when most we wanted him, by the late change of government. If the "talents" had remained in office, we probably should have had no opportunity of admiring the matured military genius of this greatest of modern captains, as displayed in Spain and Portugal. It is possible even that an impeachment might have been carried against his brother, and that he himself might have been made participant in that disgrace or ruin. But if this had not happened, and if his merits and popularity with the army had forced him into high employment against the will of an unfriendly ministry, his genius might have been rebuked, and his best schemes defeated by that political unfriendliness. Besides, any exclusion of his elder brother the marquess from office and power might in many instances have been a check and an injury to the general in the field.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 4th of July. The greater part of the speech delivered by the lord chancellor turned upon the Spanish nation, which had already risen against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and which was therefore no longer to be considered as the enemy, but as the ally of Great Britain.

The blindness, the imbecility, the mad intestine rage of the Spanish court, and of the factions that directed or distracted its councils, continued down to the last moment, and were the means of allowing Bonaparte to secure not only the command of the principal roads of the country, but the possession of some of its best and strongest fortresses, before he threw off the mask, and told the Bourbon dynasty, as he had told the house of Braganza, that it had ceased to reign. After the passage of Junot into Portugal, other French divisions had entered Spain, as friends, and had seized by stratagem St. Sebastian, Pamplona, and Barcelona. These movements, which were not justified by the treaty of Fontainebleau, astonished and terrified Godoy; but that favourite of royalty, who had equal influence over the queen, whose paramour he was, and over the king, whom he dishonoured, had, been for some time engaged in mortal strife with Prince Ferdinand, the heir to the crown; and dreaded much more the vengeance of the prince than the occupation of the country by the French; and seeing no hope of resistance to the might and will of Bonaparte, except through an appeal to the nation at large, with whom Ferdinand was popular and himself odious to the last degree, and hoping that a ready compliance and submission would secure him the all-potent protection of the conqueror, Godoy removed the few Spanish troops that were near the frontiers, and ordered the commanders of fortresses to open their gates and receive the French as friends and allies. It is said that this minion of fortune was at the same time assured by a secret agent, a Spaniard in the pay of France, that although the interests of the French empire imperiously required the union and incorporation with itself of all the Spanish provinces situated between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, Bonaparte would make ample compensation by giving to his most catholic majesty the whole of Portugal, instead of allotting only a part of that kingdom to a branch of his family, as had been agreed upon in the treaty of Fontainebleau.

Manuel Godoy governed and had governed for many years the queen Maria Luiza; and Charles IV., one of the weakest heads that ever wore a crown, was the slave of his wife. The queen, who had found Godoy a young and handsome man, but in the lowly rank of a simple *garde du corps*, or life-guardsman, had raised him rapidly to the highest rank in the state. The acquaintance began about the year 1784. Before the minion was twenty-four years old he was made a general officer. Soon afterwards he was created a grandee of Spain, and closely allied to the royal family itself by a marriage with a Bourbon princess, a niece of Charles IV. In 1801 he had been appointed generalissimo of all his catholic majesty's land forces, and in 1806 he had been made lord high admiral: if not by regular rescript, at least by tacit consent, he had been allowed the right of treating of peace and war. He got his title of Prince of the Peace for negotiating that treaty with France which removed Spain from the first grand coalition, but only to subject her to the dictation, the spoliation, and tyranny of France. Though his power had been obtained by foul and nationally dishonouring means, the early part of Godoy's administration was not unpopular; and it may almost be doubted whether the Spaniards, who have been in a state of perennial revolution for nearly forty years, without yet approaching the proper object and term, have ever since enjoyed (bad as it was) so steady or so good a government. But Godoy was unequal to a struggle with the unprecedented difficulties of the times which followed the French revolutionary war and the astounding progress of Bonaparte; and as his weakness betrayed itself, the Spaniards began to think of his vices. The ruin which the Bonapartean alliance had brought down upon the navy, and was rapidly bringing down upon the colonies of Spain, the constant drain of money, all running into France and leaving the national exchequer in a beggared condition, had gradually provoked censure and discontent, if not disaffection; and the

* In February, Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley being in his place in the House, the Speaker having returned the thanks to other general officers, members of the House, for their conduct at Copenhagen, thus addressed Sir Arthur: "But I should indeed be wanting to the full expression of those sentiments which animate this House and the whole country, if I forbore to notice that we are on this day crowning with our thanks one gallant officer, long since known to the gratitude of this House, who has long trodden in the paths of glory, whose genius and valour have already extended our fame and empire, whose sword has been the terror of our distant enemies, and will not now be drawn in vain to defend the seat of empire itself, and the throne of his king."

flames of this discontent were fanned by the friends of Ferdinand (who was excluded from all power and influence by the fears and jealousy of Godoy), and by a small but busy republican party, who had studied liberal philosophy and politics in the French revolutionary schools, and who had not yet recovered from any of their illusions. Some of these Spanish liberals changed afterwards, when they found that the iron hand of Bonaparte was clutching at the throat and heart of Spain; but some of them continued their admiration and allegiance to the conqueror, who, according to their fond theory, was to regenerate Spain, and then leave her to be governed as a separate and independent kingdom, with liberal institutions; and who, by his conduct in other countries, and by his first essays in their own, gave them the consoling proof that he would at the very least overturn the old proud aristocracy, the church, the wealthy monastic bodies, and the odious Inquisition, which had so often interfered with their political and philosophical speculations, and which had for ages prevented all freedom of opinion or discussion, keeping the Spaniards far in the rear of European civilization. These men would have run any risk for the sake of destroying the power of the priests and monks, and when we add that of the Inquisition, a part and parcel of the priestly power, we can scarcely affect to be astonished at their rashness. The misfortune then, as since, is that these ultra-liberals of Spain were and are impatient of any delay, unsusceptible of any regard for the opinions and prejudices of other men, incapable of moderation in the hour of success and triumph, and animated with an intolerance quite equal to that of the Spanish priests or the French philosophes. The ground may now be broken and prepared for better seed, to be matured at some future period; but, judging from the present harvest, we should hesitate ere we decided whether the old monkish superstition were not a better thing than the present rampant atheism and sensual materialism.

It appears that at a very early stage of the family quarrel application was made to Bonaparte for his intervention, and that the first application of this sort was made by the heir of the crown, Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, whose wrath against Godoy was carried to the highest pitch by that favourite's insisting that he ought to marry the younger sister of his (Godoy's) own wife. There is no doubt that the circumstances were purely accidental which threw Prince Ferdinand on the patriotic side. By a letter addressed to Bonaparte, and dated the 11th of October, 1807 (just sixteen days before the signing of the treaty of Fontainebleau, wherein the conqueror agreed to give Godoy the sovereign principality of Algarves in Portugal), Ferdinand implored the protection of the Emperor of the French, and begged the emperor to choose him a wife out of the Bonapartean family or connections. This triumph was wanting—to have a prince of the Bourbon line soliciting the honour of a family alliance with him!—but it appears that Bonaparte intended to keep in play this miserable heir to the Spanish throne, who had scarcely more intellect or spirit than the present occupier of it; and that therefore he returned no explicit answer to the matrimonial project. There was, however, very little time allowed for taking any decision, or for continuing this juggle. Ferdinand's mother and Godoy discovered — very probably through the French ambassador himself — that the prince's friends had frequent secret interviews with different members of the French legation in Madrid, and that Ferdinand himself had written to Bonaparte. Upon these discoveries the person of Ferdinand was secured, and his papers were seized. Among the papers there was found, or there was said to have been found (for few positive assertions can be made in any part of this dark business), a decree in which Ferdinand took the title of King, and appointed, as prime minister, his friend and adviser the Duke del Infantado. The old king then made a loud and absurd appeal to the justice of Napoleon; and, under the dictation of his wife and Godoy, he wrote a long letter to that virtuous and disinterested umpire, complaining bitterly of the prince his son, and charging him with having formed a conspiracy to dethrone him, and attempt the life of the queen, his own mother. This letter was dated on the 29th of October, 1807; and it is said to have inclosed papers that proved Ferdinand's guilt and the real existence of the plot. On both sides there was too much animosity and fury, and far too many confidants, to allow the possibility of concealment; but Charles IV., acting under the same dictation of his wife and minister, madly published a decree announcing to Spain and the whole world that unnatural dissensions raged in the royal family, that he had been obliged to put his son under arrest, and to order his advisers and accomplices to be proceeded against by law as conspirators and traitors. The people of Madrid were expecting a repetition of the tragedy of Philip II. and his son and heir Don Carlos; but Ferdinand found means of pacifying his father, or his father and his advisers shrunk from the danger and the scandal which must attend any trial; and in the course of a very few days it was agreed that the king should pardon everybody, provided the prince submitted and repented. A secret junta, composed of eleven persons, was instructed, not to examine evidence, not to try the conspirators, but to declare that they were all innocent, and that there had never been any plot at all. The prince submitted and repented, and blubbered like a whipped school-boy; and so, on the 5th of November, there came out another royal decree, announcing to the world that the king and prince were entirely reconciled, and that there was nothing but love and harmony in the august family. But the Spaniards knew better; and knowing that Ferdinand was more than ever the mortal enemy of Godoy, the minister whom they detested, they took the prince into their especial favour, and reposed in that weak and crazy vessel all their hopes for the security of

Spain and the establishment of a better order of government.

It was in the midst of these dissensions that Junot, marching as though he were running a race, first traversed the Spanish provinces, and got into Portugal with his 30,000 men. When Junot was followed across the Bidasoa by other French marshals and generals, the family quarrel broke out again more violently than ever, and at a moment, and attended with circumstances, which indisputably prove the dexterity of French management. Seeing that, in spite of all his endeavours, the treacherous seizure of their fortresses, and the marching of these successive French divisions into their territory, would drive the Spanish people into a universal insurrection, and judging that in the first outbreak the friends of the prince and the nation at large would call for his head, Godoy advised the king to follow the example of the prince regent of Portugal, and withdraw immediately, with such property as he could convey with him, to the colonies in South America. The terror of Charles IV. and his wife induced them to assent to this proposition. In order to secure the retreat of the royal family to Cadiz, the place of embarkation, some troops were hastily collected in Madrid, and in some of the towns between that capital and the Andalusian coast. The terror of the miserable old king was increased at this moment by the reception of a letter from Bonaparte, who pretended deeply to resent the coldness which his catholic majesty had exhibited on the subject of the matrimonial alliance between his son Ferdinand and an imperial princess of France. The unkingly Bourbon king replied, that he desired nothing so ardently as the instant conclusion of that honourable and auspicious marriage: but at the same time he redoubled his haste to get him gone, and to place the wide Atlantic between his person and that of his dear friend and ally the Emperor Napoleon. It has been very reasonably conjectured that this effect was exactly what Bonaparte intended to produce; for if the king went off to South America, his name might be used to curb the party of the Prince of Asturias, and Bonaparte's chance of influencing the countries where the precious metals are produced, even as he had controlled the mother-country for so many years, would be greatly increased should they fall under the immediate misgovernment of such a king as Charles IV., with such a minister as Godoy.* It is certain that the patriots of Spain, that the people who were on the point of flying to arms against the treacherous invaders of their country, must be sadly divided and embarrassed by having one king resident in America and another king resident in Spain; and that disseverance of the colonies from the mother-country which took place so soon after these events was not as yet foreseen. Before adopting the resolution of flying beyond the Atlantic, Charles and his minister are said to have offered to cede to France the whole of the Spanish part of the Pyrenees, with all the country lying between those mountains and the Ebro. But all that country was already occupied by French troops; and by the 13th of March Murat had arrived at Burgos, to take the command in chief in Spain, with the title of Lieutenant of the Emperor. It was also known that more troops, including a part of the imperial guards, were hastily marching through France towards the Spanish frontiers. The king and Godoy then fixed their departure for the night of the 17th of March. But their intention was now universally known; and the party of the prince, the populace of Madrid, and the very troops which had been collected to escort them to the place of embarkation, vowed that they should not go. The king, the queen, their favourite servants, and nearly all those who were to follow their fortunes to the new world, were collected in the palace of Aranjuez, and were packing up their last parcel, when, on the evening of the 17th, the palace was surrounded by the people and by the soldiery in a state of revolt, while other columns were seen in disorderly march upon the town of Aranjuez. The intentions of the insurgents admitted of no doubt; and the mob shouted that they would have the head of the traitor Godoy. The favourite, who was not in the palace, but in his own mansion, sought refuge in a garret, and concealed himself under some mattresses. There he lay for the space of thirty-six hours, consumed by heat and thirst, and dreading every moment to be discovered and butchered. The king assured the insurgents that he had no intention of quitting his kingdom and his faithful loving subjects. The people now well knew that he could not go if he tried; but they now wanted more from the unhappy old man than the renunciation of his project of flight—they wanted the renunciation of his crown in favour of his son. On the morning of the 19th, being no longer able to bear his consuming thirst, Godoy quitted his hiding-place, and asked a life-guardsman for a little water. The soldier, instead of administering to his need, went and betrayed him to the insurgents, who seized him, dragged him out, and made a signal to the friends of Ferdinand, who occupied a house in the town. It should appear that Spanish reformers were less sanguinary in those days than they are at present, for, although some of the mob threw stones at the Prince of the Peace and beat him, they did not put him to death. When the condition he was in became known to the king and queen, they conjured their son to save him—only to save his life, and then take the crown and all he wished. Ferdinand came out and harangued the people; and upon his promise that Godoy should be brought to trial for his treasons and offences, the mob permitted the fallen favourite to be conveyed to the prison of Aranjuez. The French ambassador saw the Prince of the Peace conveyed through the streets, walking between two guardsmen, who held him on either side by the collar, wounded by a stone in one of his eyes, and covered with blood. This was about ten o'clock in the

* Walter Scott, Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.

morning of the 19th of March: at three o'clock in the afternoon the insurgents gathered again round the palace, calling out for heads and for blood, and accusing the king and queen of the intention of rescuing Godoy from the wrath and justice of the nation by getting him secretly conveyed to Granada. Perhaps this storm was got up only to hasten the formal abdication. Charles sent out to assure the people that he had resigned the crown. The people shouted joyously, and cried "Long live King Ferdinand." Ferdinand, too, came forth, and promised, as King, to leave Godoy a victim to the laws. In the evening, in the presence of a few grandees, Charles IV., gouty and rheumatic, signed the act of abdication, declaring that his habitual infirmities no longer permitted him to support the heavy weight of government, that he had need of a milder climate and of a private life; and that after mature deliberation he had freely and spontaneously abdicated his crown in favour of his heir and most dearly beloved son the Prince of Asturias. That same evening Ferdinand was proclaimed, and there was a grand kissing of hands in the palace of Aranjuez. His abdication was formally intimated to Bonaparte by a letter written or signed by Charles himself.

On receiving the news of the revolution which had happened at Aranjuez, Murat, who at this moment cherished the hope of putting the Spanish crown upon his own head, hastened his march upon Madrid; and on the 23rd, only four days after the signing of the abdication, that brilliant and gaudy soldier of fortune entered the capital of Spain at the head of a brigade of imperial guards, followed by a division of French infantry, a brigade of cuirassiers, and a numerous train of artillery. Ferdinand had chosen the same day for entering into Madrid as sovereign; and although the French ambassador had kept in the background, while other foreign ministers had hastened to offer their congratulations on the accession of the new king, Ferdinand and his friends are said to have had the almost incredible folly of believing that Murat was come to recognise the revolution made at Aranjuez, and to support him on his throne. It is quite certain that Ferdinand's party in Madrid received Murat as a friend and with joyous acclamations. That marshal of the French empire and grand duke of Berg took up his residence in the magnificent mansion of the Prince of the Peace, and very soon gave great uneasiness to Ferdinand and his friends, by addressing him, not as 'your majesty,' but as 'your royal highness,' and by intimating that he must await the instructions of the emperor his master before he could recognise the abdication of Charles and the accession of Ferdinand. Murat, moreover, put himself in communication with Maria Luiza, who, whatever might be the willingness with which her husband ceased to be king, had no inclination to cease to be queen of Spain and the Indies, and whose unnatural hatred of her eldest son was exasperated and doubled by the recent events at Aranjuez. It appears too that Murat opened some private correspondence with the prisoner Godoy, assuring him that his only hope of salvation lay in the friendship of the French. Charles IV. now wrote to Bonaparte, to throw himself into the arms of that great monarch his ally, to submit entirely to his arbitration, to vow that his abdication was not voluntary, but forced, to express his full confidence in the magnanimity and the genius of the great man who had ever proved his friend, and, in fine, to submit to him his own fate, the fate of the queen, and the fate of the Prince of the Peace: and Charles inclosed in this letter, which was written in French, a protest written in Spanish, in which he solemnly declared that the decree of the 19th, by which he abdicated his crown in favour of his son, had been forced upon him by his eagerness to prevent greater evils and the effusion of blood; and that therefore the said decree of the 19th was of no value. He also wrote to his "very dear brother," the grand duke of Berg, to say that, having spoken with an officer of his (Murat's) staff, and having been informed of all that had happened in Madrid, he begged him to do him the service of letting the emperor know his earnest wish or prayer that he would be pleased to deliver the poor Prince of the Peace, who was only suffering for having been the friend of France, and permit him (the king) and the queen to go with Godoy to some other place which would better agree with his majesty's health. "For the present," said this degraded Bourbon, "we are going to Badajoz. I hope that before we set out you will give us an answer, if you cannot absolutely see us; for I have no confidence except in you and in the emperor." The queen also wrote a letter to Murat, calling him "Sir, my brother," and repeating in still more earnest language the request made by her husband. Her letter dwelt at greater length upon the cruel fate of Godoy, "the poor Prince of the Peace," who finds himself imprisoned and wounded for having been our friend and the devoted friend of France." She said the poor Prince of the Peace most earnestly desired to see and speak with his imperial highness; that the king's health was very delicate, and so was her own, and that therefore she hoped they would be allowed to go to some suitable place with their friend, their only friend, the friend of his imperial highness, the poor Prince of the Peace, to end their days tranquilly. If her majesty could not have the satisfaction of seeing his imperial highness, she must refer him to her daughter the queen of Etruria, who was then living in Madrid, as to her interpreter and advocate. But she hoped that his imperial highness would make an effort to see her and the king, although but for an instant, by night, or in any manner that might please him. On the other hand, Ferdinand and the grandees of his party prostrated themselves in the dirt at the feet of the soldier of fortune, once the innkeeper's son, but now the representative and vicegerent of the master or arbiter of Europe. They even took the sword of the French king, Francis I., which had been

preserved as a memorial of his captivity among the Spaniards after the battle of Pavia, inclosed it in a rich casket, and presented it with great ceremony to his imperial highness of Berg, to be by his honoured hand placed in the hands of the Emperor of the French. The possession of such mementos was always exceedingly gratifying to the Parisians, whose satisfaction was not likely to be damped by the somewhat apocryphal history of this sword.* Whatever served to commemorate their own defeats, or even the triumph of other nations in wars with which France had had nothing to do, was always highly prized, and whenever it was not voluntarily given, it was stolen or taken, like the sword and scarf of Frederick the Great from his tomb at Potsdam. In the eyes of the Spaniards the sword was the real sword of the French monarch, the story about it was an undoubted story, and to give it thus away to the French was to wound the susceptible national pride; but the weak and contemptible Ferdinand would at this moment have made far more serious sacrifices; he would have chaffered and bartered the independence of his country if he had been allowed so to do, and had but obtained the good-will of Bonaparte and the possession of a dishonoured and insecure throne. The national impulse, the spontaneous movement of the Spanish people—the only thing to be depended upon in the struggle which followed—was high, noble, glorious; but, with a very few exceptions, there was little that was high in the conduct of the highest classes: a more despicable appearance than that made by king, queen, prince, and grandees of both parties can scarcely be imagined. It was a thing to revive and to give a double force of application to the terrible diatribe of Chatham against the vaunted honour of the old aristocracy of Spain. Four Spanish grandees were sent off by Ferdinand into France, to announce officially and personally to the emperor the abdication of Charles and the accession of the new king. Murat gave his approbation to this mission, and flattered the prince that it would be attended with complete success. But almost in the same breath Murat assured the old queen that his imperial master, who wished nothing but the tranquillity and happiness of Spain and the royal family, would never recognise the forced abdication of her husband.

Bonaparte, who was now preparing another army to send to Madrid, looked about him for an adroit kidnapper, that should by force or by fraud bring the whole royal family of Spain as prisoners into France. The choice naturally enough fell upon General Savary, who had just returned from an embassy to the Emperor Alexander at Petersburg. This notorious head of gendarmerie and secret police, carrying Bonaparte's most secret instructions in his pocket or in his memory—for there was much that was never committed to writing—flew from Paris to Madrid. Murat, who loved not the man, suspected that a part of his mission was to act as a spy over his own conduct; and this suspicion appears to have been well-founded. Savary made several secret and very unfavourable reports to his master respecting Murat's conduct at Madrid. Plunged as they were in ignorance, the Spanish royal family must all have known the Duke d'Enghien's history—must have known that Savary had been the merciless, remorseless murderer of a prince of their own blood. But this inevitable knowledge neither made them shun the man nor open their eyes to the real intentions of his employer. The first personage to whom Savary addressed himself was Ferdinand, whose party was so much stronger than that of the old king. If he could trepan Ferdinand, it would be easy work to dispose of the rest of the family. Savary began flattering the prince by giving him the title of 'your majesty,' which Murat had hitherto refused to do. On his hasty journey from the Spanish frontier to the capital, he had everywhere given out that his master the emperor was coming to pay a friendly visit, in the generous intention of acting as mediator and conciliator; and he mentioned the town of Burgos as the place to which his imperial majesty would extend his journey. He now proposed to Ferdinand that he should quit Madrid, and go and meet his guest at Burgos. "The emperor," said Savary, "has already set out from Paris; go and meet him, and hear him salute you as Ferdinand VII., King of Spain and the Indies!" Apparently with very little hesitation, the imbecile Bourbon prince consented to go to Burgos with his kinsman's murderer Savary, who from that moment never lost sight of him. From the time he quitted Madrid, Ferdinand was to all intents and purposes a prisoner—as complete a prisoner as ever was felon or political offender in the grip of the French police and under the escort of Savary's gendarmerie. When the party reached Burgos, the illustrious guest had not, of course, arrived. Great concerns of state must have retarded his journey; but would not his majesty Ferdinand VII. go a few stages farther towards the frontier, to Miranda for example, or as far as Vittoria?—by so doing he would have the satisfaction of meeting and embracing his illustrious guest on the road. The miserable dupe again consented, and without allowing himself any repose he went on at headlong speed. Between Madrid and Burgos there had been some chance of escape or of rescue, for there were considerable Spanish forces on foot in that part of the country; but the country between Burgos and Vittoria, and beyond Vittoria on to the frontiers of France, was entirely occupied by French troops, whose different columns had been purposely concentrated, and then spread along the high road. When the party reached Vittoria they saw no more signs of the arrival of his Imperial Majesty Napoleon than they had seen at Burgos. Savary now said it was clear that the emperor his master must be delayed by some very important

* They showed another sword at Naples, said to have been that worn by Francis I. in the battle of Pavia, and to have been by him delivered to the Marquis del Vasto or del Guasto, one of the Emperor Charles V.'s generals, who, like the Marquis of Pescara, distinguished himself in the battle of Pavia at the head of Italian troops.

business, and that therefore it was quite natural that King Ferdinand, who had favours to ask from the emperor, while the emperor had none to ask from him, should continue his journey as far as the French frontier, or say as far as Bayonne, which was but a very little way beyond the Bidasoa. But here Ferdinand's chief advisers, Don Pedro Cevallos and the Canon Escoiquiz, began to scent the plot. By their advice Ferdinand delayed his departure from Vittoria, and sent his next brother, Don Carlos, who had accompanied him from Madrid, to meet and welcome the imperial guest. On the 14th of April Ferdinand addressed from Vittoria another letter to Bonaparte, recapitulating the circumstances which had occurred at Aranjuez, and the services which he, since his accession to the throne, had rendered to the grand duke of Berg and the French army at Madrid, repeating his anxious desire for a matrimonial alliance with the august family of the emperor, and begging to know positively whether his imperial majesty would be pleased to receive him as King of Spain, and dissipate the uncertainty and great uneasiness of the Spanish people by an immediate recognition of his accession to the throne. To this letter Bonaparte, who was now approaching Bayonne, replied in a very indirect and artful manner. He did not give Ferdinand the title of king, but addressed him as Prince of Asturias. The prince, in his last letter, had not said a word about Godoy; but the foremost and longest part of Bonaparte's answer was occupied by the subject of the unfortunate Prince of the Peace. The emperor told Ferdinand that a long while ago he had hoped to induce the king his father to adopt some necessary reforms in his government, and to give some satisfaction to public opinion; that the dismissal of the Prince of the Peace from office had appeared to him necessary for the happiness both of the king and of his subjects; but that the affairs of the north of Europe had retarded his intended journey to Spain, and in the meanwhile the events of Aranjuez had taken place. "I am not the judge," continued Bonaparte, "of what has happened, or of the conduct of the Prince of the Peace; but what I know well is, that it is dangerous for kings to accustom their peoples to shed blood and to do themselves justice with their own hands. I pray God that your royal highness may not experience this danger some day! It is not the interest of Spain to injure a prince who has espoused a princess of the blood-royal, and who has for so long a time governed the kingdom. The Prince of the Peace has no longer any friends. Your royal highness will find you have none, if ever you are unfortunate. The people are too apt to take vengeance for the homage they pay to us. How can the Prince of the Peace be brought to trial without implicating the queen and the king your father? Such a trial will nourish hatred and factious passions: the result will be fatal for your crown. *Your royal highness has no other rights than such as have been transmitted to you through your mother. If the trial dishonours your mother, your rights are torn to pieces!* You cannot bring the Prince of the Peace to trial. The crimes of which he is accused are lost in the rights of the throne. I have often manifested the desire that the Prince of the Peace should be removed from the management of affairs; the friendship of King Charles has often induced me to be silent and to turn my eyes from the weaknesses of his attachment. Miserable men that we are! weakness and error form our device. But all this may be reconciled: let the Prince of the Peace be exiled from Spain, and I offer him a refuge in France. As for the abdication of Charles IV., it has taken place at a moment when my armies are covering all Spain, and it might appear to the eyes of Europe and of posterity that I have sent my troops thither only in order to precipitate from the throne my ally and friend. As a neighbouring sovereign, it is permitted me to demand full information before I recognise the abdication of your father. I tell your royal highness, I tell the Spaniards, and the whole world, that if the abdication of King Charles has been voluntary, if it has not been forced by the insurrection and mutiny at Aranjuez, I have no difficulty in admitting and recognising your royal highness as King of Spain." Bonaparte then referred to the events of last October, when the disputes of the royal family of Spain became so violent that King Charles had accused his son and heir of a design upon his throne. "I was most painfully affected," continued this delicate moralist, "and I thought that I might have contributed to the family calamities by some of my insinuations. Your royal highness was very much to blame. When you are king in your turn, you will know how sacred are the rights of thrones! Every advance made towards a foreign sovereign by an hereditary prince is criminal!" This, in other words, was telling Ferdinand that he was a scoundrel for having complained to a foreign power of his own father, and for having brought the Emperor of the French into his family quarrel. After this gentle reproof the child of revolution went on to warn Ferdinand, the far-descended Bourbon, the representative of a long line of absolute monarchs, of the danger of relying upon insurrections or popular emotions. And then Bonaparte launched out into dreadful denunciations of vengeance if the popular emotions of the Spaniards should be turned against him or his troops. "A few murders," said he, "may be committed on my isolated soldiers, but the ruin of Spain will be the result. I have already seen with pain that at Madrid the letters of the captain-general of Catalonia, complaining of the presence of the French army, are widely circulated, and that everything is done to excite men's heads." The strange letter concluded with this rigmarole:—"Your royal highness now knows all my mind. You see that I am floating between divers ideas which have need to be fixed. You may be certain that in all cases I will behave towards you as I have done

towards the king your father. May you believe in my desire to conciliate everything, and to find the opportunity of giving you proofs of my affection and perfect esteem."

The miserable Ferdinand would now have returned to Madrid, or have fled to some sea-port town, instead of continuing his journey from Vittoria to Bayonne; but it was too late: he was completely in Savary's toils, he was surrounded by French columns, marching or stationary; he had not the courage which leads men to desperate enterprises; and so he quietly submitted to his fate, and went on to Bayonne, where Bonaparte arrived two or three days before him. It was on the 20th of April when Ferdinand traversed the draw-bridge of the fortress of Bayonne. It is said that Bonaparte, on learning his arrival, exclaimed "How! is the fool really come? I could scarcely have thought it possible!" To Don Carlos, whom he had found at Bayonne on reaching that town, the French emperor had behaved with a great show of kindness and friendship. Great care was now taken to prevent any intercourse or correspondence between the two Spanish princes, or the gentlemen who had accompanied them, and their friends in Spain. Ferdinand was invited to dine with the emperor, who must have derived great satisfaction from the discovery of what an arrant fool he had to deal with. Bonaparte indeed seems scarcely to have considered Ferdinand worth an argument or an explanation. Instead of opening himself to the prince, he made his explanations to the Canon Escoiquiz, the most able man of the prince's party. This is not saying very much for the canon's ability and intellect, for such a set of drivellers had not often formed a party or surrounded a prince; but Escoiquiz had talents which would have distinguished him anywhere, and a high national Spanish spirit, which was not to be repressed by the haughty tone of the conqueror, or by the near prospect of dungeons and chains. "Canon, how do you explain your insurrection at Aranjuez?" said Bonaparte, going straight to the point. The priest declared that that insurrection had been caused entirely by the public indignation on learning that the king and queen and Godoy were going to fly to South America. "Well, canon, but you cannot deny that it was that popular insurrection which forced Charles IV. to abdicate. Charles himself entered his protest on the same day on which he signed his abdication." The canon said that King Charles had not protested until two days after his abdication; that then indeed he had written to his majesty the emperor; but that he had only done so under the dictation of the queen and Godoy; and Escoiquiz added, that this conduct would surprise no one who knew the excessive moral weakness of the unhappy old king, the mere slave of the queen, who could at any time make him sign whatever she chose, though ever so remote from his own ideas and wishes; that the queen was maddened and blinded by her unnatural rage against her eldest son; that Ferdinand was beloved by the Spanish people, &c. Bonaparte acknowledged that the imbecility or excessive weakness of Charles IV. was notorious; but he added that this did not justify his sudden deposition; that the abdication at Aranjuez could never pass in the eyes of sensible men as the free and willing act of the old king—and here he drew a comparison between the abdication of the Emperor Charles V. and the act of Aranjuez. Escoiquiz endeavoured to explain; but Bonaparte interrupted him with this significant question: "Canon, tell me whether I ought to lose sight of the fact that *the interests of my house and of my empire demand that the Bourbons shall no longer reign in Spain?*" And here, as his manner was on such occasions, the Emperor of the French and King of Italy gently pulled the Spanish canon by the ear, and then, fixing his eyes on his face, burst out into a long laugh. After this *policinellata* his imperial majesty said, more seriously, "Canon, it is impossible but you see, as I do, that so long as the Bourbons reign in Spain, I shall never be able to have a safe and sincere alliance with that country: they will feign to be friends so long as they are not strong enough to do me an injury; but their mortal hatred will declare itself as soon as they see me embarrassed in some other war in the north of Europe—such a war may break out any day—and then you will see them join England and my worst enemies!" He recalled to the priest's memory certain demonstrations which had been made by the court of Madrid just before the battle of Jena, and he insisted that if he had lost that battle, instead of gaining it, Spain would have joined the coalition. "Never, no never! can I count upon Spain so long as the Bourbons occupy the throne; the forces of your nation have always been considerable, and a man of genius at the head of them might disturb my repose." Escoiquiz endeavoured to show that the emperor would have nothing to fear from Ferdinand; that the marriage of that prince with one of Bonaparte's nieces would attach him to the interests and the policy of France. "Canon, you are amusing me with fables, *vous me faites-là des contes, chanoine*; you are too well informed not to know that a woman is always too feeble a tie to fix the political conduct of a prince her husband! Who can give me assurance that the wife of Ferdinand will gain an ascendancy over him? Besides, death may any day break that matrimonial tie between the house of Spain and my house, and then the old hatred must revive. *Allons donc, chanoine, vous me presentez-là de véritables chateaux en Espagne!* Do you think that if the Bourbons remain on the throne I can be as sure of Spain as I should be *if the sceptre were placed in the hands of a prince of my own family?*" To this searching question Escoiquiz replied by saying that the eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Bayonne, watching impatiently the result of the journey of *King* Ferdinand; that if Bonaparte would act nobly and magnanimously his conduct would be applauded by the world; that his moderation would diminish the jealousy of all the European sovereigns, calm their hatred, and dissipate the

dread of all countries, who were constantly told by England that one by one they would all lose their independence. The canon too presented the reverse of the picture; if Bonaparte showed no magnanimity or moderation; if, instead of protecting Ferdinand, he made an attack on the national independence of Spain, and dealt a death-blow at his most faithful ally, England would be furnished with fresh arms wherewith to excite the nations of Europe, and renew the efforts of all the great powers to overthrow the empire and dynasty of Bonaparte; the Spanish people would vow an implacable, an eternal hatred against him and the French, and a war of extermination would be begun; every man in Spain would take up his musket, his rifle, his sword, or his knife; and history might tell his imperial majesty how terrible such wars had ever been in the peninsula! The conqueror affected to set these last arguments at defiance. "Canon," said he, "you are exaggerating difficulties. I have nothing to fear from the only European power that can measure swords with me. The Emperor of Russia, to whom, while at Tilsit, I communicated my projects upon Spain, approved of them, and gave me his word of honour that he would not oppose them in any way. As for the other powers, they will take good care not to move in this affair. In no case can the resistance of the Spaniards be long or formidable. The grandees and the rich, for fear of losing their property, will submit quietly, and will employ all their influence to calm the common people. The clergy and the monks, whom I shall hold responsible for any disorder, will employ also their influence, and you know that their influence is great. The populace, alone, may perhaps rise in a few places; but some severe chastisement will soon call them back to their duty! Believe me, canon, countries where there are a great many monks are easy to subjugate! I know this by experience. This will happen in Spain, particularly when the people shall see that I promise them the integrity and the independence of their monarchy, a more liberal and rational constitution, and the preservation of their religion and usages!" Escoiquiz said that if he placed a French prince on the throne of Spain, the new dynasty would stand upon a volcano; and that it would take an army of 200,000 Frenchmen to command a country of discontented slaves. The conqueror said that he would carry his project into execution though it should cost him the lives of 200,000 men; and he broke off this strange conference, in which he had not made the least attempt to colour over his utterly selfish and unprincipled policy, by telling the canon that he was sorry to see that they could not agree upon their principles, and that he would let him know his irrevocable determination on the morrow. There were two other Spaniards who had accompanied Ferdinand to Bayonne, with whom the French emperor thought fit to confer. Both these Spaniards showed considerable spirit. Cevallos insisted in a high tone upon the national character of his countrymen, and the feelings they would entertain when they should learn the intentions of Bonaparte. This produced an explosion of rage and abuse from the conqueror; he called Cevallos a traitor for deserting the service of his old master Charles IV. to become a councillor to the son; and he concluded with saying, in his most rapid and passionate manner, "I have a system of policy of my own —you ought to adopt more liberal ideas—you ought to be less susceptible on the point of honour—you ought to beware how you sacrifice the interests of Spain to a fantastic loyalty for the Bourbons!" Don Pedro de Labrador was then requested or commanded to negotiate or come to some understanding with Champagny, who had attended his emperor to Bayonne, and who was now his minister for foreign affairs—Talleyrand, for reasons which will be explained presently, having been dismissed and disgraced. But Don Pedro proved as refractory as Escoiquiz and Cevallos: he began by asking Champagny whether King Ferdinand were at liberty; and, if so, why he was not restored to his own country? Champagny replied that Ferdinand could not be permitted to return to Spain until he came to a proper understanding with the emperor. Cevallos then presented a note, expressing the terms on which Ferdinand had placed himself in the power of the emperor, and declaring his master's intention of departing immediately from Bayonne. Cevallos knew very well that his master could not act upon this intention, but he wished to show more clearly to the world that Ferdinand had been kidnapped and was a state prisoner. And his note produced good evidence to this effect; for the guards of *honour* placed over the two Spanish princes were immediately doubled; some of Savary's *gendarmes d'élite* and police spies in plain clothes were appointed to watch them and every movement of the Spaniards who had come with them; all the outlets from the town were guarded, every passer in or out was stopped and examined, and, as Bayonne was a fortified town encircled with high walls and deep ditches, there was slight chance of escape from it. Don Carlos, attempting to pass out of one of the gates, was forcibly stopped by a *gendarme*.

Ferdinand had gone like a fool to Bayonne to get his father's abdication and his own accession recognised by the Emperor of the French; but Bonaparte, like a rogue, had entrapped him there in order to extort from him a renunciation of the crown in favour of his brother Joseph, at present King of Naples. If Ferdinand had complied, the insurrection at Aranjuez and the abdication of Charles IV. would have been declared good and legal acts, in order to vest in Ferdinand the right of disposing of the crown. But as Ferdinand was so perverse and obstinate, it was determined to declare the insurrection at Aranjuez a vile and treasonable affair, to hold that Charles IV. had not voluntarily abdicated, and to bring him to Bayonne in order to obtain from him that renunciation in

favour of Joseph Bonaparte which his son refused to give. It was well known that if they could only get the Prince of the Peace to Bayonne, the old queen would follow him, and bring her husband with her. Murat therefore was instructed to take Godoy out of the prison at Aranjuez into which Ferdinand and the insurgents had thrown him, to furnish him with an escort strong enough to resist the fury of the Spaniards on the road, and to forward him with all possible speed into France. Godoy travelled so rapidly that he only took two nights and days to get from the Tagus at Aranjuez to the banks of the Bidasoa. On reaching Bayonne he was received by Bonaparte as a bosom friend; and immediately afterwards he wrote to the old king and queen to express the great satisfaction the Emperor of the French would have in seeing them at Bayonne, and in arranging the Spanish monarchy so as to place it beyond any danger from the usurpation of the Prince of Asturias. There was no need to write another letter; the queen flew after the poor Prince of the Peace, her dear, her only friend; and on the 30th of April a huge lumbering carrosse, drawn by eight Biscayan mules, rolled over the drawbridge of Bayonne, and landed that grand father of stupidity Charles IV., his most unroyal queen, his youngest son Francesco de Paulo, and two or three ignoble grandees of Spain. Two or three other enormous antiquated carriages discharged their cargoes of chamberlains and dames (much misnamed) of honour. Godoy welcomed his master and mistress, and gave them assurance that the intentions of Bonaparte in their regard were most friendly and liberal. This assurance was soon repeated by the Emperor of the French himself, who declared that he had been staying at Bayonne only to save and serve their majesties. As was expected from him, Charles now protested *vivâ voce* that his abdication of the 19th of March* had proceeded from violence; and demanded that his son should restore him to the possession of the crown. The reply of Ferdinand, drawn up by Don Pedro Cevallos and canon Escoiquiz, alleged that the resignation had been unquestionably voluntary at the time; and that Charles had made repeated declarations to that effect. It declared, however, that if both father and son were permitted to return to Madrid and summon the Cortes, Ferdinand, in their presence, and with their sanction, would renounce the rights vested in him by his father's abdication. To this the old king replied that he was free enough where he was; that he had come to his great and magnanimous ally, not as a king, but as an unhappy old man whose crown had been taken from him, and whose life had been endangered by the criminal ambition of his own son. Since the days of Philip II., the Cortes, or national representation, had been little more than a shadow and a name: it had never been convoked by Charles IV., or by his father Charles III.; and the old king, or Godoy, who wrote the letter for him, treated with contempt the notion of convoking it now. "Everything," said the letter, "ought to be done by sovereigns for the people; but the people ought not to be allowed to carve for themselves." It affirmed that the Emperor of the French alone could be the saviour of Spain, and that Napoleon was determined that Ferdinand should never hold the crown of that kingdom. Besides taxing him with a want of filial affection, the note accused Ferdinand of a want of affection for the Emperor Napoleon; and the last of the two seemed to be treated as a crime of as great a magnitude as the first. To this Ferdinand rejoined, that his present situation was proof enough of the unbounded confidence and good-will he had entertained for the emperor. And he now said that he was ready to restore the crown to his father unconditionally, and without any convocation of the Cortes, provided only that they should both be permitted to quit Bayonne—where no deed would bear the character of free-will—and return to their own country and capital. The old king and queen were transported with fury at this proposition, both knowing that the great body of the nation would not submit to the restoration of Charles, and would never allow the Prince of the Peace to return into Spain—that nothing but French troops and escorts, and the speed with which he had travelled, had saved the favourite from being torn to pieces before he reached the Pyrenees. Godoy would certainly never have consented to hazard his person among his vindictive countrymen; and without Godoy Spain and the whole world was as a blank to Maria Luiza and her infatuated husband. But what was even more than all this, was the determination of their present gaoler, into whose gyves and fetters they had all thrown themselves, that not one of them should ever return. The day after sending this last letter Ferdinand was summoned to the presence of his infuriated parents. He found seated with them Bonaparte, who had advised or ordered the interview, and whose pride was gratified by witnessing one of the most degrading scenes for royalty that royalty ever figured in. At a subsequent period he affected to feel horror and a painful disgust at the recollection of this scene; but at the moment it should appear that his disgust was not of a very painful kind, that he inwardly chuckled over the thorough baseness of these ultra-royal Bourbon princes, and justified to his own conscience the dark and treacherous steps he had taken, by asking himself whether Spain, or any other country in the world that had ever been ruled by such a despicable race, must not be a gainer by their expulsion, let their successors be who or what they might. The abasement of these Bourbons must have served as a pedestal to raise the imperial Corsican many feet higher. The scene which ensued had circumstances which we would not credit if they rested solely upon French authority. In that case we would suspect the malicious exaggeration of the narrators,

* The date of this act is almost invariably given as the 20th of March; but the decree of abdication was certainly signed and issued at Aranjuez on the 19th; and it was from the 19th of March that Ferdinand always dated his accession to the throne.

and the general disposition of those memoir writers and detailers of state secrets (even when there is no malice) to sacrifice truth for the sake of a more striking effect. But the worst of the circumstances are confirmed in the accounts given by the canon Escoiquiz and Don Pedro Cevallos, Ferdinand's chief and best councillors, who, in ordinary reason, can scarcely be suspected of inventing words which might tend to throw a doubt on the legitimacy of the birth of the prince to whom they had attached themselves and their fortunes. We know, however, the wondrous vivacity and fury of party feeling and most other passions when once excited in the Spanish heart; we have seen the constant interchange among all parties of the most atrocious accusations; and as the canon and the Don hated the queen as intensely as she hated them, the blindness of their rage may have prevented their seeing the mischief they were doing to their own cause; and thus, perhaps, after all, it will not be irrational to receive with some little doubt the worst part of this wholly bad story.

The king, the queen, the emperor remained seated: Ferdinand was left to stand on his feet before them like a culprit before his judges. Charles overwhelmed his son with downright vulgar abuse, calling him traitor and parricide, and threatening to beat him with his walking-stick. The prince protested that he was no traitor, no parricide, but a dutiful subject and an affectionate son; that the plots imputed to him were all false, and that the abdication at Aranjuez was a voluntary act. He is also said to have reminded the king and queen that it was he who had saved the life of Godoy when the people would have murdered him. But, compared with the fury of the old queen, that of Charles was as a fresh breeze compared to a whirlwind or tornado blast. This royal *energumène* (or devil-possessed) foamed at the mouth, lavished the most odious epithets upon him, and called upon the Emperor of the French to order his trial, to send him to the scaffold which his crimes merited. Nor is this all that is related to have passed—and here comes the worst or least credible part of the story, a thing indeed scarcely to be believed without first believing that the woman was absolutely and ravingly mad—Maria Luiza is said to have declared there, in the face of her husband, her son, and Bonaparte, that Ferdinand was a bastard—that though borne by her he had not been begotten by the king her husband!

Confused and crushed by insults and threats, the weak and irresolute Ferdinand, who appears really to have dreaded being sent either to a scaffold or to some horrible dungeon,* offered to give up all right or claim to the crown; and on the 6th of May, a day or two after the interview with his parents, he signed a formal act, in which he restored the crown to his father, and prayed that his majesty might live to enjoy it many years. But on the 5th of May, the day before Ferdinand signed this act, his father Charles had assented to a short act which had been prepared a considerable time before the old king's arrival at Bayonne, by Champagny, or rather by Bonaparte himself, who had dictated what his minister for foreign affairs had merely to write out and get copied upon parchment; and by this laconic act or treaty Charles IV. resigned all claims on Spain and the Indies and all Spanish colonies and territories whatever, to his friend and faithful ally Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c., and this without any conditions or provisos, excepting only that the crown of Spain should not be held by the same sovereign who wore the crown of France; that the independence and integrity of the kingdom should be respected; that the Roman Catholic religion should be maintained as the dominant faith, and no reform or change allowed in it; that no Protestant or reformed religion should be tolerated, and still less the practice of the Mohammedan or Jewish religion; and that their property should be restored to the Prince of the Peace and all those who had suffered by the revolution of Aranjuez.* The property thus secured or promised to Godoy was of an enormous amount. Just before signing this second abdication, which was intended to be kept secret for some time, Charles named Murat lieutenant-general of his kingdom, and president of the government; and put his name to a proclamation calling upon all good and loyal Spaniards to serve and obey Murat as they would King Charles himself; to treat the French soldiers as friends and brothers; to beware of listening to treacherous men, agents of England, who might plunge them into ruin by seeking to stir them up against the French, &c. [But before this time it was a brotherhood of Cain and Abel—the Spaniards and French had begun to butcher one another in the streets of Madrid.] After he had signed his abdication in favour of his father, Ferdinand was called upon to sign and ratify the renunciation which his father had made in favour of Bonaparte, and to enter into a separate treaty which should give him and his brothers and his uncle Don Antonio pensions and provisions in lieu of their hereditary rights. Low and un-heroic as was the spirit of the Bourbon prince, he is said to have offered a stout resistance, and only to have yielded at last to the worst of tortures and racks—the torture of the mind and imagination, and to threats more dreadful than those which had been formerly employed to work upon him. Some resistance there certainly must have been, for although his father had finished his second and final abdication on the 5th, Ferdinand did not yield until the 10th of May. He then agreed to take in exchange for the splendid crown of Spain and the Indies, the palace, park, and farms of Navarre, with the woods thereunto adjacent, the sum of 600,000 francs by way of

* It is said that at this crisis of his terror Savary waited upon his captive Ferdinand and told him that unless he immediately signed the act of renunciation he would be brought to his trial as a traitor, and that Napoleon would inflexibly execute the sentence pronounced by his irritated father, even though it were perpetual imprisonment or death.

* * This act of abdication was signed by Duroc for the emperor, and by Godoy, Prince of the Peace, for King Charles.

outfit, and an annual pension of 400,000 francs to be paid out of the treasury of France. It was also agreed that Ferdinand's brothers, Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paulo, and his uncle Don Antonio should have incomes and appanages in France, and be allowed to enjoy the revenues of their several commanderies, or landed property belonging to the Spanish orders of knighthood, provided they conformed with and adhered to the present treaty.* As these princes, who merit the name of Infants in another sense than the courtly one, were by this time all prisoners in Bayonne, they had nothing to do but to conform, and take such pensions and houses as Bonaparte might choose to give them. Charles and Maria Luiza were allowed good prizes in this distribution of lottery tickets: the Chateau of Chambord, with its parks, forests, and farms, was given to them in full property; the imperial palace of Compiègne, with its parks, forests, &c., was put at the disposition of King Charles, who was to have and to enjoy a civil list equal to 30,000,000 of Spanish reals, to be paid by the imperial treasury in twelve monthly payments; and in case of his majesty's death her majesty was to have as a dower 2,000,000 of reals. In the treaty with Charles it was expressly stipulated that all the royal family and *Godoy* should reside in the interior of France—or, as it was delicately stated, "the emperor engages to give refuge in his states to King Charles, the queen, their family, the Prince of the Peace, and all such of their servants as may choose to follow them, and who will all enjoy in France a rank equivalent to that which they possessed in Spain." As the drivellers were no longer wanted at Bayonne, they were sent away to their places of relegation in the interior of France. Compiègne was far enough away from the Pyrenees, and had it been ever so near there was nothing to apprehend from Charles or Maria Luiza or Godoy; but the palace of Navarre, though granted to him by treaty, was not considered a safe enough prison for Ferdinand and the other Infants; and as the magnanimous emperor had a spite to indulge against his ex-minister for foreign affairs, the princes were all conducted to Valençay in the very heart of France, and there lodged in the splendid palace or mansion of Talleyrand. They all proved most docile and passive prisoners; and during the four or five years that the Spanish people were wading in blood, and throwing away their own lives for the purpose of restoring the Bourbon throne, not one of them attempted to escape to take part in the struggle, or appears in any other way to have given the slightest uneasiness to Bonaparte or to his police agents who constantly watched them. When an adventurous German baron in the pay of England reached Valençay, after many risks and dangers, Ferdinand refused to fly with him, or to risk anything with a man who had run such extreme risks to liberate him. He smoked his eternal cigar in peace and happiness—at least it may be doubted whether this were not the happiest part of Ferdinand's whole life. As his timidity and irresolution were so well known, and as great reliance was placed in the passport and espionage system which Bonaparte and Fouché had brought to a terrible point of perfection, an appearance of liberty was allowed to him and to the other Infants. They were free to range through the park and woods and the neighbouring country; but their natural indolence rarely allowed them to go far from Talleyrand's house and garden.

By his treaty with Charles IV. the Emperor of the French was to elect and name to the Spanish throne whatsoever prince he should judge proper. We have intimated that his choice fell upon his elder brother. Joseph, who was well satisfied with the beautiful kingdom he had already got in the south of Italy, who probably foresaw that in Spain there would be more fighting, than feasting, and who said with perfect truth that the crown of Spain and the Indies was too great a weight for his head, was so little in a hurry to repair to Bayonne that Napoleon found himself obliged to summon him several times, and at last to dispatch one of his most confidential aides-de-camp to put more speed into the indolent and self-indulgent loiterer. At last, however—on the 6th of June—Joseph arrived; and a so-called junta, or assembly of notables from all parts of Spain, was convoked to meet him at Bayonne, to adjust with him a new Spanish *constitution*, and to swear fealty to him as their lawful sovereign. The names of the unnational Spaniards who repaired at the summons of the conqueror to a foreign fortress, to receive a king presented to their country by 200,000 foreign bayonets, will remain on the darkest page of Spanish history; and their conduct is the less excusable, as by this time the Spanish people were nearly everywhere flying to arms, and manifesting the most determined national spirit that had yet been shown on the continent since the commencement of the war of the French revolution. They had nothing to do but to listen and obey, flatter and swear. To make up a number, some of the servants who had followed the king and queen, or Godoy and the infants, to Bayonne were detained there, and thrust into this junta, which was declared to express the free and universal will and wish of the Spaniards to have Joseph Bonaparte for their king. Such, in reality, was the will and wish of the people, that Don José, unbacked by a French force, could not have shown himself in any city, town, village, or hamlet in all Spain, without being torn to pieces. The thing called a Spanish constitution was dictated by Bonaparte himself, and was nothing but a modified copy of that imperial constitution with which he had blessed France, the modifications being all in favour of despotism and absolutism. As the most promising way of conciliating the Spaniards, the largest concessions were made to their religious bigotry and intolerance: in this constitution it was expressly declared that "the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion is the only religion admitted in Spain;" and this, in fact,

* This treaty was signed by Duroc and Escoiquiz.

was the first article in this precious charter. On the 23rd of June King Joseph put his name to a proclamation addressed to his late Neapolitan subjects, telling them that Providence, whose designs are unknown, had called him to the throne of Spain and the Indies; that he had found himself under the cruel necessity of quitting a people whom he had so many reasons to love; that He alone who reads the hearts of men could judge of the sincerity of his sentiments, in spite of which he had yielded to other impulses, and had accepted a new kingdom, the government of which was transmitted to him in virtue of the cession made to him of the rights acquired over the crown of Spain by his august brother, &c. He told the Neapolitans of the good he had done them, and of the good he had intended to do them; and in order that they might have no reason to envy the fate of his new subjects, Joseph transmitted them a skeleton constitution, called the "Statute of Bayonne," a good part of which was altogether incomprehensible to the Neapolitans, and the rest a mockery and insult offered to a people whom he had left in beggary and in chains, in a state of slavery far worse than any they had known under their Bourbon kings, and in a state of poverty that was every day increasing.

After the Emperor Napoleon had issued a decree appointing his "dearly beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, to the crowns of Spain and the Indies," the so-called Spanish junta at Bayonne held their twelfth meeting on the 7th of July, the day appointed for the acceptance of the constitution. In the hall where they assembled were erected a magnificent throne and a richly decorated altar. A Spanish archbishop—the archbishop of Burgos—officiated at the altar and said mass; and Joseph Bonaparte seated himself on the throne, and addressed the "gentlemen deputies," who had been deputed by nobody, and who represented no part of the Spanish nation. Knowing that the Spanish patriots or insurgents were already calling out for English assistance, and knowing with equal certainty that that assistance would be given, the intrusive king warned the junta against the "eternal enemies of the continent," telling them that England, favoured by the troubles which she was exciting in Spain, would hope to seize all the Spanish colonies; and that every good Spaniard ought, on this account, to open his eyes, and rally round the new throne. After saying that, if the Spaniards were only disposed to make as many sacrifices as he their king was, Spain would soon be tranquil and happy within, and strong and puissant without, he added, "We with confidence take the engagement that it shall be so at the foot of Almighty God, who reads in the hearts of men, who disposes of them at his pleasure, and who never abandons the man that loves his country and fears only his own conscience!" The new constitution was then read, the longest part of it consisting of the clauses which regulated the succession in the Bonaparte family, and which settled the property of the crown, the civil list, and the like. Although Joseph Bonaparte piqued himself on his literary accomplishments and abilities, his brother Napoleon did not admire the discourse he delivered to the junta, and he is said to have touched it up with his own pen, before sending it off to Paris to be printed in the 'Moniteur.' But even as it stands in that repertory of almost fabulous-looking documents, decrees, and acts, it is the most wretched piece of twaddle that had hitherto proceeded from these quarters. The genius both of the king-maker and of the made-king appears to have been crushed by the sense of the iniquity and treachery which had been committed, by the useless hypocrisy and cant they were practising with a handful of Spaniards, who had either been trepanned, or were cowards, knaves, or fools, and by the menacing aspect of the Spanish people. After the inaugural speech of Joseph, and the reading of the constitutional act, the president of the junta delivered a short discourse, and then the members of that junta all swore obedience to the king, the constitution, and the laws. Murat, who had certainly entertained hopes of getting the kingdom of Spain for himself, and who fancied that he, as a fighting man, was more likely to obtain full possession, and keep it, than the timid and effeminate Joseph, who had not the slightest pretension to the character of a soldier, had been called from Madrid to be present at Joseph's inauguration, which he witnessed with no very friendly eye; but a few days after, or on the 15th of July, the great king-maker appointed "his dearly beloved cousin Joachim Murat, Grand Duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples and Sicily, which remains vacant by the accession of Joseph Napoleon to the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies."* For a time the soldier of fortune continued to regret that he should have the smaller, and the *parvenu* merchant's clerk the larger kingdom; but Murat had afterwards cause to be well satisfied, for, when not called away to serve the emperor, his brother-in-law, in distant foreign wars, he lived joyously and tranquilly enough in Naples his capital; while Joseph, from the day on which he entered Spain, was exposed to dangers which must have been doubly terrible to a man of his unwarlike temperament, and was condemned to lead a flitting, fugitive, vagabond existence from the summer of 1808 to the summer of 1813, when Lord Wellington drove him across the Pyrenees, and from Madrid his capital, for the last of many times and for ever. Letters from Joseph Bonaparte are still extant in the south of Italy, wherein he declares that from the time when, in reluctant obedience to his brother's commands, he quitted Naples, he had not known one single happy or tranquil day. No man, and assuredly not Murat, could have subdued

* This curious document, like the decree appointing Joseph King of Spain, is signed "Napoleon," and countersigned "Maret, minister, secretary of State."

In Joseph's case a fiction of a sanction was obtained from the so-called Spanish junta assembled at Bayonne; but in Murat's case it was not thought necessary to demand from the poor Neapolitans, or a fragment of that nation, any sanction whatsoever. The Neapolitans, however, had a decided change for the better, in getting Murat in lieu of Joseph.

the difficulties with which the usurped throne of Spain was beset; but of all the men about Napoleon, Joseph was perhaps the least qualified for even struggling with these difficulties. Even in the city of Naples, where there was little or no danger, where there were scarcely any hostile combinations or dangerous plots, except such as were invented by his infamous police-minister Saliceti, he had lived for a long time in constant dread of assassination, insurrection, revolution; and from these unmanly fears, and from the bondage of the Corsican Jacobin and Conventionist, he had never been able wholly to liberate himself.

Advice had not been wanting to warn Bonaparte of the perilous nature of his Spanish enterprize, and to prevent his rushing into that war which he himself afterwards called "that wretched war, the cause of my ruin!" Even Fouché, his police minister, and the man of whom he stood in most awe, pleaded strongly, but in vain, against the whole enterprize. "As for Portugal," said Fouché, "let her take her fate—she is little better than an English colony. But the King of Spain has given you no reason to complain; he has been the humblest of your prefects — fleets, troops, sea-ports, money, all the things he has have been at your disposition. You cannot get more from Spain if you take the country from him. . . . . You ought to be aware that the Spanish people are not mild and phlegmatic like the Germans! [Bonaparte had conceived that it would not be much more difficult to make Joseph King of Spain than it had been found to make Jerome King of Westphalia.] The Spaniards are passionately attached to their ancient laws, their ancient government, their ancient customs. You will commit an error if you judge of the national character by the spiritless character of the higher classes. Take heed you do not convert, by an act of aggression, a submissive and useful tributary kingdom into a second Vendée!" The presumptuous conqueror replied that the character of the Spanish government was contemptible, that Charles IV. was imbecile, that Godoy was a scoundrel and unpopular, and that one good volley of French artillery would scatter the common people and the monks who led them on or excited them. He knew at the moment, or at least he afterwards seemed to admit by the vast military preparations he made, and by the great precautions he took, that the fiery peasantry of Spain would not be so easily subdued or scattered; but his present object was simply to beat down the objection and opposition of Fouché, to whom he also exhibited the dazzling nature of the temptation which lay before him through the vices of the Spanish government, and the footing he was obtaining in the country by means of the iniquitous treaty of Fontainebleau and the marching of his troops into Portugal. "My stake," said he, "the stake I play for is immense! I will continue in my own dynasty the system of Louis XIV. and the Bourbons, and unite Spain for ever to the destinies of France. Remember, the sun never sets on the empire of Charles V.!" And at this moment, no doubt, his heated imagination waved the sceptre of the great Charles over both hemispheres. His crafty police minister ventured to hint that, notwithstanding the courtesies and compliments which had passed at Tilsit, there might be but slight dependence upon the friendship or sincerity of the Emperor Alexander; that Russia, on seeing him engaging in a ruinous contest in Spain, might renew her connection with England, and thus place him between two fires. "Bah!" said he, "you talk like a minister of police, whose habits teach him to doubt that there is such a thing as sincerity in the world!" No man in the world had this doubt more deeply fixed in his heart, or more thoroughly interwoven with his nature, than Bonaparte himself; yet he pretended to assure his police minister that the czar and his Tilsit treaty were entirely to be depended upon.

Talleyrand, in a style more courtly and persuasive than that of the ex-Jacobin and sans-culotte Fouché, endeavoured to turn the wilful man away from his project. The persuasive tone, the extensive information, the marvellous political sagacity of this minister, must have prevailed with almost any other sovereign; but they were thrown away upon one whose successes had driven him mad. Bonaparte complained of the pertinacity of Talleyrand; and Talleyrand now began to speak privately of Bonaparte as one who could not be served, because he would not listen to any advice that was contrary to a preconceived notion or to a cherished system. In a discussion on the affairs of Spain the Emperor of the French lost all respect for the high-born and able minister who had served him so long and so well, lost all command of his temper, and called Talleyrand "traitor" to his face. But that imperturbable, impassive face betrayed no more emotion than one of the marble statues in the Tuileries garden. Talleyrand looked placidly out upon that garden and its statues from the window above; but when he went home he shrugged his shoulders and said, "This is the beginning of the end!" (*C'est le commencement de la fin!*) On the 9th of August, 1807, just eighteen days before the conclusion of the treaty of Fontainebleau, which was but a preparatory step to the greater but not more iniquitous Spanish scheme, Talleyrand either voluntarily resigned or was dismissed from office; and Champagny, who was immeasurably inferior to him in all qualities except that of passive obedience, was put into his place. From this moment nearly all political wisdom and moderation disappeared from the councils of Bonaparte, who had been far more indebted to Talleyrand than French or any other historians seem inclined to allow. When the Spanish royal family were all kidnapped, Ferdinand and his brothers were, as we have seen, quartered upon Talleyrand, or sent to occupy his palace at Valençay; and by a sort of practical epigram, he and his opposition to the will of the emperor were held up to the ridicule of those who had often writhed under his gentle-toned but terrible sar-

casms. In his capacity of grand-chamberlain, the ex-minister for foreign affairs did the honours of Bonaparte's court at Erfurt, when the Emperor of Russia repaired thither to renew the secret conferences which had been held at Tilsit. Bonaparte is even reported to have consulted him several times on political affairs, and to have said that they ought never to have quarrelled or parted. But at the beginning of the following year (1809), when Bonaparte hastily returned from the peninsula, he deprived him of the post of grand-chamberlain, because he continued to denounce the Spanish war, and to predict nothing but ruin from it. And yet, in spite of all these facts, which were at the time notorious and known to every one in Europe that pretended to any knowledge of public affairs, Bonaparte and his memoir-writers afterwards pretended to assert that it was Talleyrand who first led the emperor into the scheme of Spanish conquest; and that the cause for which Talleyrand had been disgracefully driven from office was his propensity to stock-jobbing, and the private use he made of official information!

Two months before Murat quitted Madrid, that capital had been the scene of a dreadful commotion. As soon as the people learned that Ferdinand was a prisoner in the hands of the French, they began to murmur, to move, and to look to their knives and daggers. On the 2nd of May, the day fixed for the departure of Charles IV.'s daughter, the ex-queen of Etruria, with her infant son, the only members of the house of Bourbon that remained in Spain (except the Cardinal de Bourbon, archbishop of Toledo, who had sent to Bayonne a renunciation of all right or pretension to the succession), the people gathered in great multitudes to witness, or, if possible, to prevent the departure. Surrounded by Murat's cavalry, the carriages were allowed to drive off; but the princess and her child were seen weeping—a sight which increased the popular emotion—and the assembled, excited multitude gave vent to tears, lamentations, and threats; and a conflict presently ensued between them and the French. From 400 to 500 French soldiers, who were strolling through the streets in the interior of the city, separately or in small parties, and without any knowledge of the storm which had commenced near one of the outer gates of the town, fell murdered and mangled under the long, sharp Spanish knife; even the French sick in the hospital were attacked, for this "war to the knife," this Spanish *rabies*, was rarely mitigated by any mercy. Murat poured troops and artillery into the city, and soon cleared the streets with some charges of cavalry and a few discharges of grape-shot. The number of Spaniards who fell in the streets was not considerable—much less than that of the Frenchmen who had fallen under their knives; but, less it is said through the orders of Murat, who was not naturally cruel, and whose present aim was conciliation, than through the advice of General Grouchy, and through the uncontrollable fury of the French soldiery, many individuals who had been seized in the streets were condemned to be shot, without so much as a drum-head trial, and in spite of the solemn assurances given by the friends of some of them that they had taken no part in the insurrection. They were shot by night in parties of tens and dozens at a time. The number of Spaniards who thus perished is variously stated at from 500 to only 120: among the conflicting reports there seems no possibility of getting at the truth; but as these military executions were renewed on the following night and on the night after, and as a good many peasants were seized with the knife and the red hand, it will probably not be over-stating the number of victims to put it at 200.* But even the highest of the number we have mentioned was far inferior to the amount of massacre in which the populace believed: the common people of Madrid and the neighbourhood gave out that some thousands of Spaniards had been murdered in cold blood for no other crime than that of loving their country and their royal family; and these popular exaggerations, which were rapidly circulated in all directions, seemed to obtain confirmation from an article in the 'Moniteur,' stating that a handful of French had perished, and that thousands (*quelques milliers*) of Spaniards had fallen. To diminish his own loss was the unvarying practice of Bonaparte; and in this instance he multiplied the deaths of his enemies in order to strike terror into the Spanish nation. But the calculation was a bad one: instead of terror it multiplied hatred and revenge, and it made other people besides the Spaniards believe in a massacre much more atrocious than any that had really taken place. For the present Madrid remained in a sullen tranquillity, Murat publishing on the 5th of May a proclamation of amnesty. But, though got under there, the flames of insurrection broke out simultaneously in many towns and villages of New Castile, and spread most rapidly thence to Old Castile, to Navarre, to Andalusia, to Valencia, to Catalonia, to the Biscayan provinces, to every province and district of Spain, and to almost every town in the kingdom excepting those occupied by strong French garrisons. The conflagration raged still more violently when the Spaniards were informed by successive proclamations that Ferdinand had renounced his rights to the Emperor of the French, that the emperor had been pleased to give the crown to his brother, and that Joseph was

* Colonel Napier, whose eagerness for impartiality and whose love of contradiction render him in fact partial to the French, says *it is certain* that, including the peasants shot outside the gates, the whole number of Spaniards slain did not amount to 120 persons.—*History of the War in the Peninsula and in the South of France from the Year 1807 to the Year 1814.*

But, as is not unusual with him in his boldest assertions, Colonel Napier gives no authority to back this *certainty*, or to vouch for the number of the slain. Bonaparte's government, which so egregiously falsified the numbers in the 'Moniteur,' never gave any register of the deaths: there was, apparently, no register kept by the distracted, panic-stricken municipality of Madrid, nor does any Spaniard in that city appear to have known what numbers were executed. As the fusillades took place in different parts of the town and suburbs, and were performed by different companies, it is probable and almost certain that not one of the French soldiers knew the total amount of the slain.

coming to take possession. In vain the native Spanish ministers, and other authorities whom Bonaparte had appointed to aid his brother in the task of government, issued manifestos to assure the people that they would gain immensely by these political changes, that the French aimed at nothing but the good of their country, that their holy church and their ancient usages would be respected, revered; in vain these unnational Spaniards sent out agents to make converts, and get up a party for King Joseph; their manifestos were spit upon and torn to pieces, their agents wherever they were detected by the people were slaughtered, and they themselves, ministers and high functionaries, or grandees, as they were, could not show their faces outside of the walls of Madrid, unless they were shielded by a body of French troops. After Murat had taken his departure, the management of a large part of the French army fell to men who had little of his soldier-like magnanimity, who encouraged rather than checked the fury of the soldiery, exasperated by the frequent deaths of their comrades, cut off singly or in straggling parties; and who adopted as a principle that so unfriendly and stubborn a people was to be subjugated only by fire and sword. As in Calabria, cruelty begot cruelty, excess excess: from the beginning of the conflict between the French and Spaniards, to the end of it, it was a war of wild beasts; nor could the British officers ever convince the Spanish peasantry that they ought not to torture and then butcher the treacherous kidnappers of their king, the unprovoked invaders of their country. "Let them restore King Ferdinand and his brother, cease insulting our monks, and violating our nuns, plundering our towns, and burning our villages; let them quit our country and go back to their own, and then we will sheathe our knives and do them no harm;"—such was the universal conviction of the peasants, and it was utterly hopeless to talk to them of the usages of civilized warfare. They were not civilized; and never was a more maddening provocation given to a naturally fierce people than that which was given to the Spaniards by the treacherous manner in which their country was invaded, and in the ruthless way in which the war was very soon carried on by the French.

Even before the explosion at Madrid, a popular insurrection had broken out in Toledo, where men once made good sword-blades, and still knew how to use them. When the intrusive King Joseph crossed the frontiers, surrounded by a French and Italian army, he found no Spaniard to welcome him, or say, God bless him. At Vittoria the townspeople seemed disposed to prevent his entrance, and would certainly have fallen upon him but for his artillery and troops. He entered Madrid on the 20th of July; and on the 24th of that month he was proclaimed king. But by this time a local Spanish government was established at Seville, which took to itself the title of "Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies," renewed the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand VII., issued a formal declaration of war against the usurper Joseph, called upon all Spaniards between the ages of sixteen and forty-five to fly to arms, summoned some veteran Spanish troops, at the camp of St. Roque, under the rock of Gibraltar, to march to Seville; and ordered General the Marquis of Solano to attack and seize a French squadron of five sail of the line and a frigate, which had taken refuge in the harbour of Cadiz from the pursuit of the English. Solano hesitated, incurred the fatal suspicion of being a French partisan, and was murdered by the people of Cadiz. Nearly at the same time, and on account of the same suspicion, Count de Aguilar was butchered by the people of Seville. Don T. Morla, who succeeded to the Marquis of Solano's command, seized all the French ships, and made prisoners of all the officers and crews, having refused English assistance. Before receiving the summons of the Seville junta, and even before the formation of that governing body, General Castaños, who commanded the army of Andalusia at St. Roque, had adopted the resolution of resisting the French, and applied to English officers for aid and assistance.*

As early as the 8th of April, General Castaños dispatched a confidential agent to Sir Hew Dalrymple, acting Governor of Gibraltar, to acquaint him with the present state of things at Madrid, and with all the circumstances that preceded and accompanied the revolution of Aranjuez, which had placed Ferdinand on the throne. This Spanish agent represented to Dalrymple that there was an end to the policy which under Charles IV. and Godoy had made Spain the servant of France and the foe of England; that men of national spirit and political talent were now rallying round the throne of Ferdinand; that the nation itself had caught the impulse, and was preparing in the most energetic manner to support its new monarch; that Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia had already offered to raise and maintain an army of 150,000 men; that it was not doubted that this example would be universally followed; and that, in fine, it was believed that should the perfidy of the French, now only suspected, be proved by subsequent acts, the French troops, not-

* In spite of Spain's being in a state of war with England, there had been for many months a friendly intercourse maintained between the British garrison and Governor of Gibraltar and the Spaniards living at St. Roque and the neighbourhood. This was productive of mutual convenience, was highly agreeable to the Spanish peasantry, who had fruits and vegetables, and other things for sale; it was more than winked at, it was sanctioned, by General Castaños, between whom and the resident governor of the rock, Sir Hew Dalrymple, a very friendly correspondence had existed. But towards the end of the year 1807, when the French columns began to enter Spain, it was officially notified to Sir Hew that Castaños had received the orders of his government to stop all manner of communication with Gibraltar; and, from this date, the fortress had been held in a rigorous state of blockade. Shortly after receiving Castaños' intimation, Sir Hew Dalrymple was informed by Lord Strangford, the British minister at Lisbon, that it was certainly a part of Bonaparte's plan of operations to possess himself of Gibraltar. The necessary preparations were promptly made to meet the danger when it should arrive; and a body of troops, under the command of General Spencer, that was on its way to Sicily, was stopped and landed on this important rock. Some of the silliest of the Spaniards were elated with the hope of getting possession of Gibraltar through Bonaparte's means; but it should appear that the vast majority of the Andalusians had no such expectation, and were transported with fury on learning the marching of French columns through Spain, foreseeing, as their imbecile government ought to have done, that there was more in the wind than the mere seizure of Portugal.

withstanding their discipline and numbers, would be overwhelmed by an enraged and formidable population, roused into action by wrongs and insults.* Our foreign secretary, Lord Castlereagh, with all his usual activity and energy, seems to have been liable to fits of oblivion or negligence. Sir Hew Dalrymple, losing no time, wrote and sent off a dispatch on the 8th of April, requesting to be furnished with, at least, provisional instructions; but the noble secretary's answer was *dated* the 25th of May, and was not received till June. In the meanwhile, however, Sir Hew continued an intercourse with Castaños, chiefly through the medium of a native merchant of Gibraltar, named Manuel Viali. As events were precipitated, and as the designs of the French became more fully known, General Castaños became the more eager for the conclusion of some agreement with the English; but Sir Hew could not enter into any engagement upon his own responsibility, and merely held out hopes, and hinted at advantages and securities which his government might desire.† When the junta of Seville was formed, and when Castaños acknowledged its authority with the hope that all the patriots of Spain would equally submit to it, Sir Hew Dalrymple furnished him with some supplies, lent assistance to bring over some Spanish troops from Ceuta, and encouraged the merchants of Gibraltar to open a subscription for the patriots. To their honour, the Gibraltar merchants subscribed in a few minutes about 40,000 hard dollars without premium, and on the sole security of the junta of Seville. This seasonable supply enabled Castaños to obey the summons of the junta, and get his troops in marching order; and on the 6th of June the Spanish general, accompanied by Captain Whittingham, an English officer who had passed much of his early life in Spain, set out for Seville to consult with that government as to the measures proper to be pursued in order to prevent the French from crossing the Sierra Morena, or to drive them back if they had crossed. On the 8th of June arrived Lord Castlereagh's tardy dispatch, acquainting Sir Hew Dalrymple with the intention of our government to afford the loyal party in Spain the assistance of 10,000 men, which seemed to be the number of British troops that General Castaños immediately required. The secretary, however, cautioned Sir Hew not to risk so small a force inland or far from communication with the English fleet. At the time when Castlereagh's dispatch was dated no such measure had taken place, but four days before the dispatch was received at Gibraltar—on the 4th of June, the birth-day of George III.—a proclamation issued from the queen's palace at Buckingham House, stating that his majesty, having taken into consideration the glorious resolution of the Spaniards to deliver their country from the tyranny and usurpation of France, and the assurances his majesty had received from several of the provinces of Spain of their friendly disposition towards England, he was pleased to order that all hostilities against Spain should immediately cease—that the blockade of all the ports of Spain, except such as might be still under the control or in the actual possession of the French, should be forthwith raised—that all ships and vessels belonging to Spain should have free admission into the ports of his majesty's dominions—that the ships belonging to Spain met at sea by our ships and cruisers should be treated as ships of a friendly state, &c. &c.* On the 9th of June Admiral Lord Collingwood, who had been watching Toulon, came down to Gibraltar with two ships of the line, being attracted thither by intelligence he had obtained of the rapid progress of the Spanish insurrection, and by letters he had received from Sir Hew Dalrymple. On the 10th Collingwood went through the straits to Cadiz, to take the command of the whole of the fleet assembled there, and to give such encouragement, and such supplies as he could spare. He carried with him Major Cox, whom Sir Hew Dalrymple had selected to reside as confidential agent at Seville. Collingwood, who admired and loved the good parts of the Spanish character, was not blind to its defects; and though he had great hopes that this universal rising would be attended with important results, he very clearly foresaw that numerous and great errors would be committed, and that the struggle would not end quite so soon as men of more hope and less knowledge and experience seemed to imagine.† General Spencer soon followed to Cadiz with 5000 men, but, through sundry jealousies and other circumstances hereafter to be mentioned, these troops were not landed there, nor in any part of the Andalusian coast, but were afterwards disembarked in Portugal, as an important reinforcement to the army which Sir Arthur Wellesley commanded. The very first assistance which the Spaniards received from the English was not therefore of great amount, but it would have been greater but for the jealous tempers of Morla, the governor of Cadiz, and of the ruling majority in the junta of Seville; and, such as it was, General Castaños always expressed his warm gratitude for it to Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, considering the caution and circumspection of his character, the very peculiar situation in which he was placed (Spain being in a state of war with England, and

* Memoir written by Gen. Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart. of his proceedings as connected with the affairs of Spain and the commencement of the Peninsular war.

† At this early stage Sir Hew Dalrymple threw out loose suggestions about the propriety of the Spaniards putting us in possession *pro tempore* of Ceuta and Minorca, hinting, that otherwise the French might take those important places.

* It was not, however, until January, 1809, that the treaty acknowledging Ferdinand VII. was signed between England and Spain.

† The gunpowder which was first furnished by the English fleet was immediately fired away by the Spaniards in honour of a saint whose festival they were then celebrating; and when they requested a farther supply, Lord Collingwood informed them that he could spare no more, unless they would promise to reserve it for sinners, and not for saints. There were about this time very frequent rumours of defeats sustained by the French, in all parts of Spain; and for one of these imaginary successes the town of Cadiz was illuminated. "I always thought that this victory," said Lord Collingwood, on observing their preparations, "was a doubtful and dark affair; but I see now that they are going to throw some light upon it."—*Memoirs of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, &c. by G. L. Newnham Collingwood.*

there being, if not a possibility of deception on the part of Castaños, an exceedingly great probability that the Spaniards might make a bad use of the money and materials he sent them), and the heavy responsibility he lay under, acting without instructions from his government, and in the painful state of uncertainty occasioned by Lord Castlereagh's long and scarcely excusable silence, must, we conceive, be entitled to great praise for the exertions he made in behalf of the patriots. We know, indeed, that the unanimous and passionate feeling of the officers and British merchants at Gibraltar impelled him forward; but still another man, placed in his situation, might have hesitated ere he took any steps which were not sanctioned by his government, and which might have drawn down severe censure upon him. It was an irregular act, of no trifling amount, to send military stores and money into a country with which the King of Great Britain was actually in a state of hostility. His king's proclamation did not reach him until a good many days after the reception of the foreign secretary's very cautious reply to his dispatch or dispatches; and even in this reply Sir Hew was told not to commit either the faith of his government, or the forces under his command, unnecessarily, or for an inadequate object. Nor was it until the month of June was somewhat advanced that the slow and perplexed junta of Seville, composed of men not much accustomed to public business, and scarcely adequate to the performance of the excessively difficult duties they had undertaken, declared themselves at peace with England, and sent four commissioners to London, for the purpose of settling diplomatic relations between their country and ours.*

When Captain Whittingham joined Castaños, he found that that general had fixed his headquarters at Utrera, where he had 5000 disciplined troops, and that he had occupied Carmona with 3000 more men of the same class; and very shortly after, Castaños incorporated 12,000 men, selected from the mass of the fine peasantry of Andalusia. He had thus assembled and formed, in a wonderfully short space of time, an army of 20,000 men: he had also organised the staff of his army, and, upon the whole, had placed his forces in such a state of equipment as to be fit for offensive operations against the enemy.† It was mainly in consequence of this activity, which Castaños could not have displayed but for the timely assistance of Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had helped him to take his first and most difficult step—in all things *c'est le premier pas qui coute*—that the French general Dupont was awed—was induced to halt and to remain a considerable time inactive at Cordova, a halt which allowed other Spanish corps to gather round him, and which eventually led to Dupont's disgraceful capitulation.

When the war of independence began, the organised Spanish force was roughly estimated at 127,000 men of all arms, but of this number 15,000 men were far away, serving and shivering under the banner of Bonaparte, in Holstein and other regions of the Baltic: and nearly 20,000, concentrated in Portugal, were obeying the orders of Junot. Of the 92,000, or thereabouts, that remained, not less than 30,000 were mere militia; but about 11,000 were Swiss infantry, with all the discipline, steadiness, and bravery for which Helvetic troops have always been celebrated. Thus the number of native regular troops actually on foot on the soil of Spain did not exceed 51,000 men; and these, for the most part, were but indifferently officered by offshoots of the Spanish aristocracy, who were impatient of fatigue and of subordination, and who, speaking generally, and with due honour to the exceptions, possessed but few essential military qualities. There was another capital deficiency; in the whole Spanish army there was not a single staff deserving of the name—their staffs were sticks. These troops were widely dispersed in different parts of the kingdom; but the largest body among them happily chanced to be on the southern side of the Sierra Morena and in Andalusia. In addition to the 30,000 militia, there was a sort of local reserve, called Los Urbanos, or Urban Militia, a most irregular and motley force, but which, though not worth much in the field, could supply the place of better troops in the towns. At the same moment, or in the month of May, the French army, exclusive of the 30,000 men in Portugal with Junot, was about 80,000 strong; but not more than 70,000 were capable of service in the field, the rest being in the hospitals or in the depôts. There were some of Bonaparte's best men, imperial guards and veteran regiments of the line, but the much larger number was made up of conscripts, Swiss, Italians, Poles, and even Portuguese, whom Junot had forcibly levied. But at Bayonne, ready to march into Spain at any moment, was an army of reserve, under General Drouet, more than 20,000 strong; and, close in the rear of this army of reserve, other French corps were collected. The French army, too, like the Spanish, was at first scattered over a wide extent of country; and General Duhesme, with 12 or 13,000 men, remained for a considerable time on the eastern or Mediterranean coast, with his communications pretty open with the south-east of France, but with his communications with Madrid and the moving columns of the main army completely cut off. Duhesme had, in fact, a campaign, or rather a war, of his own to manage, with his own resources; and the fierce and hardy Catalans soon made him feel what a terrible war it was. Except with reference to Duhesme's *corps d'armée*, Bonaparte's grand object in the distribution of his troops was to secure Madrid, which he very incorrectly fancied to be another Paris, "the centre of all interests," and to secure the great line of communication between Bayonne and the Spanish capital. Murat had weakened the detachments that guarded this great line of communication, and had almost isolated the French at

* Collingwood, Letter to his Wife, dated 15th of June, 1808.
† Sir Hew Dalrymple, Memoirs.

Madrid; but, at the first blush of insurrection, Marshal Bessières was sent back towards Navarre. Bessières must have received considerable reinforcements, either from Drouet's army of reserve, or from some other corps in France, for in the month of June his army was from 23 to 25,000 strong. It was called the "Army of the Western Pyrenees," as that of Duhesme, at the other extremity of that stupendous chain of mountains, was called "the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees."

It fell to the lot of Marshal Bessières to fight the first battle that was fought against the Spanish patriots. On the 14th of June, which was many days before the Emperor Napoleon had finished his arrangements at Bayonne, and just twenty-three days before his brother Joseph, being inaugurated as King of Spain, produced his Spanish constitution, and made the members of the itinerant junta swear eternal fidelity to it and to him, Bessières found himself confronted by the old Spanish general Cuesta, who occupied the heights of Medina del Rio Seco, a few leagues from the city of Valladolid. With far more enthusiasm and valour than prudence, the fiery Spanish veteran, with his raw levies and a few Walloon regiments, and without any cavalry, risked a general action, and sustained a complete defeat. From 5000 to 6000 Spaniards were left killed or wounded on the field; 1200 of them were taken prisoners; and Cuesta besides lost 18 guns—nearly all his artillery—and a great store of ammunition. The battle was savagely fought; and little mercy was shown in the pursuit which followed the defeat, for a report ran through Bessières' army that Cuesta's Spaniards had brought with them ropes, fetters, and chains wherewith to tie up the French prisoners they should take, like criminals condemned to galley slavery; and, during their march, not a few of the French had fallen under the Spanish knife. Bessières, according to the 'Moniteur,' had only 50 killed and 300 wounded; but the probability is that his loss was five or six times as much. His victory tended to open his communication with Junot in Portugal. But the incidents which immediately followed tended still more directly to prove the difficulties and costs of this war, and the nature of the struggle which Bonaparte had undertaken against a whole people, divided enough among themselves in other particulars, but now unanimous in their detestation of his treachery and violence, and in their resolution to oppose him. The little open town of Medina del Rio Seco was not taken without a sort of siege; and when Bessières' soldiers entered the streets they were saluted with a hot fire from the churches and from the windows of nearly all the houses; and while many of them ended their mortal march there, a great many more were badly wounded by the townspeople, the peasants, and the monks, who fired from under cover and with deliberate aim. Shortly after the battle the French marshal tried to tamper with the fidelity of the Spanish generals; he liberated the prisoners he had taken, he ingeniously attempted to demonstrate that the insurrection was utterly hopeless, and he offered the viceroyalty of Mexico to Cuesta, and promised high military promotion under King Joseph to General Blake, a Spaniard of Irish descent, and Cuesta's second in command. Both these officers refused to listen to any accommodation: and, keeping his troops together as well as he could, Cuesta retired into Galicia; and before Bessières could follow him, or derive any solid benefit from the victory of Medina del Rio Seco, he was suddenly recalled to protect King Joseph, who was always wanting protection, and whose personal safety in Madrid was now committed by the surrender in Andalusia of General Dupont, with his entire *corps d'armée*.

Dupont, though formerly a protegé of the military savant Carnot, appears to have been a vain, inept officer, with rather more than the ordinary dose of overweening self-conceit. After blundering through the rough and crooked passes of the Sierra Morena, where Sancho Panza lost his ass Dapple, and where Don Quixote imitated the penance of Beltenebras; and after remaining inactive at Cordova, while Castaños was organising his army, and while all Andalusia was flying to arms in his front and on his flanks—after hesitating whether he should try and advance, as Savary had ordered him to do, in the direction of Seville and Cadiz, or whether he should retrace his painful steps through the defiles of the Sierra Morena, and fall back upon Madrid—he remained for ten days stationary where he was at Cordova, imploring Savary to send him reinforcements; and through this inactivity, hesitation, and timidity, after so much rapidity and rashness in advancing thither without looking before him or on either side of him, Dupont lost his army in a worse manner than that in which the squire of the knight of the woeful countenance lost his ass, for Dapple was soon found again, and the French divisions were not. Dupont, incited by the local scenery, might have advantageously spent some of his leisure hours at Cordova in reading the immortal work of Cervantes, and from that great practical philosopher, Sancho, he might have derived a lesson very applicable to his own present situation. Just as Don Quixote was going to throw himself among the wilds of the Sierra Morena, his faithful squire, speaking from the back of Dapple (the ass being not yet lost), said—"Sir, retreating is not running away, nor is staying wisdom, when the danger over-balances the hope, and it is the part of wise men to secure themselves today for to-morrow, and not to venture all upon one throw."

On the 17th of June, Dupont began to do what he ought to have done on the 7th, or even earlier—he began to retreat towards the lofty brown mountains which he had so unwisely crossed. But by this time the advanced guard of the Spanish army of Andalusia was close in his rear, and armed peasants were gathering round him like cloud. The road he had to follow was already dripping with French blood; his out-posts and convoys had

been overpowered and massacred; every straggler, every messenger had been intercepted and assassinated: his very hospital had been taken, and the sick and wounded, together with the surgeons who attended them, and the detachments that had been left to protect them, had been killed to a man by a ferocious band of patriots from the old Moorish town of Jaen. On the evening of the 18th of June Dupont's army, disheartened and half famished, reached the town of Andujar, where his hospital had been left. Here he endeavoured to collect provisions, proposing to maintain himself in the town until he should be reinforced by the troops Savary was sending to him. But his enraged troops cried for vengeance on the old Moorish town which had vomited the assassins of the sick and wounded, and, yielding to their cry and possibly to his own impulse, Dupont sent a battalion of infantry and some cavalry, under the command of a ferocious naval officer (a sea captain, one Baste, who, not being able to fight or show his face at sea, had betaken himself to the land service, as many other officers of the same class did), to put Jaen and its inhabitants to fire and the sword. Baste and his people stormed the old town, and committed every possible atrocity on women and children, as well as men. After these deeds, which augmented the ferocity of men who were but too fierce before, Baste went back to Andujar, where Dupont continued doing nothing for several days beyond making rather unsuccessful attempts to procure provisions. His foraging and scouring parties wounded and tortured the country-people whom they could seize, in order to force them to discover where they had concealed their corn and their money; and the country-people brought these foraging parties down with ambuscaded muskets and rifles, or stabbed and butchered them with the knife whenever fortune favoured them with the opportunity of surprising the marauders. Not a day passed without its horrible, its ghastly tragedies—without a loss more or less serious to Dupont's provision-collectors; and the history of one of those days would be pretty nearly the history of the whole of this warfare; for, as it was in Andalusia, so was it in all the other provinces of Spain into which the French penetrated. Dupont's only hope now lay with the success of General Vedel, who was traversing La Mancha with a division of infantry and a large convoy of provisions. But the country of Don Quixote was separated from Dupont's head-quarters at Andujar by those terrible Sierra-Morena mountains; and 2000 or 3000 insurgents, who had marched from Granada, occupied the pass of Despeñas-Perros, or Dog Rocks, through which Dupont had penetrated into Andalusia, and through which Vedel and his reinforcements and victuals must come, or come not at all, or too late to be of any service to Dupont. Captain Baste was therefore sent to clear the formidable pass; but, before that land-fighting sea-officer reached the mountains, General Vedel cut his way through the insurgents, reached the town of La Carolina at the southern mouth of the valley of Despeñas-Perros, and, having left a garrison there, was descending to Baylen, a town on a stream flowing into the Guadalquivir, and distant only a short march from Andujar. But by this time other insurgents from Granada had come boldly up, and taken possession of the still smoking town of Jaen, and were threatening to throw themselves between Baylen and la Carolina. Vedel, who had made a very hurried march from Despeñas-Perros, and who appears to have left his convoy of provisions as well as a garrison behind him at la Carolina, detached General Cassagne against the enterprising Granadians. These insurgents were beaten with some loss; but Cassagne lost some 200 or 300 men in doing it, and returned to Baylen without any provisions, to obtain which had been one object of his expedition.*

The winding Guadalquivir flowed between the French and the main body of Castaños's army: but the summer heats had rendered the river fordable in many places, and, although there were far too many fords for him to watch, Dupont and Vedel divided their forces in order to watch some of the fords. On the 13th of July a French brigade posted at a ferry, with an outpost on the opposite side of the river, was beaten and driven in by a detachment of Castaños's regulars. On the 15th, Dupont was further reinforced by a division of infantry and some squadrons of cuirassiers, under the command of General Gobert, who had been marching and counter-marching in an extraordinary manner, and not without considerable loss in men and horses. The excessive heat of the weather alone proved very fatal to the French conscripts. Savary, now the real commander-in-chief and war-minister at Madrid, showed that he had much less genius for the art of war than for the arts of military police and espionage: in regulating the movements of the different columns of the French army he committed numerous blunders, and it should even appear that he was incapable of comprehending the written plan of operations which his master had put into his hands. Counting Vedel's corps, and the reinforcements which Gobert had brought, Dupont must now have had from 20,000 to 21,000 men; but above 1000 were laid up in the hospital. Castaños was now lining the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir with 25,000 regular foot, 2000 horse, and a heavy train of artillery, and at least 25,000 armed peasants were gathering all round Dupont's positions, some of these insurgents having artillery with them, and officers appointed by Castaños to direct them. On the evening of the 15th or 16th of July, Castaños himself crowned the heights of Argonilla, right in front of Andujar, while other divisions, having forded the Guadalquivir, slided in between Andujar and Baylen, thus separating Dupont from Vedel. In a desperate conflict near one of the fords General Gobert fell mortally wounded, and his troops were driven back to the town of Baylen.

* Napier, Hist. of the War in the Peninsula.

Other Spanish divisions came over to the right bank of the Guadalquivir—the army of Dupont was either interlaced or surrounded by Spaniards. To save himself from his *coupe gorge*, Vedel made a rush backward from Baylen to La Carolina and the mountain pass of Despeñas-Perros. Dupont, instead of following Vedel immediately, remained at Andujar until the night of the 18th, when he began to move towards the mountains. His movement was not observed by Castaños. At day-break Dupont crossed a mountain torrent with rugged banks; and, leaving a few battalions on that stream to check Castaños if he should attempt to follow him, he marched on for about two miles, when he came in contact with a large part of the Spanish forces under the command of the Swiss general Reding. He had summoned Vedel to descend from La Carolina in order to meet him and assist him; but Vedel did not quit La Carolina until five o'clock in the morning, and the battle began between three and four, Dupont being either unwilling or unable to wait for Vedel. The French were much fatigued by their night-march, and, instead of attacking in full force, Dupont kept the best of his men to guard the baggage, which was enormous; for, apparently, in every town through which he had passed, he had plundered and pillaged the churches, the monasteries, and the houses of the richest of the insurgents. His baggage waggons had been mixed with his columns, and had seriously impeded his march. If he had abandoned them now, and had made a dash forward, there is little reason to doubt but that he might have cut his way through Reding's divisions, which were principally composed of raw levies and wholly undisciplined peasants*; and, once having cut his way through and given the hand to Vedel, they might together have regained La Carolina, and thence have escaped with at least a part of their army through the pass of Despeñas-Perros: but Dupont would preserve his baggage and ill-gotten spoil, and therefore it was he lost baggage, spoil, and army, with all such honour as he had to lose. The attack made by the worst of his forces, while the best were drawn up round his waggons, was loose and spiritless; the facility with which their first assailants were beaten back gave courage and confidence to the Spaniards, and enabled them to repel a series of attacks and charges, and then to charge the enemy in their turn; at a critical moment some Swiss battalions deserted from Dupont and went over to their countryman Reding, who was commanding the Spaniards; and, at last, about the hour of noon, and after losing some 2000 men in killed and wounded, Dupont held up the white flag and proposed an armistice. Reding assented, the firing ceased, and both parties began to collect their wounded. Vedel, on descending from La Carolina, distinctly heard the sound of battle; but instead of pressing forward he halted at a village six or seven miles from the battle-field, and remained there till three o'clock in the afternoon. From the way in which the whole country was covered by fierce Spanish bands, no correct information could be obtained, no reconnaissances could be made; and Vedel apprehended that another strong Spanish column was approaching him. When he resumed his march he moved with great rapidity. Reding had apparently neglected the road which led to his rear, and many of his Spaniards were taking their siesta in an olive grove, when his rear was briskly attacked by Vedel, who surprised and took two guns and several hundred prisoners. But presently an aide-de-camp of Dupont brought Vedel information of the armistice which had been agreed to, and an order to cease the attack. In the meantime Castaños, who did not discover Dupont's march until daylight, had taken possession of Andujar, and had sent the division of La Pena in pursuit of Dupont. La Pena did not reach the torrent which Dupont had crossed at day-break until five o'clock in the afternoon; and there he met M. Villoutray, an officer of Bonaparte's own staff, who, together with General Marescot, an engineer officer of high repute, had been sent by the emperor to watch Dupont and report upon his proceedings. M. Villoutray acquainted La Pena with the result of the battle which had been fought in the morning, and with the armistice which had been concluded; and then, passing through La Pena's posts, he went to Andujar to request Castaños to consent to the terms which Reding had accepted. On the following morning, the 20th of July, General Marescot and another general officer arrived at Castaños's head-quarters with full powers from Dupont to conclude a convention or capitulation. They demanded permission for the whole French army to cross the Sierra-Morena and retire peaceably upon Madrid. But, just at this moment, some letter or letters of Savary were intercepted and brought to the Spanish head-quarters, and other information was obtained which went to prove that, notwithstanding their victory at Rio-Seco, the French on the other side of the Sierra-Morena were in a very critical situation. It has been said that but for this intercepted letter Castaños would have readily granted what Dupont demanded; but this fact is very questionable, for every day was bringing some reinforcements to Castaños, the battle of Baylen, as it is called, had elevated the spirits of the people, and since that affair numerous armed bands had collected in the pass of Despeñas-Perros. The only terms to which Castaños would consent were, that Dupont's troops should lay down their arms, regorge a part of their spoil, and become prisoners of war on condition of being sent down to the coast to San Lucar and Rota, and there embarked for France; and that Vedel's division should also surrender, but not as prisoners of war, and be sent to France likewise. Apparently without any hesitation, and without any struggle except to be allowed to carry off with

* A battalion of 3000 peasants in General Reding's division fled at the commencement of the battle, and returned no more.—*Captain Whittingham's Correspondence.*

them a considerable part of their plunder, the French generals accepted these terms, and signed the capitulation. While Marescot was negotiating at Andujar, Vedel and another general officer proposed to Dupont to make a joint attack upon Reding; but Dupont refused, and ordered Vedel to give up his prisoners and retreat to the town of La Carolina, where he had still a garrison. It is said that Castaños threatened to put Dupont to death if Vedel did not instantly return and lay down his arms conformably with the capitulation; but we believe it will rather appear upon examination that Vedel returned, not on account of any orders sent to him by Dupont, but because he saw little hope of being able to maintain himself at La Carolina, and still less of being able to force his way through the mountain pass in the rear of that town. Vedel certainly retraced his steps to Baylen, and there, on the 22nd of July, he surrendered with Dupont. On two succeeding days the divisions of Dupont and Vedel filed off before the Spanish army, and piled their arms. Their total numbers amounted to 14,600 men, of which 2700 were cavalry; but several French detachments, which Dupont had left on the other side of the Sierra-Morena, were seized and brought to Baylen, and these made the number of prisoners amount to between 18,000 and 19,000. From twenty to thirty pieces of cannon were delivered up. General Castaños had a high sense of honour, and an earnest wish to respect the terms of the capitulation; but this was altogether out of his power. The irregular, turbulent troops that served under him cared nothing for the ordinary military law and law of nations, and the peasantry and the townspeople, who had been cruelly plundered and ill-treated, determined to recover their property and gratify their revenge. While in possession of Cordova Dupont's people had carried off the sacred vases and lamps from the altars, and had done other deeds which the Spaniards could never forgive; in Baylen, in Andujar, in every town they had occupied or traversed, the French soldiery had left hatred and vengeance behind them, and Jaen, where Captain Baste had so recently committed such enormities, was close to the scene of capitulation and to the line of march which the French must follow to get to the sea-coast; Dupont had meanly asked, and Castaños had too liberally promised, that all the general officers should be allowed to keep one carriage and one waggon, and all the superior officers one carriage, without search, the said general officers having agreed to restore the sacred vases stolen at Cordova, and having thrown the blame of that robbery on the common men, who, they said, had acted against the orders of their officers; but when the march to the coast began some of the Spanish people insisted on examining the carriages and *fourgons*, and others, not satisfied with an examination and an abstraction of all that was thought to be Spanish property, seized and carried off to their mountains carriages and waggons with everything they contained. It could scarcely be otherwise: no inconsiderable portion of the army of Andalusia consisted of smugglers or contrabandistas. On the other hand the French clung with great tenacity to the property, and hence followed unequal savage conflicts, wounds, and death. In vain Castaños's officers endeavoured to moderate the popular fury. In the town of Lebrixa eighty French officers were massacred in one day. All along the road the soldiers were exposed to insult and injury. A vast number perished, and when the survivors reached the shores of Cadiz Bay, instead of being carried to San Lucar and Rota, and there embarked for France, they were thrown into the Spanish hulks or prison-ships. To the complaints and remonstrances of Dupont, Morla, the governor of Cadiz, replied, that neither the capitulation signed by Castaños, nor the approbation of the junta—that not even an express order from his beloved sovereign, Ferdinand VII.—could render possible what was impossible; that he had no ships, nor the means of procuring any, to carry the French soldiers to France; that, when General Castaños promised to obtain from the English passports for the passage of Dupont's army, he only obliged himself to solicit earnestly for those passports from the English, and this he had done without effect. "And," continued Morla, "how can you expect the British nation to permit your army to pass the sea, knowing, as they do, that that army will be employed in waging war against them on some other point, or perhaps on this same point, in Spain?" Nor did the Spanish governor of Cadiz forget to reply to Dupont's accusations of bad faith and treachery. "Your excellency," said he, "obliges me to express some truths which must be very bitter to you. What right have you to exact the impossible execution of a capitulation with an army which has entered Spain under the veil of friendship and intimate alliance, which has imprisoned our king and his royal family, sacked his palaces, assassinated and robbed his subjects, destroyed his country, and torn from him his crown? If your excellency does not wish to excite more and more the just indignation of the Spanish people, which I labour so much to repress, you will cease making these insupportable reclamations, and endeavour by your conduct and resignation to weaken the lively sensation of the horrors which you recently committed at Cordova. What a stimulus for the Spanish populace to know that one of your common soldiers alone was carrying off 2180 livres!"

When the news of the victory first reached Seville, the junta and the people were elated beyond measure; and the subsequent accounts of the convention with the beaten enemy, who, it was considered, ought to have been made to surrender at discretion, were received with strong marks of disapprobation. Nevertheless, on the 1st of August, Generals Castaños and Morla were welcomed to Seville with great honour or ceremony, a deputation of the junta meeting them outside the gates

of the city. Castaños owed this reception to the victory he had gained; but Morla, who had not been near the field of battle, was associated in the triumph *to prevent jealousy*. This last feeling had great dominion over the hearts of most of the Spanish officers; and it was in part through jealousy that Morla not very long afterwards turned traitor to the cause. From the first, Morla maintained that the convention with Dupont could not be executed and ought to be disregarded. He was known to be the author of rather an able paper, industriously circulated, recommending the breaking of the convention. Castaños, on the other hand, as a man of honour, and as especially pledged to the fulfilment of engagements which he himself had made, warmly opposed any such measure. The two generals were for some hours closeted with the junta, where the debates are said to have been hot and passionate, as debates always are when they occur among Spaniards and the other nations of the south. "At last," says Sir Hew Dalrymple, with whom Captain Whittaker and Major Cox corresponded from Seville, "the junta, being strongly inclined, if not fully resolved, from the first to break the treaty, sanctioned by the popular clamour which Morla had contributed to excite, and utterly regardless of the public faith and the national character, adopted Morla's opinion, and broke the capitulation." * We have here a sufficiently strong expression of the feeling of Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, however, was not immediately concerned in the transaction, and who wrote his memoir years after the fact. It has been said that Morla made a *vain* attempt to involve both Sir Hew Dalrymple and Admiral Lord Collingwood in the transaction.† Sir Hew was certainly not involved in the transaction, nor are we disposed to believe that that high-minded and most honourable man, Collingwood, was involved in any dishonour, although he indisputably agreed with Morla that the conditions of the convention were highly injudicious and could not possibly be executed, and although he actually informed Morla that he could not permit so great a body of French troops to pass on the sea until he received instructions from England for that purpose. These instructions to allow so considerable a French army to be conveyed with their arms and equipments to Rochefort were never sent by our government. It is not very clearly defined in all cases how far an allied power is bound to recognise and conform to a convention, or other treaty, contracted without its consent or knowledge by its ally; in some cases the recognition has been given, and in others it has been withheld; advantage or convenience seems to have been the rule which has governed assent or dissent; but at this moment, though aiding and assisting the Spanish people in the war against their invaders and the common enemy, Great Britain was not bound to Spain by a treaty of alliance or by any treaty whatsoever. There was not as yet in Spain any fixed governing power with which our government could treat. Everything, as yet, was unsettled, changeable, irregular; and in this state of our relations it was scarcely to be expected that our government, in a case highly disadvantageous to ourselves, would consider itself bound by the stiff regularities of the ordinary law of war and nations, or consent to, and carry out, arrangements which had been made by the folly and timidity of Spanish generals. And unless we consented to carry out these arrangements—unless we furnished ships of our own, or fitted out for the purpose Spanish ships—there was not the possibility of conveying by sea 18,000 or 19,000 French soldiers and officers. Lord Collingwood's opinions are clearly and decidedly expressed in his own correspondence. He calls the capitulation of Baylen an extraordinary arrangement—so extraordinary that he cannot divest himself of the idea of a French trick, and that more is meant than yet appears. He says the divisions of Dupont were in circumstances in which they had no resource but an unconditional surrender; that the French general knew as well as Castaños that the Spaniards had not the means of sending the army back to France by sea. In a letter to Lord Castlereagh he says: "On application to me for assistance to enable them to perform this service, I have told them that all aid shall be given in fitting out their transport-ships; but, as the conveying so large a body of troops, with their arms, is a measure which may have in the end such important consequences, I cannot allow them to pass on the sea till I receive instructions from his majesty's ministers. *This objection seems to give satisfaction, as it puts a stop to their going, without any breach of treaty on the part of the Spaniards.* I have, moreover, observed that, as they have not the means of sending these people to Rochefort, the obligation ceases; *for an engagement to do that which is impossible dissolves itself.*" And in a letter to Sir Hew Dalrymple, Collingwood repeats that the Spaniards have made "an arrangement which they cannot perform, and which, if they could, would be attended with the worst consequences to Spain;" and that, from all the information which he has on the subject, he considers the capitulation of Baylen "quite a trick" of the French, who have "obtained by art what they never could have won by the sword." In the same letter he calls the convention a departure from the principle on which a war like this should be carried on. "No treaty," says he, "should be made with an invader short of his unconditional surrender. . . . . The French probably knew then, what is known to the Spaniards now—that there was no retreat for them upon Madrid. Had Dupont been compelled to surrender without terms, they could have been confined in twenty-four hours; and the Spanish army would have been at liberty to pursue their service. What is the case now? They have got the French army, who are entitled to their arms when they

* Memoir of proceedings as connected with the affairs of Spain and the commencement of the Peninsular War.
† Napier, Hist. of the War in the Peninsula.

embark, and the Spanish army must stay to take care of them. But their embarking is altogether out of the question: one objection is, that they have not ships to put them in; another, that the people will not permit them to embark; and a third, as I have informed the governor (Morla), that I cannot permit so great a body of troops to pass on the sea until I receive instructions." * Morla's able and widely circulated paper against the convention may have contributed to the excitement of those who could read or hear it read; but there can be little doubt that the rage of the Spanish mobs against the French would have been just as great if the paper had never been written. It was with extreme difficulty that the Spanish regulars and officers prevented a general massacre of the prisoners. On the 13th of August, when General Dupont and some of his officers were brought to Port Santa Maria, for the purpose of embarking in one of the Spanish ships of war for their security, the mob attacked them, and took from them their baggage, *in which were found church plate, sacred vases, and other valuable plunder.*† Now, all such plunder (the existence of which the general and his officers had denied) they were bound by the fifteenth article to restore; and, therefore, we can feel neither much surprise nor much regret at the fact of the marauding, pilfering Dupont getting his head broken by some of the furious mob before he could get on board ship. Our veteran martial historian of the Peninsular War‡ has so extensive and exclusive a sympathy for his profession, by whomsoever exercised, so much feeling for the sufferings of the military of every nation, if they be but *regulars*, that he seems to have little sympathy or feeling for any other class; and, in narrating the violence and cruelty of the Spanish people, he almost invariably overlooks the provocation and the cruelty on the other side. He has much to say upon the shameful breaking of the capitulation and the barbarous treatment of the French prisoners; but he breathes not a word about Dupont and his officers breaking the articles, and attempting to carry off the church plate, which they had vowed they had not stolen themselves, and which they had promised to restore. We trust we loathe cruelty as much as this gallant historian can loathe it; but it appears to us to be a strange intellectual obliquity to be eternally looking at the excesses of the infuriated invaded people, without ever glancing at the barbarity of the invaders, and the mad ambition and cold-blooded cruelty of the ruler that threw them into that terrible warfare, with the antecedent declaration that he would persevere in it though it cost him 200,000 lives! The French would have known none of this Spanish ferocity if they had not gone into Spain to seek it, and provoke it by deeds calculated to render even a gentle people ferocious. Our historian treats the Spanish people as if they had sought this quarrel, as if they were waging war in France, or in some middle territory not their own. The war of a people struggling for their independence, for their native king, for their altars, their hearths, for the honour of their wives and daughters, for that which supports life, and for all that in their eyes made life desirable, is considered by our military historian as a mere scientific game, which is to be played according to the most approved rules and precedents, where success is to be the reward of military skill or genius, and where the defeated party ought neither to attempt the renewal of the game, nor so much as complain of their bad luck. It is well to have such a book —many of the military details are admirably written, and could have been written only by a good and experienced officer, and an accomplished and nervous writer; but heaven forefend that Napier's 'History of the Peninsular War' should be our only one, or should ever' be taken as decisive authority on the moral right and wrong of the great question!

We have said that Collingwood received no instructions from his government to let the French prisoners pass to Rochefort—to be thence conveyed, armed and appointed, to some other point where they might best annoy England or the few allies that were left her—to be marched into Portugal or to be sent back into Spain;—for, so inconsiderate or so ignorant had been the Spanish generals who signed the capitulation of Baylen that the ordinary clause binding the capitulating troops not to serve against them or against their allies for a fixed period, or for all the rest of the war, was not inserted in the treaty, or alluded to in any of its articles. Towards the end of August or the beginning of September, when Lord Collingwood returned to watch the French fleet in Toulon, he left Rear-Admiral Purvis at Cadiz with a few ships to protect the British trade, and to prevent the French prisoners from being sent away until the instructions of his majesty's government on that head should be received: and, writing to Lord Castlereagh, he said, "I have reason to believe that allowing them to depart would make this province (Andalusia) very unpopular in Spain, and that my interference to stop them has given universal satisfaction."* It is thus very clear that Admiral Lord Collingwood was involved with Morla in the convention transaction; but what we must still continue to doubt is, whether he in the slightest degree committed his own honour or the honour of his country, or departed a line's breadth from his obligations as a belligerent. If there was blame, his government certainly shared it with him, for it emphatically approved and sanctioned all that he had done, and ordered Rear-Admiral Purvis to prevent the departure of Dupont's and Vedel's army. After a time Dupont was permitted to return to France with all his general officers except one, who was said to have urged Dupont to fall upon Reding while the capitulation was negotiating,

* Correspondence and Memoir of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood, by G. L. Newnham Collingwood, Esq.
† Letter from Lord Collingwood to Viscount Castlereagh, ibid.
‡ Napier.

* Correspondence and Memoir.

and cut his way through to the mountains. Bitter and pitiable, no doubt, were the sufferings of the French soldiery, cooped up, under a burning sun, in close foul hulks, and badly supplied with the necessaries of life—for the Spaniards, who very often had not provisions to give to their own troops, were not likely to be either very liberal or very punctual in the distribution of rations to their prisoners. Two years afterwards, when their countrymen were besieging Cadiz, some of these French prisoners made a desperate attempt to regain their liberty: while a gale of wind was blowing right upon a lee shore, they cut the cables of their prison ship, and drifted on the rocks at the head of the bay; some were drowned, but a few hundreds escaped and joined the besieging army, with a hatred and fury against the Spaniards which blood seemed not sufficient to allay. The rest of the captives were then transported to the rocky barren island of Cabrera, one of the Balearic group, lying about ten miles from the southernmost point of Majorca, uninhabited, and frequented only by fishermen.* It is said that not very many of them remained alive at the end of the war. But this was only one of the many mighty holocausts which Bonaparte sacrificed on the altar of Spain.

The news of the battle of Baylen and of Dupont's surrender flew like lightning to the Spanish capital, diffusing a joy and triumph which was not to be repressed by the presence and the oppressions of the French. At first King Joseph and his friends were altogether incredulous, thinking it impossible that French generals and a French army could be beaten and enveloped by Spanish troops and peasants; next, they fancied that, though some trifling reverse might have been sustained, the Spaniards must have greatly exaggerated their victory; and so completely were the means of communication and correspondence cut off, that Joseph was obliged to send two divisions into La Mancha to endeavour to open the communication. On their march towards the Sierra Morena these two divisions met the French general Villoutray, who, with a Spanish escort, a division of Castaños's army, was collecting the French detachments that had been left in La Mancha, and that were all to be sent in as prisoners. Villoutray's position and occupation left no doubt as to the extent of the calamity: the two divisions hastily retraced their steps to Madrid; Joseph instantly called a council of war, and then and there it was determined to abandon Madrid, to retire behind the Ebro, and to establish court and headquarters in the city of Vitoria, which lay at a convenient short distance from the French frontier.

Joseph Bonaparte.

Joseph had not been a fortnight in his new capital when he was thus compelled to fly from it. The resolution was kept secret till the evening, and the intrusive king, trembling for his life, though in the midst of numerous French squadrons, took his departure by night. Several of the Spaniards who had accepted office under him remained behind at Madrid, or posted off for Seville to offer their excuses and their services to the junta; such of the Spanish grandees and functionaries as followed him (because they could not stay behind without the certainty of being assassinated by the people) got the names of "Josephinos," and "Infrancesados," and the stigma was quite equivalent to a sentence of outlawry—for, wherever the insurgents could catch them afterwards, they were treated as men who were put out of the protection of law, and whose destruction by sword or knife was allowable and commendable. The number of this French party—composed entirely of persons of the upper classes—was never considerable, and the steadiness of their attachment was little else than a despair of ever being able to obtain forgiveness from their exasperated countrymen. The retreat from Madrid began on the 1st of August; but General Grouchy remained some few days longer in the city; and the strong corps d'armée of Marshal Bessières, posted at Mayorga, covered the movements of Joseph and his court until they reached Burgos, when Bessières fell back himself.* On the 3rd of August a dispatch arrived at Seville,

* Napier, Hist. of the War in the Peninsula.

* Cabrera is about four miles long and three broad. During the war many more French prisoners, taken in Catalonia and other parts of eastern Spain, were confined there. The place was wretched enough, though in many respects preferable to a walled prison or the hulks. The prisoners were left to themselves, and had the whole range of the island, from which they could not escape. An allowance of bread was sent to them in an armed vessel from Majorca, but at times, in consequence of bad weather, they were in danger of being starved. During several years they received no clothing, and consequently were almost naked; they had but one axe and one saw among them all. The Spaniards left them one donkey for their use. There appears to have been no building of any sort on the desolate isle: some lived in dry cisterns or in caves in the rocks, others in rude huts made of loose stones. They, however, made the best of the matter: they formed little gardens; they set up schools in which dancing and music and fencing were not forgotten, and they even established a theatre in a large cistern. But for the occasional scarcity, the constant absence of the fairer sex, and their rather frequent quarrels and duels, they might have whiled away the time pretty well. But at the worst their condition was not worse than that of their countrymen serving and fighting in Spain.—*Adventures of a French Sergeant, London*, 1826, *as cited in Penny Cyclopædia.*

addressed to General Castaños from Grouchy, as French commandant in Madrid. The French general merely stated that, as the troops under his command were destined for another service, he could wish that General Castaños would detach part of his army to occupy the capital in order to insure its tranquillity, protect the French sick left in the hospitals, and also the French families established in Madrid. Grouchy, however, added that, whatever Castaños's determination in this respect might be, he must request him to send immediately a Spanish officer to Madrid to treat of matters which would probably be of advantage to both nations. Castaños forthwith dispatched Moreno, his quartermaster-general, to the capital, which was shortly afterwards evacuated by Grouchy and the remainder of the French. Castaños did not enter Madrid until the 23rd of August.*

Among the many important results of the affair of Baylen and the flight of King Joseph, was the raising of the siege of Zaragoza. This ancient capital of the kingdom of Aragon, situated on the right bank of the Ebro, with a suburb on the left bank connected with it by a stone bridge, contained a population estimated at about 60,000. Its immediate neighbourhood was flat, and on one side marshy. A small river, a confluent of the Ebro, runs close to the walls of the town. These walls of themselves were not of much consequence, being old, low, built of brick, and in many places ruinous. They appear to have been constructed merely to facilitate the levying of the octroi duties on the produce and articles brought into the town for sale. Very few guns in a serviceable state were mounted on these walls. There were no fewer than nine gates of the most simple construction: and the line between them was in some places preserved by a mud wall, and in others by the remains of an old Moorish wall, which had a slight parapet, but without any platform even for musketry. But the streets of the town were very narrow and crooked; and the houses, two or three stories high, were strongly constructed, each story being vaulted so as to be almost fire-proof. Moreover the numerous convents which were scattered round the town, and in the centre of it, were as strong as castles, and Spanish garrisons never fought so well as when they were intermixed with and headed by monks. The inhabitants of Zaragoza were among the first of the Spaniards that rose to repel the French. On the 25th of May, in answer to a manifesto of Murat, dated on the 20th, they flew to arms, and were joined by the peasantry of the surrounding country, who flocked into the town, shouting, "Long live Ferdinand the Seventh!" The captain-general of Aragon had betrayed, or was suspected of, an inclination to submit to the French, and recognise King Joseph. The people seized him, threw him into prison, killed some of those who were about him, and with one voice gave his high command to Don José Palafox, the youngest of three brothers, of one of the most ancient families in the country.* As in other towns, a local

* Major Cox's Correspondence

* Palafox had escaped from Bayonne, and on his arrival at Zaragoza he had excited the people by developing the real intentions of

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junta was formed. On his sudden accession to the captain-generalship of Aragon, Palafox found that the regular troops quartered in Zaragoza did not exceed 220 men, and that the public treasury did not contain more than a sum about equal to 20*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* The contiguous provinces of Navarre and Catalonia were occupied by the French; the passes of the Pyrenees leading directly into Aragon were opened; and Murat and the main body of the French were at Madrid. But neither Palafox nor the junta despaired of success, and in every effort they were nobly seconded by the people, and aided by the clergy and the monastic bodies. The richer orders, who felt that their all was at stake, gave money; the mendicant orders, the Franciscan, Capuchin, and other friars, who sprung from the lowest classes of the people, and who possessed the greatest influence with the people, spread themselves over the country to animate the peasantry, and bring in recruits to Palafox. That chief, on the 31st of May, put forth a proclamation, in which, after thanking Providence for having preserved in Aragon a good quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery, and for having inspired the people in all the provinces of Spain with the unanimous resolution to shake off the yoke attempted to be imposed upon them by means the most base and infamous, he formally declared war against the emperor of the French, and held that emperor, all the individuals of his family, and all his generals and officers, personally responsible for the safety of King Ferdinand VII., and for the safety of his brothers and his uncle. On the 16th of June, General Lefebvre-Desnouettes, after driving in Palafox's outposts, began to invest the town with 8000 infantry and 900 horse. These troops were not new levies or conscripts, but veterans who had fought in Germany and in Poland (there were two or three fine Polish regiments among them), and they were abundantly furnished with artillery. Their approach had been so rapid that the people in Zaragoza were but ill prepared to receive them. Some of the French penetrated without difficulty through one of the gates; but the narrowness and crookedness of the streets, and the strength of the buildings, made them pause, and they ran back more hastily than they had run in. The inhabitants, aided by the peasantry, who had thrown themselves into the threatened town, now worked right vigorously in casting up defences, making barricades, cutting loop-holes in the walls of the houses, and making ramparts with sacks and bags filled with sand. Within twenty-four hours the place was put in a condition to withstand an assault. General Lefebvre established strong posts in front of the several gates, and waited for reinforcements. But, before these posts were established, Palafox and Tio Jorge (uncle or goodman George), one of the popular leaders, had issued out of the town, and had crossed the Ebro with some infantry, and two or three squadrons of dragoons. Beyond the Ebro Palafox effected a junction with the Spanish General Versage, and then with 7000 or 8000 men, mostly volunteers and fresh levies, he threw himself in the rear of the French, and rashly attempted to relieve Zaragoza by a battle in the open country. His troops, unable to form any order of battle, were defeated with terrible loss: some of them rallied under Versage, who marched away in search of fresh levies, and the remainder of such as could be collected again followed Palafox, who easily found his way back into Zaragoza, as Lefebvre had confined his operations to the right bank of the Ebro, leaving unguarded the suburb on the left bank, which was connected with the city by the bridge. By the same road a Spanish regiment from Estremadura, some small parties of artillerymen with some artillery, and 200 or 300 militia men from Logrono, entered the city. In the last days of June great loss and consternation were occasioned by the accidental blowing up of a powder magazine in the heart of the city; and the French took by assault Monte Torrero, a hill outside of the town, where 1200 Spaniards were intrenched. Immediately after this success, Lefebvre was joined by so many reinforcements under General Verdier, that he found himself at the head of from 12,000 to 13,000 men, with a very strong battering train. On the 2nd of July he made an assault on the strong convent of San José: his first attack failed completely, but a second was attended with success. Some other buildings beyond the walls of the town were abandoned, and set fire to by the Spaniards. A bridge was constructed 200 yards above the town, breaching batteries were established on both banks of the Ebro, and the suburb and the city were assailed at one and the same time by a destructive fire from cannon, mortars, and howitzers. The sand-bag battery which the Spaniards had thrown up in front of one of their gates was several times destroyed, and as often reconstructed under the fire of the enemy. The women laboured with the men in this perilous work; and here it is said that the fair Augustina, the far-famed maid of Zaragoza, first showed herself on the batteries, and, stepping over the wounded and dead, seized a match and fired a gun at the French. Bonaparte, who was directing all his generals from the distant walls of Bayonne, and who could not conceive that so large a force was necessary for reducing a town without regular fortifications, and almost without regular troops, ordered Lefebvre-Desnouettes to join Marshal Bessières with a part of the forces collected round Zaragoza. General Verdier was left to prosecute the siege with about 10,000 men. The besieged were partially relieved by bodies of armed peasants, and by some regiments of a more regular description, who collected in the neighbouring country with the intention of surrounding Verdier's camp, and cutting off all his communications. This forced Verdier to send out frequent detachments. These detachments scoured the country, captured

the French. The traitorous or timid captain-general ordered him to quit the city; but this order only led to his own captivity, to the murder of some of his friends, and to the readier breaking out of the insurrection.

and plundered several small towns, and defeated the Spaniards in more than one encounter; but during their absence the siege went on but languidly, and the French soldiers began to droop under their toils and the heat of the dog-days. But on the other side the Spaniards in the town began to feel the want of provisions, and the equally serious want of ammunition. There was, however, no whisper or thought of surrender; the monks betook themselves to the manufacturing of gunpowder, all the sulphur existing in any shape in the town was put into immediate requisition, the dirt of the streets and other foul materials were carefully washed in order to procure saltpetre, and charcoal was made by burning the stalks of hemp, which in that part of Spain grow to a large size. One desperate effort was made to regain possession of the important post of Monte Torrero, where the French had erected a battery, which kept up a murderous plunging fire on the town; but the sortie failed, and from that time they kept themselves wholly within their walls. Verdier made several assaults on those crumbling walls and miserable gates, but he was repulsed in all. He was reinforced at the end of July by some veteran French regiments, which raised the besieging army to 14,000 or 15,000 men. On the 3rd or 4th of August the French opened a tremendous battery on the quarter of the city called Santa Engracia: under the fire the mud wall and the Moorish rampart vanished in dust, the splendid convent of Santa Engracia was rent and enveloped in flames, a broad entrance was made, and the storm columns rushed through it into the very heart of the city, and took possession of some of the strong houses on one side of the Cozo. General Verdier, thinking the town more than half taken, sent a note to Palafox containing merely its date, his name, and the two words "*La capitulation.*" The Spanish commander replied with the like brevity, "*Guerra al cuchillo!*"—war to the knife! One side of the Cozo was now occupied by the French, the other by the Spaniards, who, confident in the strength of their houses, were converting every one of them into a garrisoned fortress. Other bands of patriots came down by the streets which opened upon the Cozo, and planted their cannon immediately opposite to, and only at a few yards' distance from, the French artillery. One of the French columns, in looking for a road to the stone bridge over the Ebro which led to the suburb, got entangled in one of the longest, narrowest, and most crooked of the streets, and was there assailed so hotly from windows, doorways, and loopholes, and by some Spaniards who had rushed over the bridge from the suburb, that it got beaten, and fearfully thinned, and driven back to the Cozo. Some other portions of the French soldiery began to plunder the houses from which the Spaniards had been driven, instead of attacking the houses where the Spaniards remained fighting. A convent of which the assailants had obtained possession was set on fire, and, while many of them perished in the flames, the position of the rest of the army was weakened by the loss and conflagration of that strong edifice. There were many scenes of horror; but the most horrible of all was this: "The public hospital being set on fire, the madmen confined there issued forth among the combatants, muttering, shouting, singing, and moping, each according to the character of his disorder; while drivelling idiots mixed their unmeaning cries with the shouts of contending soldiers."* The Spaniards could not drive Verdier from the opposite side of the Cozo; but they saw that, though one-half of the town was lost, they could very well defend the other half. On the morning of the 5th of August, as the French were preparing to renew their attack, the brave Aragonese, who had consumed an enormous quantity of powder on the preceding day, found that their ammunition was beginning to fail; but Verdier, whose loss had been very severe, suspended his attack, as soon as he had carried two or three houses; and in the dusk of the evening Don Francisco Palafox, brother of the captain-general, found his way into the city, not only with a convoy of provisions and ammunition, but also with a reinforcement of 2000 or 3000 men, partly Spanish guards and steady Swiss veterans. On the 6th and 7th of August there was street-fighting of the most murderous kind; the Spaniards endeavouring to regain the streets and the houses they had lost, and the French fighting hard and firing hard to dispossess them of what they retained. On the 8th Palafox called a council of war. Such councils are seldom called except when there is a predetermination to cease fighting, and ask for a capitulation. But such was not the intention of the council which met in the heroic Zaragoza. The brave men composing it unanimously resolved that those quarters of the city in which the Aragonese yet maintained themselves should continue to be defended—that, should the enemy at last prevail, the people should retire by the bridge over the Ebro into the suburb, and, having destroyed the bridge, defend the suburb till they perished. The people of the town, who were incessantly re-echoing Palafox's war-cry, "*Guerra al cuchillo*," welcomed these resolutions with enthusiastic acclamations—and thus the strange war went on, house being defended after house, room after room. It was now a war where stratagetical skill and military discipline were of no use: on those house-tops, at those gateways, doorways, windows, and loopholes, the townspeople and the rude peasantry from the hills were worth as much as the highest disciplined troops in the world, and not a friar or burgher among them but was as good as Verdier, that approved commander. During the whole siege no man more distinguished himself than Father Santiago Sass, the curate of one of the parishes.† The loss of the

* Napier.

† Of this bold and indefatigable churchman Southey says: "He was always to be seen in the streets, sometimes fighting with the most determined bravery against the enemies, not of his country alone but of freedom, and of all virtuous principles, wherever they were to be found; at other times administering the sacrament to the dying, and confirming, with the authority of faith, that hope which gives to death, under such circumstances, the joy, the exultation, the triumph, and the spirit of martyrdom. Palafox reposed the utmost confidence in

French was dreadful, and they were disheartened by a succession of bad news—the surrender of Dupont, the failure of Moncey before Valencia, and the report that the junta of that province had sent 6000 men into Aragon, to join the levies there, and co-operate for the relief of the Zaragozans. After maintaining this murderous contest for eleven days and nights—fighting more by night than by day—they ceased attacking, abandoned many of the houses and churches they had stormed and taken, and concentrated in a corner. They had possessed one half of the city, but the space they now occupied was reduced to about one-eighth part. The streets which they abandoned were literally strewed with dead—French and Spaniards in many places lying intermixed or heaped one upon the other. The bodies festered and putrified under the heat of the August sun, and while the combat was raging one of the greatest of Palafox's difficulties was the removing of these sad remains of mortality, from which the Spaniards apprehended a pestilence. The method adopted was to tie ropes to the French prisoners, and push them forward among the dead and dying, and to make them, in the mouth of the French artillery and musquetry, remove the bodies, and bring them away for interment. At sight of their countrymen the French combatants on the other side of the street or square generally suspended their fire; but no Spaniard could appear in the middle of the street, even for this sad office, without the certainty of being either killed or wounded. Although they could not avoid feeling that the struggle was utterly hopeless, and the prolonging of it a wanton waste of life, the French, during the night of the 13th of August, from the angle of the town they yet occupied, kept up a fierce and destructive fire, and blew up the splendid church of Santa Engracia, within whose vaults were piled the bones of Spanish saints, martyrs, and patriots—Christian heroes who had perished in the ancient wars with the Moors. The Spaniards thought that the terrible explosion and cannonade of the night would be followed by another assault in the morning; but when the morning came they saw, to their surprise, that the French had evacuated the town, and were in full retreat over the plain, by the road which leads to Pamplona.* Verdier had received orders from Joseph Bonaparte to raise the siege, and retire to Logrono, but without any such order the French general must have retreated; his army was fearfully thinned and *demoralized* (in the only way in which the French now understood the word); the Valencians and Aragonese were approaching; the spirit of the surviving population of the town was unbroken; and, in a few days, if he had stayed, he must have been surrounded and forced to lay down his arms, as Dupont had done. As soon as the dead were removed, and the ruins sufficiently cleared, Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed with all the usual solemnities in the plaza or square of Zaragoza. Loyalty had not often had so sad a temple, so dismal an altar: all around was shattered by artillery, or blackened by gunpowder, or stained with blood; and of the denizens of the town who would have swelled the shouts of "*Viva Fernando*," one-third at least were in their bloody graves, or were lying maimed and mutilated, or shrieking under the anguish of their wounds. On the 25th of August solemn obsequies were performed in the churches for the Spaniards who had fallen, and their funeral oration was pronounced from the pulpit. Such was the first siege of Zaragoza, and shame attend the endeavours of all those who would obscure its glory, and call in question the high moral effect it produced on the Spanish mind, and throughout Europe!*

About the same time that Lefebvre-Desnouettes had been first sent against Zaragoza, Duhesme, who commanded the French army in Catalonia, was directed to reduce Gerona. The people of Gerona and the Catalans generally were as brave and as steady, and fought as well behind walls, as the Zaragozans and Aragonese. They had, too, this advantage—Gerona had regular fortifications, and was exceedingly strong by nature as well as by art. In an attempt to take the place by storm Duhesme failed, and lost a great number of his men. Another attempt made on the same day was not more successful, although the Neapolitan colonel Ambrosio, and a French engineer, gained for a moment the top of the ramparts. On the day after these reverses the French general tried to negotiate, or to obtain by fraud what he could

this brave priest, and selected him whenever anything peculiarly difficult or hazardous was to be done. At the head of forty chosen men, he succeeded in introducing a supply of powder into the town, so essentially necessary for its defence."—*History of the Peninsular War.*

* Narrative of the Siege of Zaragoza, by Charles Richard Vaughan, M.B., Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and one of Dr. Radcliffe's travelling Fellows from that University.

Mr. Vaughan visited Zaragoza a very short time after the siege, and remained there for several weeks, living with Palafox, and taking great pains to inquire into every particular. His warm sympathy for the cause, his admiration of the bravery and resoluteness of the Spaniards, may have led him into some trifling military inaccuracies; but better these inaccuracies than a cold rigid military accuracy which excludes all sympathy for the poor Zaragozans, and delights to dwell on the unskilfulness of the patriot leaders, and the superior genius of their cruel invaders and oppressors! One of the principal aims of Colonel Napier appears to be to hold up to contempt Palafox, Tio Jorge, and the other plebeian leaders who acted with the high-born captain-general. He admits, indeed, that both Lefebvre-Desnouettes and Verdier committed mistakes; but then, as if grieving to cast any censure on French generals who had risen out of the Revolution, and who had been regularly trained and long exercised in the art of war, he says that Lefebvre and Verdier, and especially the latter, displayed *both vigour and talent.*

* From our preceding note it will be understood that we mean to include in this censure the always able and sometimes eloquent military historian of the war in the Peninsula. Colonel Napier maintains that Zaragoza owed her safety to accident, and that the desperate resistance of the inhabitants was more the result of chance than of any peculiar virtue or valour. Yet the only accident we can discover was that of the French getting entangled in the long crooked street, while in search of the bridge over the Ebro; and we can see nothing like *chance* in the mode in which the Zaragozans flew to arms and braved their invaders, with an ample knowledge of their power and ability, or in the way in which they protracted their defence, rejected the offer to capitulate, and fought for eleven days and nights when the French were in possession of one-half of the city. Few historical facts are better authenticated than the heroism of the maid of Zaragoza; the mingled piety, charity, and heroism of the Countess Burita, a young and beautiful woman, who, with other women of all ranks, attended the wounded, and carried water, wine, and provisions to those who defended the gates, not flinching from the duty even in the midst of shot and shells; and the bravery of women and boys during the whole siege. When the dead were gathered together and counted, a large proportion of them were found to be females and boys; yet Colonel Napier sneers at what he calls the current romantic tales of female heroism, and begs to be allowed to doubt of their truth.

not gain by force; but there was no traitor to his country in Gerona, and Duhesme was obliged to retreat by forced marches upon Barcelona. This retreat was little else than a running-fight, for the Catalans gathered on their hill-sides and in their mountain passes. Duhesme savagely burned the towns and villages through which he passed, but this only added to the fury of men who had already determined to give no quarter to the French. The insurrection spread through the whole province; and Admiral Lord Collingwood sent in some succour to the patriots, and, by concluding a treaty with the captain-general of the Balearic Isles, his lordship rendered the Spanish ships and troops in Minorca, Majorca, and Iviça disposable for the service of the Catalans. Forthwith 1300 men were conveyed to reinforce the garrison of Gerona; and 4000 other Spaniards and a good train of artillery were landed at Tarragona. But the French army of Catalonia being strongly reinforced by the movable columns of General Reille, who had been watching the passes of the eastern Pyrenees, Duhesme turned back to lay regular siege to Gerona, first detaching Reille with two or three Italian regiments to invest Rosas. Reille was very unfortunate; the whole country rose in his rear, Captain Otway of the 'Montague' landed with some English marines, and thus this French general was compelled to retire from before Rosas with a loss of 200 men. Nor was Duhesme more successful in his siege of Gerona than he had been in his attempt to storm that place: before he could reach it he lost many of his carriages; when he invested the place he found it well garrisoned, and, turn his eyes where he would, he could see nothing but armed bands of peasantry and British ships of war, which ran along the coast cutting off all supplies by sea, and occasionally firing upon his advancing columns or into his works. In vain Reille came to his assistance, in vain he employed 12,000 infantry, 1000 cavalry, and 25 battering cannon; he could make no impression on the walls of Gerona, or on the stern hearts of its inhabitants; his communications were all cut off, his convoys were seized, his very lines were broken, and after losing many men he broke up the siege and fled for Barcelona, leaving both artillery and stores behind him. He could not retreat by the coasts on account of the English frigates that would have raked his columns, and he could not get through the mountains without another murderous running-fight with the peasants. Choosing, however, the latter course as the safer of the two, he fled over the high lands which back the coast, destroying his ammunition, and throwing what remained of his artillery over the rocks. And before Duhesme could get back to Barcelona, one of the richest and most populous cities in Spain, the real basis of his operations, that port was blockaded by two British frigates under the command of Lord Cochrane, who landed his marines, drove the French from some of their positions, and blew up their works at Mongat. In several encounters weak French detachments were beaten by the armed peasantry and the regular troops which had been brought over from the Balearic Isles, and, when the ferocious Duhesme reached Barcelona, he came flying before the Spanish general Caldagues, with an army disorganised and deprived of almost everything that rendered it formidable.

Almost equally unsuccessful and fatal were the operations of Marshal Moncey in Valencia. As the marshal advanced into the province in the month of June, he found that all the villages were deserted, and that, "either from fear or hatred, every living person fled before his footsteps." * As he advanced still farther, he saw the rocks covered with armed peasantry, some Spanish regulars and some Swiss troops, and, although he dislodged them and took some of their cannon, ammunition, and baggage, he found other foes hanging on his flanks and on his rear on the morrow. At last, on the 27th of June, he arrived before the strong and ancient walls of the city of Valencia. On the 28th and 29th he fired upon the town with his field-pieces, having no battering train with him. The Spaniards replied with heavy guns which overpowered his fire. Many of his people were wounded, and among them his general of engineers. He had expected to find a party in the town favourable to the French, but the Valencians had massacred all the French residents, and could expect only a bloody retaliation if he should gain an entrance into their city. There was not a man that would communicate with him, all were determined to resist to the last, and their courage was kept up by the visible effect of their own fire, by the trifling effect produced by Moncey's field-pieces, and by the exhortations and example of a friar who ran through the streets with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other. On the evening of the 29th Marshal Moncey relinquished the attack and began a hasty retreat. He had been promised assistance from the French army in Catalonia, but Duhesme was not in a condition to send him any aid. The Spanish general Serbelloni, imprudently risking a battle in the open field with badly disciplined troops, sustained a complete defeat. But a detachment which Moncey had left in the Cuença was surprised, beaten, and cut to pieces; and General Frère, who had been sent from Madrid to reinforce Moncey, mistook his road, was embarrassed by orders issued from head-quarters without any accurate knowledge of the state of the country or of the place where he was to seek the marshal, and, after making many useless marches in the heat of summer, he joined Moncey with sickly, wearied, worn-out, disheartened troops. Savary sent his colleague in kidnapping, Caulaincourt, to quell the insurrection in the Cuença. On the 3rd of July an atrocious butchery was committed, the town of Cuença was pillaged, and Caulaincourt wrote to his superior, Savary, that he had performed his mis-

* Napier.

sion, and quenched the flames of insurrection. But the blood which had been shed—the blood of men, women, and children, of aged priests, of monks and friars—instead of quenching these flames, made them rage the higher. Insurgent bands gathered all round Marshal Moncey and Frère, cutting off their stragglers, and killing every Frenchman they could surprise. Moncey, however, after reorganising his forces and preparing artillery, was thinking, or was said to be thinking, of returning to Valencia to make a second attempt on that strong and well-defended city, when he received from Savary a positive order to hasten back to Madrid and protect his gracious majesty King Joseph. These details will be sufficient to convey a notion of the manner in which the war was carried on by the Spaniards so long as they were left to act in the field by themselves. Notwithstanding the affair of Baylen, which raised their self-confidence to a giddy and dangerous elevation, and some other encounters in which, mainly through the advantages of ground and other local circumstances, they had a decided advantage, it was on the whole very clearly demonstrated that there was very little military genius among the Spanish commanders, that a Spanish army could not yet contend in the open field with veteran French troops, and that all the Spaniards fought best when covered by walls and strong stone houses. But by this time British bayonets were glittering on the shores of the Peninsula, and General Sir Arthur Wellesley was preparing to enter upon a career far greater and more glorious than his Indian one had been.

As soon as the first popular insurrection at Madrid was known at the frontier town of Badajoz, an anonymous proclamation from that city was circulated on the Portuguese border; and a lieutenant of the King of Spain's Walloon guards was sent on to Lisbon to consult secretly with the Spanish general Caraffa upon the means of withdrawing the Spanish troops which had marched into Portugal with Junot. Caraffa, an Italian by birth, would not declare himself at that time, but he concealed from Junot the object of the lieutenant's secret mission; and many of the men under his command began to desert. At first these Spaniards, who had come into Portugal to help the French to subjugate the country, fled in small parties; but these parties gradually became larger, and at last a whole regiment marched off for Spain in a body in defiance of its colonel. Junot sent a detachment of 600 French to intercept this Spanish regiment; the late allies met as mortal enemies, the Spaniards, with their homes in their eye and heart, proved victorious, and the French detachment lost nearly half of its original number in killed and wounded. The Spaniards were assisted by the Portuguese peasantry. Sundry ingenious attempts were made by the French to revive the jealousies and animosities which had so long raged between the two neighbouring nations, but they were attended with no success. Their ingenuity was defeated by their rapacity and violence, which were sufficient to make the Portuguese forswear for the present all enmities except against the French. Junot plundered remorselessly at Lisbon, and Kellermann and his other generals closely followed his example in other parts of the country. At the same time the common soldiery carried on a trade of their own, and insulted the priests and outraged the women. The great city of Oporto was in possession of the Spanish general Bellesta, who had occupied it by virtue of that infamous secret treaty of Fontainebleau, which was to give to Spain a portion of the subdued and partitioned kingdom of Portugal. Junot had placed a French general over the head of Bellesta, to guide him and watch him; but General Quesnel had only 70 dragoons and a few other Frenchmen with him, and, when news arrived of the turn affairs were taking in all parts of Spain, Bellesta obeyed the voice of his country, put the French and their general under arrest, and convoked the military, judicial, and civil authorities of Oporto. To the Portuguese functionaries the Spanish general expressed a hope that Junot would be seized in Lisbon as Quesnel had been in Oporto, and that the Portuguese would everywhere rise against the French as the Spaniards were doing. The more timid said that they had no means of resisting so terrible an enemy as the French; and that it would be better to wait till they could learn what had happened at Lisbon. But higher feelings prevailed; the resolution was adopted to raise the standard of the house of Braganza at once, and a Portuguese officer went straight from the place of meeting to the fortress of S. Joam da Foz, at the mouth of the Douro, and bound the garrison by a formal deed and solemn oath to act for their lawful prince against the French. Without delay, Bellesta and his Spanish troops marched away for Coruña, taking with them General Quesnel and their other French prisoners. But, almost as soon as the Spaniards had evacuated the city, the Portuguese governor declared for the Emperor Napoleon and the French, and succeeded in putting down the patriotic insurrection. On learning these hurried occurrences at Oporto, Junot, by stratagem, succeeded in disarming and seizing about 1200 Spanish troops that were quartered in the capital, and about 3000 more that were quartered in Mafra and other places. In all about 4500 Spaniards were made prisoners in ships and hulks upon the Tagus. Bonaparte's lieutenant then addressed proclamations to the Portuguese people, and to the Portuguese army. In the vain hope of attaching that army, he promised regular and increased pay, promotion, glory, every advantage and every hope that was possessed by the Invincibles of the Grand Army, the favourites of Fortune, and of the Emperor Napoleon. But by this time the French had everywhere rendered themselves odious and suspected. During a religious procession the cry was got up, by combination or by accident, that the English fleet was crossing the bar, and ascending

the Tagus to bombard Lisbon: the French troops formed as if expecting some massacre like that of the Sicilian Vespers, the Portuguese fled as if expecting to be immediately massacred by the French. Edicts were issued commanding all persons to deliver up their fire-arms, swords, and other weapons, prohibiting the kindling of bonfires and any use of gunpowder, making parents answerable for their children, schoolmasters for their boys, masters for their servants, &c.; and every possible exertion was made to place Lisbon and its castles in a state of defence, and to put down insurrection in the neighbouring country. All this served only to hasten the universal rising. As in Spain, the priests and monks put themselves in the front of the insurrection. At Braga the archbishop unveiled the royal arms of Braganza, and recited the prohibited prayer for the prince-regent and fugitive royal family. The flags, the arms, the symbols of the displaced dynasty were displayed in one town after another, and the tricolor of the intruders was cast to the earth, and torn to pieces. In the city of Braganza an abbot read aloud the news of the first insurrection at Oporto, and the governor of the province declared openly against the French. Here, as in other towns, there were some timid, calculating men, who wished to remain quiet, and who doubted whether the Portuguese could ever resist the French army of Junot, and the mighty masses which the Emperor Napoleon might send to back them. The old governor took a party of this class of politicians, who had waited upon him to know the meaning of all this stir, to a window, and showed them the streets swarming with people, who were all excited to the utmost, and shouting, "The royal House of Braganza for ever! down with the French!" "There," said he, "you hear what is the meaning; and you may attempt to quiet that multitude if you dare!" The old governor illuminated his house, which was the signal for a general illumination: he collected all the arms that were in the city, he sent to Chaves for more; he called upon all reduced Portuguese officers to come forward; and he issued orders to all the chief authorities under him in the province to proclaim their lawful prince, and enrol the peasantry. A grand mass was celebrated next day in the cathedral, and all who were present mounted the national cockade, the clergy wearing it upon the breast.* This national joy was damped by the intelligence received from Lisbon and from Oporto; but in a very few days Oporto became the scene of another insurrection, which was not destined to be put down by the caution or timidity of any Portuguese governor. News was spread there by some of the patriots that a Spanish army was in full march for Portugal, that the French were flying from Spain, that an English fleet was coming with arms and money. The people of the town rose to a man, the Portuguese soldiery joined them; the flag of Braganza was again displayed, the arsenal was thrown open, arms and cartridges were distributed to all who applied for them; the monks rang their bells, the soldiers swore on their swords to fight and die for their country, their religion, and their king; and the Bishop of Oporto came forth from his palace, kissed the national banner, put himself at the head of the insurrection, and led the enthusiastic multitude to the cathedral, there to implore the divine assistance in their meritorious undertaking. In imitation of the Spaniards, a provisional junta of supreme government was then appointed, and the bishop was placed at the head of it with the title of president-governor. The bishop, by name Antonio de S. José e Castro, forthwith published a manifesto, declaring that the French government was abolished and exterminated, and the royal authority restored, to be exercised plenarily and independently by the provisional junta of Oporto, till the government instituted by his royal highness the prince-regent should be re-established. The junta gave orders to proclaim the prince in all parts of the kingdom, and everywhere to uncover and display as heretofore the royal arms of Braganza; and they called upon all constituted authorities to attend to the summons of patriotism, and obey the provisional government. One messenger was instantly dispatched to the patriotic old governor of Braganza, and another of a higher rank was sent off to a British brig-of-war which was hovering off the coast, in order to open a direct communication with England, and to solicit protection and succour. Voluntary contributions were liberally made by the citizens of Oporto, and the poor pay of the Portuguese soldiers was immediately raised. There was much suspicion and some rioting; but, although the number of traitors or of French partizans appears to have been greater in Portugal than it was in Spain, there was much less assassination. Two deputies were soon sent to England, and an alliance was concluded with the junta of Galicia, the nearest of the provisional governments in Spain; Galicia engaging to assist in liberating Portugal, and Portugal engaging to co-operate, after her own deliverance, in expelling the French from every part of Spain. As in the latter country, many juntas began to raise their heads; but they had much less anxiety for a separate dominion: several of them readily submitted to the superiority that was claimed by Oporto, and the authority of the bishop and his junta was soon acknowledged throughout the north of Portugal. The whole of Tras os Montes, and of the province between the Douro and the Minho, declared at once against the French. The insurrection rapidly spread southward into Beira and Algarve. The people and the students of Coimbra enthusiastically joined the national cause, submitting to the junta of Oporto as the legitimate government: the people of Alemtejo followed the example of the people of Algarve, and both were supported by a body of Spanish troops which crossed the frontiers at an opportune moment. The town of Evora became

* Southey.

the centre of the insurrection in this quarter. The French general Loison, who had been sent to repress the insurgents in the north, was quickly recalled by the bewildered Junot, and sent into Alemtejo. After a desperate resistance on the part of the inhabitants, Loison forced his way into Evora, and the unhappy town was then given up to indiscriminate massacre, the fury of the French soldiery being increased by the losses they had sustained in their march, and in their attack on the place. General Margaron executed like vengeance at Leyria, an ancient Lusitanian city, situated in a beautiful country about 100 miles from Lisbon. The people of the town and the peasantry who collected there had had little time for preparation, when they heard that the French were approaching: the town was open on all sides, and they had not a single piece of cannon. The magistrates and the higher orders withdrew secretly during the night which preceded the attack, and fled to the mountains. But the poorer patriots staid and fought. They were butchered in heaps; the open city was entered on all sides, and neither age nor sex was spared; the old and young, the women and children, the babe suckling at the mother's breast, were slaughtered, in order to strike terror into the hearts of the rest of the insurgents. It was this practice of carrying out Danton's and Marat's doctrine, *faire peur*, that rendered the wars in Calabria, in Spain, and in Portugal so ruthless and terrible, and that converted the armed population into the most merciless of foes. When the slaughter in the streets had ceased, the French hunted for prisoners in the houses and churches, and fusilladed them in an open space in front of the chapel of S. Bartholomew. And when this was over they plundered the houses, and the churches, and the monasteries, and tore open the very graves in a mad search after hidden treasure. Scenes equally atrocious took place at Guarda in the north, and at Beja and Villaviçosa in the south. In these butcheries, however, the French were also losing their own men daily; the peasantry were always hovering about their line of march, cutting off stragglers, and intercepting their communications; and the necessary rapidity of their marches, the heat of the climate, and the scarcity or badness of provisions induced disease and death. Rarely did the peasantry show any mercy to the prisoners they took: the French had treated them like wild beasts, and like savages they acted towards the French. After plundering Evora, Elvas, and Portalegre, and shooting several Spanish and Portuguese gentlemen, Loison seized some individuals as hostages, and marched away for Abrantes, having received dispatches from Junot, who ordered him to hasten his return to Lisbon by that route, it being now certain that an English expedition was off the coast.

The Spanish deputies who had gone to England from the Asturias and Galicia had requested the employment of an auxiliary force, to effect a diversion, by landing on some point of the coast of Portugal, in which kingdom the insurrection had not then begun. Their native provinces, the mountainous regions of the Asturias and Galicia, were as yet untouched by the French; they formed, or were thought to form, the main strength of the Spanish patriots in the north; and the deputies, for their own immediate use, asked only for arms and money. Some doubts were reasonably entertained by the British government whether the Asturians and Galicians would make the best use of these succours, and whether Spanish armies, and irregular tumultuary levies, could drive the French out of the Peninsula, without the assistance of a disciplined English army. In the month of June Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general in April, was appointed to the command of a force, consisting of about 9000 infantry and one regiment of light dragoons. This force was intended for the Peninsula, but at the time of its departure, and for some time after, it was not decided whether it should be landed in Spain or in Portugal. Much was left to the discretion of Sir Arthur; and never before had our government had so much discretion and wisdom to trust to. The general was promised an additional force of 10,000 men, to follow in a short time. The force actually ready, and collected at Cork, had been assembled by the "All Talents'" ministry, for the purpose of making permanent conquests in Spanish South America! On the 12th of July Sir Arthur sailed with them from the Cove of Cork for the Peninsula. On the 20th of July, having quitted the fleet containing the troops under his command as soon as it was clear of the coast of Ireland, Sir Arthur arrived at Coruña, and immediately held conferences with the junta of Galicia. He found those Spaniards full of confidence: although the battle of Rio Seco had been lost, and the battle of Baylen not yet won, they asked for nothing but arms and money; they declined the assistance of a British auxiliary force, but they advised General Wellesley to land in Portugal, to rescue that kingdom from the French, and thus open a regular communication between the north and south of Spain. He was assured that in many places detachments of the French had been defeated by the Spanish people, and that whole armies of them would soon be annihilated. Some money which he brought with him, and gave them, elated the members of the junta still more: he could not see either in them or in the inhabitants of the town any symptom of alarm, or any doubt of their final success. The junta said that they could put any number of men into the field, if they were only amply provided with money and arms. His quick eye saw at a glance that a great deal more was wanting than arms and money; and that the disinclination to receive the assistance of British troops was founded in a great degree on Spanish pride, and on the objection to give the command of their own troops to British officers, although it was but too apparent that they had few or no capable Spanish officers. It was this objection, this pride, which led to

many subsequent reverses and disgraces in the field, and which rendered the Spanish armies for a long time of little or no avail. The Portuguese showed less pride and more docility, and thereby rapidly became excellent troops in the hands of British officers, and under the command of the great British general. Sir Arthur thought that Bonaparte would now carry on his operations by means of large armies, and would make every effort to gain possession of the northern provinces of Spain, which could be done only by the invasion and possession of the Asturias; and that, therefore, our government ought to direct its attention more particularly to that important point, and endeavour to prevail upon the Asturians to receive a body of our troops. No chance or contingency escaped him: he thought it possible that, if Bonaparte found it impracticable to penetrate by land, he would make some sudden effort to reach the Asturias by sea; and he therefore recommended the reinforcing of the English squadron on that coast. He suggested also to the junta at Coruña to fit out the Spanish ships at Ferrol for this service; but they said that it would divert their attention and their means from other more important objects; and that they would prefer relying for naval defence on Great Britain. He saw all the difficulties of the case in their true light, and at once told our ministers, who were far too sanguine, and who appear to have believed that the Spaniards had far more resources than they possessed, that they must assist *all* the Spanish provinces with money, arms, and ammunition. He referred to the great division of political power caused by the establishment of so many juntas; but he was not quite certain that each of the kingdoms of Spain should not be governed by its own junta, and he was convinced that the general zeal and exertions of each were greater at present than they would be if the whole kingdom were under the direction of one body.* The junta strongly recommended him not to land at Lisbon, or in the neighbourhood of the French army, urging as an objection that he would thereby lose the advantage of the co-operation of the Spanish and Portuguese forces that were collecting at Oporto, and that would not be able to approach Lisbon till they had heard that he had disembarked. They recommended him to effect a landing at Vigo, or at Oporto, and thence carry the allies, whose strength they exaggerated, with him to Lisbon. His own views, and his general instructions, were in favour of a landing in Portugal; but he determined not to fix upon the spot until he obtained more accurate information. On the night of the 21st of July he set sail from Coruña, to look after the transports and the fleet that were conveying his army. The fleet joined him the next day at sea, and he then sailed instantly for Oporto, where he arrived on the 24th. By this time Oporto and the neighbourhood was in full insurrection; and he found that the warlike bishop had gathered together about 3000 men, full of ardour, but badly armed and equipped. He also learned from the bishop that about 5000 Portuguese regular troops were stationed at Coimbra, on the Mondego river, and that there were about 12,000 peasants who only wanted arming, clothing, and disciplining. Some of the more regular levies had gotten a thousand muskets from the English fleet, but others of the same class had no fire-arms except fowling-pieces. Of the corps of Spanish infantry, which ought to have been at Oporto, he could hear nothing, except that it had been stopped on the frontier, and that whether it would come at all was doubtful. Having made arrangements with the Bishop of Oporto for a supply of mules and horses, General Wellesley sailed to the south as far as the Tagus, to get fresh and correcter information as to the strength and position of the French troops in and near Lisbon. Nothing was left to hazard, or to that second and third hand information which had so often misled inferior commanders. When he had obtained ample knowledge of the strength and disposition of Junot's forces, he fixed upon Mondego Bay as his proper landing-place. The small town and fort of Figueira, on the southern bank of the Mondego, had been carried by the Portuguese insurgents, and were now occupied by 300 marines belonging to the English fleet, and higher up the river at Coimbra were posted the 5000 Portuguese regulars. On the 30th of July General Wellesley anchored in the bay, and on the 1st of August the troops were landed near the town of Figueira, according to orders and rules most precisely laid down by the general. Their spirits were raised by the intelligence they received of Castaños's victory over Dupont. The surf on the whole coast of Portugal is great; the disembarkation presented many difficulties, but, with the exception of a few casualties, the infantry and the handful of cavalry were safely landed. On the 5th of August General Spencer joined from Cadiz, with about 4000 men, thus raising the entire force under Sir Arthur's command to 13,000 foot and 400 or 500 cavalry; but 150 of the 20th light dragoons were dismounted.

The French forces at this time in Portugal consisted of from 16,000 to 18,000 men; but, deducting the garrisons of Elvas, Peniche, Setubal, and other places, there remained only about 14,000 men for the defence of Lisbon and its approaches. Their communications were cut off from their countrymen in Spain, for, since the surrender of Dupont, the Spanish patriots were masters of Andalusia and Estremadura, and in Old Castile the French corps under Bessières had not advanced farther than Benavente, being observed by the Spanish army of Galicia. About the same time the French corps at Madrid were abandoning that capital, and retiring hastily to the Ebro. A clear stage was therefore left for the contest in Portugal between Wellesley and Junot, whose respective disposable forces were nearly equal, except that the French had the advantage of a considerable body of cavalry, an arm in which the English were

* Dispatches to Viscount Castlereagh, in Colonel Gurwood's Wellington Dispatches.

almost entirely wanting.* On the 9th of August the English began their march southward towards Lisbon. The advanced guard entered the town of Leyria, where it found the Portuguese force of 5000 men under General Freire, who had moved from Coimbra, and who had appropriated to the wants of his own people the stores which, by an agreement between the bishop and junta of Oporto, and Sir Arthur, were to remain for the use of the English troops. This was an awkward beginning of the connexion between the two allied armies; but what followed was rather worse: General Freire demanded that his corps should henceforward be furnished with provisions by the English commissariat, which had scarcely provisions enough to supply the newly-landed English troops. The preposterous demand of Freire is to be excused only by the poverty of his country, and by the fact that the French had seized and removed nearly everything that could be carried off; but Sir Arthur Wellesley and his commissariat stand in need of no excuse for refusing to accede to the demand of the Portuguese general; they had nothing to spare, and their army must mainly depend for support—at least for the present, and until cargoes could arrive from Great Britain—on such provisions as they had landed, and on such as the country they had come to deliver from the invaders could afford to sell for money. Junot had raised his supplies at the point of the bayonet; Wellesley offered hard dollars for his. Freire, however, was so unreasonable as to feel injured and insulted: he absolutely refused to advance with the English; he remained behind at Leyria; and was with difficulty prevailed upon to allow 1600 of his men to join Sir Arthur.† On the 14th the English came in sight of the ancient and magnificent abbey of Alcobaça, and entered the town of that name. On the 15th they were at Caldas, following the road to Torres Vedras, which runs parallel to the sea-coast, and is nowhere distant from the sea. It was near Roliça, at that time a large and beautiful village, about ten or twelve English miles beyond Caldas, that the first engagement between the English and the French took place.

Junot, on the first news of the landing of the English, determined to abandon the provinces, to evacuate all the fortresses except Elvas and Almeida, and to concentrate his forces in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. He sent a division of about 5000 men, under General Delaborde, towards Leyria, to keep Wellesley in check; and he ordered Loison, who had returned from his bloody expedition into Alemtejo, and had crossed the Tagus by the bridge of boats at Abrantes, to push forward and join Delaborde at Leyria. But the rapid advance of the English obliged Delaborde to fall back before Loison could reach him. On the 16th Wellesley's rifles drove in Delaborde's piquets and took possession of the village of Obidos, situated upon an insulated hill between Caldas and Roliça. Delaborde, however, resolved to make a stand in the favourable position of Roliça, expecting every moment to see Loison appear on his right. In his front were ravines and precipices, and steep hills overgrown with underwood and briars, and roughened by fragments of rock. But Sir Arthur was informed of Loison's approach, and therefore hastened to attack Delaborde before he should arrive. Accordingly he formed his army into three columns:—the right, consisting of Portuguese, was to make a demonstration on Delaborde's left; the left was sent to ascend the steep hills on the enemy's right, and to watch the approach of Loison, who was coming in that quarter; and the centre, which was the column of attack, marched along the valley and up the ravines to the front of Delaborde's position. In all three directions the difficulties of the ground were great, but they were greatest to the central or attacking column. In some places the way would not admit more than three or four men abreast; the French had posted an ambush of riflemen among the coppices of myrtle and arbutus, and here it was that Colonel Lake, the brave son of a brave father, fell with many of his men of the 29th regiment. When the central column reached the summit of the heights, they were exposed to a fire from the vineyards, and for some time they could not form a front to return it. But the bayonets of the British grenadiers cleared some ground, and then the column formed and fired, and drove back the French. Delaborde rallied his men, and brought them thrice back to charge, or attempt to charge; but each time they were brought to a pause by the sturdy immoveable mass before them; and, instead of driving the English back down the steep break-neck hills, they fell back themselves to higher ground in the rear. They had been told that the English troops were nought, and that their general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, was but a sepoy-general, who might beat Indian sultans and rajahs, but who was altogether incapable of contending with French commanders who had risen out of the Revolution, and who had been trained under the Emperor Napoleon; but the precision of movement, the unflinching steadiness, the regularity, and the quickness of their firing, undeceived them, and showed them the real qualities of British infantry, while all those who understood anything of the business of war saw a high directing mind, and felt that the sepoy-general was a great master in the art of war. The French officers had made good use of the time allowed them since their first arrival in the country in drilling and disciplining

* A. Vieusseux.—Military Life of the Duke of Wellington.

† "General Freire," says Sir Arthur, "has been apprised of the state of my resources, and yet he perseveres in his plan; and I acknowledge that I can attribute it only to his apprehensions, which, however, he has never hinted to me,—that we are not sufficiently strong for the enemy. I am convinced that he can have no personal motive for his conduct, as I have been always on the most cordial good terms with him. I have supplied him with arms, ammunition, and flints, and have done everything in my power for his army; and, only on the day before he communicated to me the alteration of his plan for the march of his army, he voluntarily placed himself and his troops under my command."—*Letter to Viscount Castlereagh in Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

Before landing in Mondego Bay Sir Arthur had sent the Portuguese 5000 muskets.

their men; but still these French troops were no veterans, and were very far from being the *élite* of Bonaparte's armies. On equal ground, and with an equality of artillery (our central column had scarcely been able to get a single 6-pounder up the ravines), they would not have stood one quarter of an hour before the men opposed to them. As matters were, they continued the contest for nearly two hours, when the apparition of our two other columns on their right and left forced them to make a hasty retreat into the hamlet of Azambugeira. They left above 600 killed and wounded, and three pieces of artillery behind them. The loss of the British was about 480. From Azambugeira Delaborde retreated in good order to Torres Vedras, where he was joined by Loison. On the 18th General Wellesley followed him, and, still keeping near the sea-coast, advanced to Lourinha. On the 19th he moved on to Vimeiro, where he was joined on the 20th by Generals Anstruther and Acland, with two brigades just arrived from England. This raised his force to about 17,000 British, besides 1600 Portuguese. But Junot, by calling in his garrisons, had now a force numerically equal, or nearly equal, to this; he retained his superiority in cavalry as also in artillery, and, what was of more consequence than all, just at this critical moment Sir Arthur Wellesley was superseded in the chief command by a very inferior personage, Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard, who arrived from England with fresh instructions from the government, or with different notions and plans of campaign of his own. They had put more spirit into the war than the Grey and Grenville administration had done; but the present Tory cabinet had not yet attained to any consistency of system, had not yet cast off old prejudices and influences, and they now went well nigh to mar a war which had been most ably begun, and which, for the first time, offered a fair and promising field on the Continent of Europe to our national land forces. Ministers themselves were sensible of the propitious appearance of affairs in the Peninsula, and were fully determined to increase the army employed in Portugal; but upon these very grounds they also determined to entrust the chief command to some officer higher or more ancient in the service than Sir Arthur Wellesley. This was according to the wheel of routine, which had gone far to grind down all genius and spirit in the superior classes of the officers of the British army. In India, at Copenhagen, even in this incipient Portuguese campaign, Wellesley had given proof of superior military genius; but there were generals in the service much more ancient than he, and, as if seniority were of more value than ability, his genius must be prostrated before another man's antiquity. It might have happened that this active, indefatigable man, whose physical powers were, in their kind, as perfect as his intellectual qualities, should have been superseded by a worn-out old man, incapable of bearing the heat of the climate, or of sitting three hours consecutively on horseback. And this, by our unaltered regulations, and the miserable routine seniority system, might, and probably will, happen again, when we are engaged in another war. Until some more loopholes are made through which ability and genius may pass over the heads of mere rotation and antiquity, the superior command of our forces must run deadly chances of being placed in inferior hands.

As soon as it was resolved at home to raise the British army in the Peninsula to 30,000 men, ministers gave the chief command of the army to Lieutenant-General Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, as acting governor of Gibraltar, had so promptly aided Castaños and the Spanish army of Andalusia; and they appointed Sir Harry Burrard to be Sir Hew's second in command, leaving Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just returned from a fruitless expedition to the Baltic, and who was now on his way to the Peninsula, and Lieutenant-Generals Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Honourable John Hope, Lord Paget, and Mackenzie Frazer, to command respective divisions of the army. Wellesley was thus reduced from first to fourth. Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir John Moore were both officers of great merit, and generous, high-minded men; but quite so much could not be said of Sir Harry Burrard; and the very best of the three—Moore—was immeasurably inferior to Wellesley. Accidents, and the order in which the new-appointed generals arrived, made a bad scheme worse. Sir Harry Burrard arrived first; on the evening of the 26th he came to Maceira Bay, near Vimeiro. Sir Arthur immediately went on board, and reported to Sir Harry the situation of the army, and his own intended plan of operations, which was, to continue marching along the coast-road as far as Mafra, thus turning the strong position which Delaborde and Loison had taken at Torres Vedras, and by this means obliging the French either to give battle or retreat to Lisbon under great disadvantages. No plan could have been better; no reinforcements were wanting, the British, without counting either the Portuguese regulars or the insurgent peasantry for anything, being rather superior in number to the French in front of them, and elated by the success they had obtained at Roliça. There was probably not a man or an officer in the army but was anxious to advance. Sir Harry Burrard, however, thought differently, being of opinion that no farther advance ought to be made till the arrival of the reinforcements under Sir John Moore. But the enemy in the meantime was bringing the question to a speedy issue. Having posted his army in excellent positions in the village of Vimeiro, and on the hills round the village, General Wellesley was retiring to rest, when, at the hour of midnight, a German officer of dragoons galloped into the camp and reported that Junot was coming on to the attack at the head of 20,000 men, and was only one hour's march distant. Undisturbed by this inflated report, General Wellesley merely sent

out patroles and warned the piquets to be on the alert. But before day-break he had all his troops under arms. The sun rose, all eyes were directed in the direction of Torres Vedras, which is only nine miles from Vimeiro, with a hilly rugged country between; but no enemy appeared. At about seven o'clock, however, a cloud of dust rose behind the hills nearest to the British positions; and at eight o'clock some French cavalry were seen crowding the heights to the southward, and sending forward scouts in every direction. This was rapidly followed by the apparition of a mass of French infantry, preceded by other cavalry; and then, column after column followed in order of battle. Some changes of position were made in the British army with admirable order and celerity. And, at ten o'clock on the morning of the not inglorious 21st of August, the battle began with a hot fire of French artillery. The principal attacks were made upon the British centre and left, with the view, according to a favourite French expression in those times, of driving the English into the sea, which was there rolling close in their rear. The attack was made with great bravery and impetuosity, but it was as gallantly repulsed by the British. But for Wellesley's deficiency in cavalry the battle would have been finished then, for Colonel Taylor, galloping among the confused, retreating French, with the very few horsemen he commanded, scattered them with great execution. But Margaron's formidable squadrons of horse came down upon Taylor, killed him, and cut half of his feeble squadron to pieces. General Kellermann, taking advantage of this check, threw part of his reserve into a pine-wood which flanked the line of retreat, and sent the rest of the reserve to reinforce the divisions that were repeating the attack. But again the assailants were repulsed at all points; General Solignac made a capital mistake, General Brennier was wounded and made prisoner; the British separated the French brigades from each other, and, pressing forward with the bayonet, they broke and scattered the enemy, who retreated in confusion, leaving many prisoners, and fourteen cannon, with ammunition, &c., behind them. The loss of the French in killed and wounded, in the battle of Vimeiro, was estimated at about 1800, that of the British being exactly 720. Only about one-half of the British force was actually engaged. Except the part of the reserve which Kellermann had thrown into the pine-wood, the whole of Junot's force was brought into action; but Junot's army, instead of being 20,000 strong as reported by the German officer, was rather less than 15,000. It was only twelve o'clock when the affair was decided. The 4th and 8th British brigades had suffered very little; the Portuguese, the 5th and the 1st British brigades, had not fired a shot, and the latter was two miles nearer to Torres Vedras than was any part of the French army, and the whole of that army, moreover, was in the greatest confusion. There was abundant time, and an admirable opportunity, to annihilate Junot; but Sir Harry Burrard had landed, and had brought with him the depressing nightmare-like influences of senility and irresolution. Sir Harry had been present on the field during part of the engagement, but he had declined assuming the command, or any way interfering with Sir Arthur Wellesley's disposition till the enemy was repulsed. But then, when the French were running off, almost in a *sauve qui peut* disorder, when Major General Ronald Ferguson on the left was close upon them, when General Hill was ready to spring forward by a shorter road than the French could take upon Torres Vedras (which must have cut them off from Lisbon, and perhaps have obliged them to lay down their arms), and when General Wellesley would have followed up his victory by a general and rapid movement forward, Sir Harry Burrard demurred, thought it unwise to hazard the fortune of the day upon what he considered a perilous throw—thought it advisable not to move any farther, especially on account of the superiority of the French cavalry—thought it best of all to suspend offensive operations, and to wait in the position of Vimeiro until the arrival of Sir John Moore. Accordingly General Ferguson was ordered to desist from pursuit, General Hill was called in; and the French officers, to their great astonishment, were allowed to rally their men, and make good their retreat to the always admirable position of Torres Vedras.* On the next day, the 22nd, Sir Hew Dalrymple arriving in a frigate from Gibraltar, landed in Maceira Bay, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard, as Sir Harry had superseded Sir Arthur Wellesley. Thus, owing to the unwise arrangements of our own government, and to chances which they ought to have foreseen, the army, within twenty-four hours, had successively three commanders-in-chief!† The time for prosecuting the victory was gone before Sir Hew Dalrymple came ashore; and popular clamour was guilty of great injustice towards Sir Hew both with regard to the battle of Vimeiro and the convention which followed it.

In the course of the 22nd General Kellermann appeared at the British head-quarters, with a flag of truce, to propose in the name of Junot an armistice, preparatory to a convention for the entire

* In a letter addressed to the Duke of York the day after the battle of Vimeiro, Sir Arthur Wellesley says, with rare coolness—"I think, if General Hill's brigade and the advanced guard had moved forward, the enemy would have been cut off from Torres Vedras and we should have been at Lisbon before him; if, indeed, any French army had remained in Portugal. But Sir Harry Burrard, who was at this time upon the ground, still thought it advisable not to move from Vimeiro; and the enemy made good their retreat to Torres Vedras. Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived this morning, and has taken the command of the army." Sir Arthur was much warmer in speaking of the merits of the men and officers who had served under him. He says to the Duke of York—"I cannot say too much in favour of the troops: their gallantry and their discipline were equally conspicuous; and I must add that *this is the only action that I have ever been in, in which everything passed as it was directed, and no mistake was made by any of the officers charged with its conduct.*"

† The Report of the Court of Inquiry afterwards said—"Considering the extraordinary circumstances under which two new commanding generals arrived from the ocean, and joined the army (the one during, and the other immediately after, a battle, and those successively superseding each other, and both the original commander within the space of twenty-four hours), it is not surprising that the army was not carried forward until the second day after the action."

evacuation of Portugal by the French, with their arms and baggage. The terms were discussed between Kellermann and Sir Hew Dalrymple; Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Arthur Wellesley both being present. In the end the suspension of arms was agreed upon, to terminate at forty-eight hours' notice; and Sir Hew directed General Wellesley to sign this agreement. The basis of the proposed treaty of evacuation was also settled, but not to be considered as in force without the concurrence of Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who had his eye on Siniavin and the Russian ships of the line in the Tagus.* Sir Hew says he was quite determined to conclude no definitive convention to which the British admiral was not a party as well as himself. But he had forgotten the Portuguese general Freire, who now sent an aide-de-camp to ask his commands. Sir Hew says, that there was a Portuguese force *somewhere* he had probably heard; that in the forenoon he had seen a Portuguese detachment marching to occupy the post assigned it in the position, but, as neither General Freire nor his army had been mentioned to him during the recent discussions with Kellermann, or spoken of as having had any share in the battle of the 21st, he was not prepared to find them so near at hand; and that, therefore, he could only desire the aide-de-camp to give his respects to General Freire, and tell him he should be glad of the honour of seeing him next day at Ramalhal, whither he intended to advance his head-quarters. On the 23rd Sir Hew and the army made a forward movement, from Vimeiro to Ramalhal, near Torres Vedras, but within the boundary stipulated by the armistice which he had ordered Sir Arthur Wellesley to sign. In the course of this day he was visited by General Friere, who, in very bad humour, entered upon the subject of the proposed treaty with Junot, and upon all the proceedings of the day before, with which he seemed to be much offended; particularly, as he thought that he himself, and the *government* of Portugal (as he called the junta of Oporto), had been treated with disrespectful neglect.† It is true that Freire, who might have done a good deal, had done little or nothing; it is true that the junta of Oporto was but a provisional and very irregular government, whose authority was only partially acknowledged in the country; but still it appears that the Portuguese general, if not the junta, ought to have been consulted before the armistice was concluded, and the basis of the proposed treaty of evacuation settled. If any Portuguese had been present at the discussions, they might have looked after their own property, or the property of their countrymen, and have more nicely limited and defined the baggage that the French were to be allowed to carry off with them. Sir Hew Dalrymple assured Freire that no disrespect was meant; and he furnished him with a copy of the armistice, provisional as it was and subject to the British admiral's approval, in order that he might receive such observations as Freire might think it necessary to make, assuring the Portuguese general that his observations would all be considered during the negotiation of the treaty. Sir Hew, however, declared that he could not consider the junta of Oporto as the government of Portugal, and the legitimate representative of its prince; and this declaration, which he subsequently repeated many times, raised against him the fierce and rather unscrupulous animosity of the Bishop of Oporto.* General Freire refused to take any part in the arrangements made or making with the French, reserving to himself the right or the opportunity of reprobating the convention when it should be concluded by the British.

Most unluckily, in sketching the terms of the convention on the 22nd, an article had been heedlessly admitted which prejudiced the clauses of the final convention, by stipulating that the French army should not "in any case" be considered as prisoners of war; that "all the individuals composing it should be carried to France with arms and baggage, and their private property of every description, from which nothing should be detained!" This of course would include the church plate and other public and private property which the French had taken at Lisbon, or in the various towns which they had sacked in consequence of the insurrection, and which plate and property they had divided among themselves, and packed up in

* Sir Hew Dalrymple, Memoir of his Proceedings, &c. Sir Hew says:—Lieutenant-Generals Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Arthur Wellesley assisted in the discussions which took place on this occasion; and I need urge no other reason for my assenting to the measure proposed than that it *was recommended by Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose opinion, as being the most competent judge of the relative situations of the two armies at this point of time, I should have thought it my duty to follow, even if his judgment had not been so particularly recommended to my attention by the secretary of state. Sir Arthur recommended the measure of allowing the French to evacuate Portugal, with their arms and baggage,*" and that every facility for this purpose should be afforded to them, from the relative state of the armies on the evening of the 22d, considering that the French had then resumed a formidable position (Torres Vedras) between us and Lisbon; that they had the means of retiring from that position to others in front of Lisbon; and, finally, of crossing the Tagus into Alemtejo, with a view to the occupation in strength of Elvas (a strongly fortified town), and eventually of Almeida (another regular fortress)." And Sir Hew quotes a passage out of a letter from Sir A. Wellesley to Lord Castlereagh, in which Sir A. distinctly says, "As Sir John Moore's corps had been diverted from the occupation at Santarem, which had been proposed for them, there were no means to prevent, and no increase of numbers could have prevented, the French army from effecting these objects."

† Sir Hew Dalrymple, Memoir.

* "Pains were taken by the Bishop of Oporto, his partizans and adherents, to misrepresent and raise a clamour against the convention, not only in Portugal, but in England also. In the former their misrepresentations were soon contradicted by the evidence of facts; not so in England; they were there so powerfully seconded by the language held by ministers, and the measures they pursued, that the erroneous impression thus made upon the public mind was confirmed and perpetuated. . . . . Both this officer (one Sousa, whom Freire had asked leave to attach to Dalrymple's head-quarters, while the definitive convention was negotiating) and his general (Freire himself) were deaf to my requests that they should state their observations in writing, and in an official shape, when every possible attention would be paid to their representations. When, however, the treaty was ratified, and the question was decided, both these officers began to write, and their correspondence abounded in animadversions upon the provisions of an instrument which it was now my duty to abide by. Although the letters of both these officers, a memorial from the general, a remonstrance and a protest were directed to me, they were, in fact, addressed to the passions and the prejudices of the people. I was, therefore, aware of the necessity of replying to these vexatious addresses with civility and temper, as it was evident the correspondence would be immediately submitted to the public: but when, in his memorial and protest, General Freire indulged in false and injurious animadversions upon the general character of the British nation and government, I thought it time to put an end to this sort of correspondence."—*Id.*

Unfortunately, however, people continued to be found in England more ready to give credit to the venomous animadversions of Freire than to the plain facts of Sir Hew Dalrymple.

their respective baggages. Sir Arthur Wellesley says, "Although I signed these conditions, I beg that you will not believe that I entirely approve of the manner in which the instrument is worded."* He had been ordered to sign by his superior in command; but, as the armistice was made subject to the approbation of Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, and, as one article of it stipulated that the Russian fleet in the Tagus should enjoy all the advantages of a neutral port—that is to say, that, when the British army or fleet should be in possession of the city and port, the said Russian fleet was not to be troubled during its stay, nor stopped when it should wish to go away, nor pursued when it should be gone, without the grace-time, or delay, fixed by maritime law—the British admiral objected to that article, saying that he had no objection to join Sir Hew Dalrymple in negotiating with Junot upon all the remaining articles, and that with respect to the Russian fleet he was ready himself to enter into a separate agreement with Admiral Siniavin. As Sir Charles Cotton had thus declined to sanction the Russian article in the basis, Sir Hew, who did not receive Sir Charles's answer until the 24th at night, concluded the armistice to be at an end, and on the morning of the 25th he sent the quarter-master general, Lieutenant-Colonel George Murray, to Lisbon, with a letter informing Junot of the British admiral's decision: but at the same time Colonel Murray was to acquaint Junot that, if he would waive the Russian article, Sir Hew was ready to negotiate on the remaining articles, and to conclude a convention upon the terms specified in a paper of memoranda which Sir Arthur Wellesley had previously drawn up. Colonel Murray was further empowered to prolong the suspension of hostilities for a *definite period*, should the negotiation be entered into by Junot. In the paper of memoranda which Sir Arthur had drawn up, it was said emphatically and unceremoniously, "Some mode must be devised to make the French generals disgorge the church plate which they have stolen."

Junot endeavoured to gain time; he affected to consider that the cessation of hostilities was to be for an indefinite and unlimited period, and to depend upon the continuation of Sir Charles Cotton's negotiation with Admiral Siniavin; but on the morning of the 27th Sir Hew sent Colonel Murray instructions, which were drawn up by Sir Arthur, to break off the negotiation, and come away at once, if Junot should be found obstinate; and to tell him that the armistice in no case would be prolonged for a more extended period than 24 hours. This, with the arrival of Sir John Moore and his 20,000 men in Maceira Bay,† startled Junot, who at one moment had thought of defending the position of Torres Vedras, and at another of crossing the Tagus, and throwing his forces into Elvas. On the morning of the 29th, a draft of the proposed convention, signed by General Kellermann, was brought to Sir Hew's head-quarters; and, being laid before a meeting of general officers, at which Sir Harry Burrard, Sir John Moore, the Honourable John Hope, Mackenzie Fraser, and Sir Arthur Wellesley were present, it was read article by article, and the objections and proposed alterations were minuted down by Sir Arthur. A copy of these minutes was then sent to Colonel G. Murray for his guidance; but it should appear, from the complaints which Sir Arthur subsequently raised, that he considered that all the objections and alterations he had made or suggested were not sufficiently attended to, by those who finally concluded and ratified the treaty. On the same day (the 29th of August), at the hour of noon, the term for the suspension of hostilities having expired, Sir Hew moved his head-quarters forward to Torres Vedras, from which the French had withdrawn. On the 30th Junot at last signed the definitive treaty, with the omission of several of the alterations which had been proposed; and in form the convention was ratified by Sir Hew Dalrymple, at Torres Vedras, on the 31st. In his defence Sir Hew says that some of the articles of the treaty which had been objected to by the British were altered, and that some other good alterations were inserted which had not before been suggested (and thus much was afterwards allowed in the report of the board of inquiry); that, at all events, the season for negotiation was passed; that he therefore immediately convened the lieutenant-generals he could assemble, Sir Harry Burrard, Sir John Moore, Hope, and Mackenzie Frazer—and, in their presence, and with their approbation, ratified the Definitive Convention. Sir Arthur Wellesley was not present at this final ratification, having moved to the left very early in the morning, and being now at Sobral with his division. We have his own words, in various forms, for the assurance of the fact, that, after the fatal orders of Sir Harry Burrard on the field of Vimeiro (orders with which Dalrymple had nothing to do, as he was many miles off, at sea in his frigate), he approved of a convention allowing the French to evacuate Portugal; that he felt that the favourable moment for pushing upon the French had been lost; that, if they could not be brought to evacuate the country by sea, they might either defend themselves desperately within Lisbon, or cross to Elvas and Almeida, which, being places regularly fortified, would have required regular and long sieges, during which the British army could not have been made available in Spain, where the presence of a part of it was earnestly desired by some of the Spaniards, and whither the British government was very eager that some corps should go as quickly as possible.* It was not against the con-

* Letter to Captain Pulteney Malcolm, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

† Sir John Moore disembarked his troops as fast as the state of the weather and the dangerous surf would allow. Two regiments of infantry, two brigades of artillery, and some German cavalry, landed on the 26th, but the last division did not land until the 29th of August; and the disembarkation was not effected without great difficulty and latterly some loss.—*Sir Hew Dalrymple, Memoir.*

* See Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches. "I do not know," says Sir Arthur, writing from Sobral, on the 1st of September, "what Sir Hew Dalrymple proposes to do, or is instructed to do; but if I were in his situation I would have 20,000 men at Madrid in less than a month from this time."—*Letter to Charles Stewart, Esq. ibid.*

vention itself, but against the monstrous folly which made it necessary, and against some particular clauses of, and omissions in, the definitive treaty, that he was indignant. He wrote to Lord Castlereagh that the treaty had been altered, but not as he thought it ought to have been; that ten days after the battle of Vimeiro the army was not farther advanced than it should and ought to have been on the night of the 21st; that matters were not prospering; that he felt an earnest desire to quit the army; that he had been too successful with this army ever to serve with it in a subordinate situation. To a more private friend, he declared that he approved of the principal point in the convention, the evacuation of Portugal by the French; and he stated, at great length, his reasons for thinking that the commander-in-chief had done right in allowing them to evacuate that country by sea. "Admitting," he says, "that the army which will evacuate Lisbon will be immediately carried to the frontiers of Spain, I conceive it better to have that army in that situation, and our army acting in Spain, in co-operation with the Spanish troops, than to have the French troops occupying strong places in Portugal, and our army occupied in the siege or blockade of them."*

Because Sir Hew Dalrymple's dispatches, enclosing a copy of the treaty, were dated from Cintra, between Torres Vedras and Lisbon, the convention unluckily got the name of "The Convention of Cintra," a name which was long made to figure, ludicrously and infamously, both in prose and verse; and which induced uninformed people to believe that it was actually negotiated and concluded in that village, and after the British had obtained possession of the formidable position of Torres Vedras, the key to the capital.† This was making bad worse; the formidable position was obtained through the negotiation; and the convention was arranged at Lisbon by Colonel G. Murray and Kellermann, and was finally ratified at Torres Vedras, about thirteen miles from Cintra, and twenty-five from the capital. The most objectionable article was the fifth, which allowed the French, under the names of property of the army, private property, and baggage, to carry off much of the plunder of Portugal. Junot had no more morality than Dupont: the French officers and soldiery who capitulated in Portugal were not less rapacious or less eager to preserve their spoil than those who had capitulated at Baylen; if they had been bound by a more rigid article to a restitution of the stolen property, they would have concealed it, even as Dupont and his people had done. Some limits, however, were put to the abuse of the fifth article by the appointing of a commission, with General Beresford at its head, to superintend the execution of the terms of the convention. Through the exertions of General Beresford and his commissioners, the spoils of the Museum and Royal Library were restored, and some of the church plate, nicely packed up as private property, was seized, unpacked, and sent back to the churches. Still, however, the French did not disgorge so much as they ought to have been made to do. With regard to the Russian fleet—a rather important object, as it still counted nine sail of the line and one frigate—it was agreed, in a separate convention between Admiral Sir Charles Cotton and Admiral Siniavin, that it should be placed in deposit in the hands of his Britannic majesty, to be held until six months after the conclusion of peace; and that the Russian admiral, his officers, seamen, and marines, without any condition or stipulation whatever, should be conveyed to Russia at the expense of Great Britain.*

The forts on the Tagus were taken possession of, on the 2nd of September, by the British troops, and the port of Lisbon was then opened to our shipping. On the 5th, the army had its right at St. Julian, and its left on the heights of Bellas. On the 8th or 9th, a British corps marched into Lisbon, in the midst of popular acclamations and rejoicings, to secure the tranquillity of that city, during the embarkation of the enemy. Transports being collected, the French presently began to embark: and, except their last division, purposely detained by orders from England, they were all sent off before the end of September, and part of the British army was then actually on its route to the Spanish frontier.† Great pains were taken by the vindictive Freire, by Sousa, by the martial and irate Bishop of Oporto, and by their partisans and creatures, to raise a clamour in Portugal against the convention, and to persuade the people that they might have dislodged Junot, have captured and destroyed his whole army, have recaptured all the property of which they had been plundered, and have enriched themselves with all the property the French had brought into the country, if it had not been for Sir Hew Dalrymple and the English: but when the convention became more generally known, and its effects felt, the people of Lisbon and of the country expressed their gratitude and thanks for the benefit attending it.‡ It was no small benefit to have the country entirely freed from the French. On all the forts of which we took possession the flag of Braganza was immediately hoisted; Lisbon was occupied in the name and on the behalf of the Prince Regent of Portugal; and a council of regency, and a more regular provisional government, was established forthwith. As the energetic Bishop of Oporto, who had done so much for the cause, was admitted into the council of regency, and allowed to take a foremost part in it, his ill-humour was charmed away

* For the other reasons, which are all of the greatest weight, and which ought to be attentively studied by those who would form a correct notion of this much debated convention, see letter to Charles Stewart, Esq. in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

† The readers of Lord Byron's Childe Harold will remember the lines beginning—

Behold the hall where chiefs were late convened!
Oh dome displeasing unto British eye!

His lordship, who travelled in Portugal only a year after the event, takes up and repeats the mistake of the Convention *of Cintra* having been signed in the palace of the Marques Marialva in that place.

* James's Naval History.
† Report of Board of Inquiry.
‡ *Id.*; and Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

for the present; but great was the trouble caused in the sequel by this turbulent and ambitious churchman, and by the crafty, intriguing men that gathered around him.

Both long and loud was the popular vociferation in England against the whole of the convention, miscalled of Cintra. No measure, indeed, was ever more universally reprobated, or less understood or inquired into. Nor was this a merely popular outcry: soldiers, and statesmen, and secretaries of state, shared in the violence, and both court and cabinet swelled the chorus. At first, all were blamed, and no exception was made in favour of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The government appointed a board of inquiry, consisting of four generals and three lieutenant-generals.* Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard were recalled in order to be examined by this board, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already asked and obtained leave to return home, was also examined at his own desire.† The Court of Inquiry assembled in the great hall of Chelsea College on Monday the 14th of November, and continued sitting with adjournments until the 27th of December. In the end they agreed upon a report, which exonerated all the generals, which even bestowed praise upon all, but which made little or no distinction between Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Hew Dalrymple. The report stated that it appeared that the Convention *of Cintra* (this blunder continued to be retained when and where there ought to have been no blundering), in its progress and conclusion, or at least the principal articles of it, had not been objected to by the five distinguished lieutenant-generals of that army; and that other general officers who had been on that service, and who had been examined by the board, had also concurred in the great advantages that were immediately gained to the country of Portugal, to the British army and navy, and to the general service, by the conclusion of the convention at that time. Sir Harry Burrard, and his conduct in stopping the pursuit at Vimeiro (the real and sole cause of all that went wrong afterwards), were treated with rare leniency and delicacy. The commissioners took no notice whatever of the fifth article of the convention which had been so much complained of, no notice of the eleven days' delay which had been permitted to Junot, no notice of anything for which Sir Hew Dalrymple could be held really and solely responsible. They said, in concluding their report—"We most humbly submit our opinion that no further military proceeding is necessary on the subject; because, however some of us may differ in our sentiments respecting the fitness of the convention in the relative situation of the two armies, it is our unanimous declaration that unquestionable zeal and firmness appear throughout to have been exhibited by Lieutenant-Generals Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the rest of the officers and soldiers on every occasion during this expedition have done honour to the troops, and reflected lustre on your majesty's arms."

But neither the ministry nor the court, neither the parliament nor the people, assented to the very inconclusive award of the board of inquiry. All, or nearly all, now agreed as to the honour that was due to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and in the opinion that, if Sir Harry Burrard had not interfered with him on the field of Vimeiro, there would have been no convention, but an unconditional surrender on the part of Junot. But there was much less fairness in allotting the dishonour or the blame. We know not to what prejudices or influences in high quarters it was owing that an undue portion of censure and severity fell upon Sir Hew Dalrymple; we only know the facts that Lord Castlereagh and the king both declared themselves strongly against him, that ministers turned him out as a scapegoat, and that a very severe censure was addressed to him in his majesty's name. Sir Harry Burrard, who was a hundred fold more censurable, immediately resumed the military command of the London district, which he had held before he was sent to Portugal; but Sir Hew was never permitted to resume the command at Gibraltar, which he had been instructed *to entrust during his absence* to another general officer. No consideration was allowed for the good he had done to the Spanish cause while commanding on the Rock, for the ready aid he had given, for the timely assistance he had procured to the Spanish cause—important aid, invaluable assistance, which mainly had enabled General Castaños

* Of this 'Board of Inquiry,' General Sir David Dundas was president. The other members were—Generals the Earl of Moira, Peter Craig, Francis Lord Heathfield; Lieut.-Generals George Earl of Pembroke, K.G., Sir George Nugent, Bart., Oliver Nicholls.

† The officers who had served under Sir Arthur in the short Portuguese campaign showed, very unequivocally, that they appreciated his merits, and did not for a single moment confound his reputation with that of the inferior men who had been placed above him. On the 3rd of September, three weeks before he quitted his command, all the general officers who had first landed with him and the troops at the Mondego, wrote him a most flattering letter, acquainting him that they had clubbed together, and had directed a piece of plate, value 1000 guineas, to be prepared and presented to him, with an inscription stating that they offered this gift to their leader "in testimony of the high respect and esteem they feel for him *as a man, and the unbounded confidence they place in him as an officer.*"

This praise came from proved and applauded men: the honour was awarded by officers who had already a high reputation, who soon obtained a still loftier renown, and whose names will not soon be forgotten in the military annals of their country: they were—Major-Generals B. Spencer, R. Hill, R. Ferguson; Brigadier-Generals M. Nightingall, B. F. Bowes, H. Fane, J. Catlin Crautard.

The contribution to that testimonial was afterwards augmented by the subscriptions of Generals Anstruther and Acland, and of all the field-officers of the army who served under the orders of Sir Arthur at the battle of Vimeiro.

The dispatches and letters written by General Wellesley immediately after the convention, and his own double superseding, are a remarkable proof of his ability, foresight, and turn for business of all kinds, as also of his public spirit, which urged him to give advice, which, although not called for, was assuredly much wanted. He drew up an admirable plan for the future operations of the army: he pointed out to Sir Hew Dalrymple the best means of obtaining provisions, horses for the artillery, everything that the army needed: he showed him the expediency of arming a number of Spaniards who were found at Lisbon, and of sending them back to Spain: he recommended Sir Hew to send proper persons to treat with all the local juntas in Spain, and to obtain accurate information as to the real state and prospect of affairs in that country; the commissariat, the movements of the army, the policy to be adopted, were all dwelt upon with admirable sagacity. An inferior man would have brooded over the wrongs which had been done him, and would have done nothing after being superseded.

The reader should attentively peruse the documents in the 4th volume of Colonel Gurwood's edition of the Wellington Dispatches from page 112 to page 163.

to take the field, and environ Dupont at Baylen. Nor were the representations Sir Hew made to Lord Liverpool, when his lordship succeeded to the war department, in the smallest degree attended to. But, after a time, as in other cases, a reluctant half-measure of justice was dealt out to him. In the year 1814, when peace was supposed to be established, he addressed an earnest letter to Lord Castlereagh, requesting to be set right in the estimation of his country, wishing for some public testimony of the royal approbation of his services, and reminding his lordship how successfully he had cherished and promoted the first rising enthusiasm of the Spanish people. An interview followed the letter; and a short time afterwards Lord Castlereagh took Sir Hew aside at a levee of the Prince Regent, and told him his "*business was settled.*" "And in fact," adds Sir Hew, "very soon afterwards my name was placed at the head of a list of baronets; and, as a mark that the honour was conferred as a reward for public services, it was especially provided, in the patent, that it was given free from all the usual charges, which became an item in the public accounts laid before parliament. This circumstance gave a value to the honour conferred, in comparison of which the cost, whatever it may have been, sank into utter insignificance."*

After the sitting of the court of inquiry, Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose sharp, concise answers before the board showed the clearness of his head and the firmness of his heart, resumed the duties of his office as chief secretary for Ireland, seeming determined to devote himself entirely to home politics and administration. He went over to Ireland in December; and when parliament assembled in January he returned and took his seat. But most men felt that his properer place would be at the seat of war, and the disastrous occurrences in the Peninsula soon strengthened this conviction.

There was one advantage derivable from the convention with Junot which has generally escaped notice: his men had witnessed the skilful manœuvres of Wellesley, and the excellent way in which his generals of divisions had brought their corps into action, and had seen and felt how the British infantry fought at Roliça and Vimeiro; and the information they carried away with them on these points was calculated to depress that buoyant self-confidence which had been the secret and the spring of so many French victories. To these people the Egyptian campaign seemed already a remote tradition; the brilliant affair of Maida, where only a few thousand men were engaged, had taken place in a remote corner of Italy, and Regnier and the remnant of that army remained isolated at the end of that peninsula; it was still the universal fashion among the French to speak contemptuously of the skill of English generals, and to deny nearly every military merit to British land troops; but now, from 17,000 to 18,000 Frenchmen were sent back to France to convey correcter notions on these matters.

Junot's force had been found somewhat more considerable than was expected. Fearful, however, had been his losses during the few months he occupied Portugal. He had entered that country at the end of November, 1807, with 30,000 men; he had received some, though slight, reinforcements; so that from 12,000 to 13,000 men had perished by fatigue, of disease, in the popular insurrection, or in the field where the English had met them.

A few days after the battle of Vimeiro dispatches arrived from Lord Castlereagh containing the appointment of Sir John Moore to the chief command of the British troops to be employed in Spain. Sir Arthur Wellesley had strongly expressed the opinion that Moore was better fitted for this command than any of the superior general officers then in the Peninsula. On the 6th of October Sir John Moore received more explicit instructions, the secretary at war informing him that his army of 20,000 men was to be employed in the northern provinces of Spain "to co-operate with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French from that kingdom." Lord Castlereagh also intimated that an additional corps of 10,000 men, under Sir David Baird, was about to sail for Coruña. Sir John was directed to send forward his cavalry by land; but it was left to his discretion whether to march the infantry by land also or to transport them by sea to Coruña. Sir John instantly decided against the sea voyage, for the season was far advanced, the coast was dangerous, and he knew that so large an army could not obtain at Coruña

* Memoir written by General Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart. &c.—This narrative was originally written by Sir Hew as a family record; but the publication of Southey's 'History of the Peninsular War,' and of the works of Napier and the Marquess of Londonderry, induced him to adopt the resolution of printing it, which his last illness alone prevented him from doing. It was published in 1830, by his son, who thereby has done great good to his father's memory. In the copious Appendix, which contains many valuable documents, there are two letters, written by distinguished officers on the spot, and both approving of the convention, and of the policy of allowing the French to evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage. One of these letters, dated Almeida, 21st November, 1808, is written by Brigadier General Anstruther, who complains of "the extent and violence of the frenzy that has seized John Bull on the subject of the convention for the evacuation of Portugal." The other, dated Madrid, the 18th of October, 1808, is from Lord William Bentinck, who gives the unsolicited offer of his opinion and evidence, out of a sense of justice, and of that duty which exists between man and man; who declares that in the convention he had no concern, and with Dalrymple no friendship which might give a bias to his feelings. His lordship goes on to say—"Of the principally obnoxious article, which allows the return of the French to France, my opinion at the time was that it was highly advantageous; it seemed to me that, if this was not granted to them, the French could not avoid defending themselves to the last. A resolution to this effect, though it might, ultimately, have ended in their unconditional surrender, would, in the mean time, have occupied our army for a great length of time, *and might have exposed it to great distress, from the uncertainty of the communication with the fleet, and from the non-existence of any magazines or preparations for a campaign ashore. An inevitable consequence must have been that the efficacy and numbers of the army for future operations would have been materially impaired.* Believing, also, as was then supposed, that the enemy's force did not amount to more than 16,000 men, the disadvantage of the distant junction of this reinforcement to the French army in Spain, bore no comparison, in my judgment, to the advantages of the more immediate union of double the number of highly-disciplined British troops to the newly-recruited Spanish armies. Such were the reasons, at the time, which made me approve this article. I have since been in Spain, and am better enabled to judge of the value of this reasoning; and my decided opinion now is that the speediest union of the largest British army that can be collected with that of Spain is indispensable to the welfare of the common cause. The Spanish government have now pressed, in the strongest manner, the arrival of our army; and, let it be observed, that the necessity that has occasioned these urgent demands, while it has no connexion with the objection to this article of the convention, entirely supports the reason for which it was made. With respect to the other articles, I must, with the same truth, declare that I do not approve of some of them; but, as they are of minor consequence, and do not seem to be much objected to, I need not advert to them."

equipments to enable them to advance into the rough and naked interior of Spain. The delay afterwards experienced by Sir David Baird at Coruña, for want of means to convey the baggage of his corps, proved the propriety of Sir John Moore's decision. But, even at Lisbon, the difficulties of procuring tolerable equipments for 20,000 men were very great, and were enhanced by the inexperience of the English commissariats, who, as yet, had every thing to learn. It was found impossible to procure conveyance for a sufficient quantity of provisions and stores, and therefore the baggage was necessarily curtailed to such a degree as excited some discontents in the army. Moreover, the indolence and the ignorance of the Portuguese of the geography of their own country were so great, that no correct information could be obtained about the roads and passages towards the north. Many of the soldiers were newly levied, and, unluckily, few of Sir John Moore's officers had ever served a regular campaign in the field remote from a fleet to supply their wants. By an inveterate evil practice a multitude of women and children had been allowed to join this army. Foreseeing the evil consequences Sir John issued an order stating his desire that, as, in the course of the long march which the army was about to undertake, and where no carts could be allowed, the women would unavoidably be exposed to the greatest hardship and distress, commanding officers should use their endeavours to prevent as many as possible, particularly those having young children, or such as were not stout, or equal to fatigue, from following the army. Unhappily, universal obedience was not paid to this humane injunction by the regimental officers, and numbers of women, some with infants in their arms, surreptitiously accompanied or followed the troops. Orders were issued to the troops to avoid intemperance, to accommodate themselves to the manners and character of the Spaniards—a people sober, grave, and orderly, but warm in their tempers, and very susceptible of insult or disrespect; and it was intimated that upon entering Spain, as a compliment to the nation, the English soldiers should wear the red cockade of Ferdinand VII. in addition to their own. The scantiness of subsistence in a country so exhausted as Portugal rendered it necessary that different routes should be taken, and that divisions of the army should follow at intervals. Most of the roads were found in a wretched state; the weather was bad and rainy; the fatigue was immense, for in many places the men had to drag the artillery through muddy ways and deep sloughs. On the 4th of November, Sir John reached Castello Branco, in the midst of a dreary and inhospitable country. All the way between Castello Branco and the frontier the rain fell in torrents and drenched the soldiers, who, however, moved on with good heart. It was on the 11th of November that Sir John Moore crossed the boundary between Portugal and Spain, and arrived with the advanced guard at Ciudad Rodrigo, where he was received with salutes of cannon and the acclamations of the people. Notwithstanding this gratifying reception Sir John stopped only one night in the town; and next day pursued his march to Salamanca, where he arrived on the 13th of November. Through the lamentable ignorance about the roads and passes, which, we should think, might have been remedied by the timely employment of a few intelligent staff-officers, a great part of the ordnance, consisting of twenty-four pieces, was left far away, guarded by 3000 foot and 1000 horse under the command of General Sir John Hope, who had been ordered to take the round-about road by Elvas, which, as the Portuguese authorities affirmed, was the only road by which heavy cannon could be transported.

In the mean time Sir David Baird, with his 10,000 men, had reached the northern coast of Spain. Sir David had anchored at Coruña on the 13th of October; but, to his great surprise, the supreme junta of Galicia refused to allow his troops to be landed; and he was informed that the assent of the central government, or junta now sitting at Madrid, must be obtained previously. This unfriendly treatment proceeded from Spanish vain-glory and conceit, and from the prevalent notion that their own troops could drive the French beyond the Pyrenees without the assistance of foreign auxiliaries. It took a deal of beating to beat this conceit out of them. For fourteen long days Sir David Baird's 10,000 men were kept cooped up in the transports in the harbour of Coruña. At last a courier arrived from the Dons at Madrid, who, after mature deliberation, thought fit to grant leave to the army to land. Baird had been sent on this expedition without specie, and, although, in nominating him to the command, Lord Castlereagh assured Sir John Moore of his personal assistance in everything respecting the public service, Moore had been supplied with only 25,000*l.* He was, however, under the necessity of transmitting 8,000*l.* to Baird to enable him to move from Coruña.

Before Moore began his march from Coimbra, he was assured that the French, weak in numbers and in organization, were lying behind the river Ebro, menaced by superior Spanish armies, that were all elated with success and quite capable of preventing any advance of the enemy. During his march Sir John opened a correspondence with General Lord William Bentinck, who had gone to Madrid, and who clearly perceived the mistaken notions and the sluggish apathy of the central junta. At this moment the majority of the members of that central government seem to have been averse to the entrance of the British into their country. Lord William strove to remove this objection, to induce them to take better measures, and at least to form magazines and procure waggons and stores on the line of march of Sir John Moore; but his lordship might long have striven in vain, but for an incident which occurred:—a guerilla party lurking on the frontiers interrupted

a French dispatch to Marechal Jourdan, which contained information that reinforcements, exceeding 70,000 men, were about to cross the Pyrenees. The Madrid junta knew not that multitudes of troops had already been poured in through the mountain passes to the country behind the Ebro; but this dispatch dispersed the false hopes they had entertained that the French armies were going to evacuate Spain, and it also aroused them to make some efforts. Nothing, however, could prevail upon the junta to appoint a commander-in-chief, to concentrate their forces, or to adopt any rational plan for meeting the coming storm; they were divided by factions, jealousies, and intrigues, and there was not one commanding intellect among them. Two lines in Dante's 'Hell' describe with sufficient accuracy the leading passions of these junta-men, whether central or provincial:—

"Superbia, invidia, ed avarizia sono
Le tre faville ch' hanno i cori accesi."*

They now wanted the English, yet they did actually nothing to facilitate their march. Unfortunately, our accredited minister at Madrid had not the discrimination, energy, and resolution necessary to deal with such men. Mr. John Hookham Frere seems to have dozed away the greater part of his time at Madrid, and to have left the little that was done to be done by Lord William Bentinck, who, after Frere's arrival, had no diplomatic authority whatever, and could only speak and advise as a British officer and ardent friend of the Spanish cause. As in the field of Vimeiro, so here there had been a superseding and changing just at the critical moment. Mr. Charles Stewart, who had been acting at Madrid as minister or chargé-d'affaires, was alert, active, intelligent, and well acquainted not only with the country but also with the character and habits of the people and the dispositions of the Dons who composed the central junta; but just as Sir John Moore was advancing into Spain, and was standing in need of the most active assistance at Madrid, the arrival of the diplomatist of higher rank put an extinguisher on Mr. Stewart's intelligence and activity, or rendered them of no avail. Mr. Frere's accomplishments, and acquirements, and moral qualities were many, and of a high class, but his absent-mindedness and easy indolence showed that nature had not intended him for a diplomatist in bustling, difficult, perilous times like the present. He might have been an admirable translator of Cervantes in prose, or of Calderon and Lope de Vega in verse; but he could not understand or correctly translate the insane notions and wild language of these Spanish politicians, and he could not see his way clearly through that maze of factions, or,—where each party was blackening all the others, and pretending to an exclusive monopoly of wisdom and virtue—make out which was black and which was white, or who merited confidence and who did not. While trying to make up his mind, he left Sir John Moore without the information and frequent advices which that general had a right to expect from him. Before Sir John entered Spain advices from Lord William Bentinck informed him that reinforcements of 10,000 French troops were believed to have arrived. Having applied to know with whom he was to concert his military operations in Spain, Moore was referred by the Madrid junta to General Castaños, who commanded what was then called the army of the centre. Sir John wrote immediately to Castaños to learn his plans. Some time elapsed before he got an answer, and when the answer came, it was short and unsatisfactory; for the honest Spanish general was already distrusted by the junta, who deprived him of his command shortly after.* The other Spanish armies continued to lie scattered all about, without any plan in common, without combination, without any safe and regular communication with one another. If so many boys, fresh from school, or so many old women, had been in command, they could scarcely have made a worse disposition of the national forces. When his coming into Spain had been urged by the junta of Madrid, Moore had been assured that his advance would be covered by a powerful victorious army; but he found that not a Spanish soldier was in his front, and that the enemy, instead of being behind the Ebro, was actually at hand. On the very day after his arrival at Salamanca he got accounts of the defeat of the Conde de Belveder in front of Burgos; and two nights after this news was brought to him that the Spanish General Blake had risked his army and lost it at Espinosa, on the borders of the Asturias. Thus two of the armies with which he had been ordered to co-operate were already no more; no communication reached him from Castaños; none was transmitted him from the Spanish government at Madrid; and the ingenious author of 'Whistlecraft' seems to have continued his doze on the banks of the Manzanares. Moore, indeed, found at starting that to trust to Spanish armies in the field was to lean against a broken reed.† On the 15th he learned from General Pignatelli, the governor of the province, that the French had taken possession of Valladolid, a city only twenty leagues distant from Salamanca, where he had at the time

* L'Inferno, canto vi.—Pride, envy, and avarice are the three sparks that have set their souls on fire.

* "The junta, jealous of their generals, gave them no power; but kept them at the head of separate armies, each independent of the other. Thus they have prevented any union of action. They took no pains to recruit the armies, or to furnish them with arms and clothing. In short, during the interval that the French were weak, they did nothing either to overpower them before their reinforcements arrived, or to meet them with superior numbers when reinforced.....I am in no correspondence with any of their generals or armies. I know not their plans, or those of the Spanish government. No channels of information have been opened to me; and, as yet a stranger, I have been able to establish no certain ones for myself.... Enthusiasm, and an obstinate determination not to submit to the French yoke, may do much. But even in this case the government has been improvident: arms, ammunition, and other means, are wanting. The probability, therefore, is, that the French will succeed; and, if they do, it will be from *no talent* having sprung up after the first effort, to take advantage of the impulse, and of the enthusiasm which then existed."—*Letter from Sir John Moore to one of his brothers, dated Salamanca, 26th November*, 1808, *in Narrative of the Campaign of the British army in Spain, commanded by his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, K.B., &c. &c., authenticated by official papers and original letters: by James Moore, Esq.*

† Colonel Napier.

only three brigades of British troops; the rest being in a long line of march, many not having passed the frontiers of Portugal. The French, who were only a small body of flying cavalry, retreated from Valladolid the very next day; but they scoured the country, foraged and plundered unopposed, and spread dismay far around. The enthusiasm of the Spanish people seemed paralysed. Every hour rumours reached Salamanca which made Sir John Moore believe that other corps were beaten and scattered, besides those of the Conde de Belveder and Blake; but no stand could be made at Madrid, and no valid co-operation expected either from the Spanish armies or from the dispirited people. Owing to the strange route which he had been made to take unnecessarily, for the roads by Castello Branco and Ciudad Rodrigo were not worse than the roads by Elvas and the eastern frontier, General Hope, with the ordnance and his 4000 men, was now in the neighbourhood of Madrid; while Sir David Baird with his 10,000 men, from the difficulties he had met with at Coruña and on the hungry rugged road, had only reached Astorga. And at Astorga Baird was halting, in consequence of erroneous intelligence received from the defeated Spanish General Blake, that superior forces of the enemy were collected on his left flank. But Sir John Moore, naturally most anxious to unite all his forces, called up Baird with all speed, and sent orders to General Hope to turn aside from Madrid and hasten to Salamanca. The inhabitants of that city were panic-stricken or stupified. To rouse them from a despairing inertness Moore assembled the local junta, and addressed them in an animated and hopeful style. From the junta he also demanded that every assistance they could possibly give him should be afforded; that every car, horse, and mule in the country should be instantly placed at his disposal, for the transport of magazines and necessaries for the army. The junta applauded the harangue, for it contained compliments to Spanish gallantry and patriotism; but, with true Spanish procrastination, they referred the measures to be taken to future consideration, and did next to nothing. This was the more vexatious as, though Sir John had so little money himself, the junta of Galicia had a large sum in hand, for Mr. Frere had brought with him from England to Coruña two millions of dollars for the sole use of the Spaniards in the north.* It is quite evident that the English commander-in-chief was soon filled with disgust and despondency; that he lost whatever hope he had had in the Spaniards; that he was led to underrate the capabilities of the armed peasantry, seeing that in front of him the French cavalry were overrunning the plains and levying contributions, to which the people submitted without resistance; and that he rather too early came to the conclusion that 100,000 disciplined French troops could not be opposed in the north. "These provinces," he said, "are not armed: and, as to enthusiasm, I have seen no marks of it."* A few days later he wrote, in the private journal he kept, "I see my situation as clearly as any one, and that nothing can be worse; for I have no Spanish army to give me the least assistance, only the Marques Romana is endeavouring to assemble the fugitives from Blake's army at Leon. Yet I am determined to form the junction of this army, and to try our fortune. We have no business here as things are; but, being here, it would never do to abandon the Spaniards without a struggle."

Sir John Moore.

While Moore was thus desponding at Salamanca, Bonaparte in person was crossing the Pyrenees. In the month of September the Emperor of the French had repaired to Erfurt to hold conferences with the Emperor of Russia. The subjects of their conferences were carefully concealed; but it was generally understood that the question of Spain and the fate of Turkey were agitated, without reference to any other principle than that of the advantage and aggrandizement of the two emperors. It should also seem that it was understood between them that Alexander should not interfere in the Spanish question, and that Napoleon should allow him in return to encroach on the trans-Danubian provinces of the sultan; for, shortly after this meeting at Erfurt, Russian troops were again poured into Wallachia and Moldavia. The two emperors wrote a joint letter to the King of England, inviting him to a speedy pacification, but laying down no basis for negotiation, and offering no conditions for our allies. To this doubly imperial, but really insignificant, epistle, not George III., but Mr. Canning, his secretary for foreign affairs, replied in two spirited notes, one addressed to the Russian, the other to the French minister for foreign affairs. In the note to the Russian, Mr. Canning said that the proposition for peace would be communicated to our ally the King of Sweden (against whom the Czar was now waging

* By this time the English government had supplied Spain with 200,000 muskets, with ammunition of all kinds in proportion, with clothing, and with sixteen millions of hard dollars!—*Napier, Hist. of the War in the Peninsula.*

* Letter to one of his brothers, in Narrative, &c., by James Moore, already cited.

a fierce and winning war) and to the existing independent government of Spain, which England was determined to protect—that it was necessary his Britannic majesty should receive an immediate assurance that France acknowledged the existing independent government of Spain as a party in the negotiation—that the lively interest manifested by the Emperor Alexander in former times for the welfare and dignity of the Spanish monarch could not leave a doubt of his imperial majesty's intentions with respect to Spain—and that it could not be conceived that the Emperor Alexander had been induced to sanction, by his concurrence or approbation, usurpations, the principles of which were not less unjust than their example was dangerous to all legitimate sovereigns! In his note to Champagny, now Duke of Cadore, and the successor of Talleyrand, Mr. Canning said that the progress of the war had imposed new obligations upon Great Britain, and that Sicily, Portugal, Sweden, and Spain must be admitted to a participation in the negotiations; that treaties existed with the three first of these powers, which bound them and Great Britain together in peace and war; and that, although no formal treaty had yet been executed with Spain, the ties of honour were to the King of England as strong as the most solemn treaties; wherefore, it must be understood, that the central junta or provisional government of Spain must be a party to any negotiation in which his majesty would engage. To have said less than this of the Spanish nation would have been infamous. The Russian minister replied, that, though the emperor his master might readily admit the claims of the *sovereigns*, allies of Great Britain, he would never acknowledge the *insurgents* of Spain as an independent power;—that, moreover, the emperor had recognised Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain, was united to the Emperor Napoleon for peace and for war, and was resolved not to separate his interests from those of his ally. M. Champagny replied in the same tone, but still more tartly, and wrote some paragraphs about a treaty on the *uti possidetis* principle, which were absolute nonsense. It requires an atrabilarious party spirit, and a blindness to the intention of Bonaparte in dictating the joint imperial letter, to designate the tone of Mr. Canning's note to Champagny as insulting. From Erfurt Bonaparte hastened back to Paris, and there told his senate that he and the Emperor of Russia were irrevocably united in the bond of alliance. This was on the 18th of October. On the 25th he opened the session of the *corps législatif*, and told that soulless body that he was going in person to take charge of the Spanish war, and drive the English out of Portugal. He used a style which he had already worn threadbare, but which he could not use too often;—"The hideous presence of the English leopards contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. I go to place myself at the head of my armies, to crown my brother at Madrid, and to plant the French eagles on the ramparts of Lisbon!" Two days after this he set out for the Pyrenees. Troops had been for some time collecting on that frontier; for, still anticipating his vital resources, Bonaparte had called out two conscriptionsr, and, placing 80,000 of these in garrisons in Fance, and disposing of 80,000 of them as a gigantic *corps de reserve*, he had hurried off his veteran troops to Spain. The very *élite* of his immense army was now to engage in this momentous struggle. Before they arrived in the country which was destined to be the grave of most of them, a small army of native Spanish veterans and patriots was wafted to the shores of the Peninsula in English ships. At the time when Spain and her resources were entirely at the disposal of Bonaparte, Manuel Godoy had sent General the Marques de la Romana, with 15,000 men, to serve the French on the shores of the Baltic, or wherever else the conqueror might choose to employ them. These Spanish troops were quartered in Holstein, Sleswig, Jutland, and the islands of Funen, Zealand, and Langeland, when Mr. Mac Kenzie, an agent employed by the English ministers, opened a communication with Romana by means of a Catholic priest. The Spanish general was incensed at the iniquitous proceedings at Bayonne; his soldiers were equally indignant; and all were most heartily sick of their exile in Denmark and those Baltic regions. A plan was ingeniously concerted and most ably executed. The marques, with from 9000 to 10,000 of his men, after being aided by Admiral Sir R. Keats, got safely on board our Baltic fleet, commanded by Sir James Saumarez. Touching at England, where the marques received a most enthusiastic welcome, he proceeded to S. Andero, and there landed his men, who were equipped from the English stores, and were then sent in divisions to join Blake's army in Biscay.

If Joseph Bonaparte's timidity had not been as excessive as the imbecility of the Spanish generals, and of the Madrid junta who directed their movements, the French must have obtained repossession of the capital long before the arrival of his brother: for, while the Spaniards were scattered all about, Joseph had from 50,000 to 60,000 fighting men concentrated behind the Ebro, with 6000 men in moveable columns between him and the Pyrenees, with General Drouet and a strong reserve a little beyond those mountains at Bayonne. But, even as it was, Spanish conceit and rashness led to some fatal reverses before the Emperor of the French arrived with his immense augmentation of force. After waiting until the intrusive king had received considerable supplies and reinforcements — after wasting many precious weeks in idleness and indecision — the Spanish generals foolishly moved forward on different points of the river Ebro, which, in diagonal line, traverses the whole of the Peninsula from the foot of the Asturian mountains and the frontiers of the Biscayan provinces to the Gulf of Ampolla, on the Mediterranean sea, in order to commence offensive operations on the banks of that river or in the country beyond it.

General Blake started on this campaign without magazines, without clothes or shoes for his men, with very little ammunition, without money, and without any plan except that of raising the provinces of Biscay and Guipuzcoa. The millions of hard dollars which England had sent had, in good part, found their way into the pockets of a set of corrupt and rapacious junta men; and the other supplies, liberally furnished from the same quarter, had been wasted, scattered, or deposited in places where they remained useless until captured by the French. The army on the right, commanded by Castaños, was scarcely better provided than the army of the left, under Blake; and the army in the centre, in addition to its wants, had the calamity of being commanded by a rash, ignorant young man, the Conde de Belveder, who was scarcely twenty years old. The three armies were so placed that they could afford no support to each other. The successes they had obtained over Dupont at Baylen had produced a moral drunkenness that was not yet over. Some of the Spaniards at Coruña told Sir David Baird that the Spanish generals were assuredly going to annihilate the French, and to open the way into the heart of France, whither the English might follow them at their leisure. Castaños had more prudence than the rest of these inept Spanish commanders; but he had absolutely no authority over them or their movements; and the cry of the Spanish soldiery was "Forward! forward!" Some of the columns got beyond the line of the Ebro, and other columns staid behind, or, instead of closing, lengthened their lines; and this wide disseverance was the more dangerous, as the Spaniards had scarcely any cavalry, while the French were well provided with that arm, and with first-rate cavalry officers. On the last day of October Blake, far in advance on the left, was attacked by Lefebvre, and, after a long and well-contested action, was driven in, but without losing colours or prisoners. On account of the mountainous nature of the country, the French could not use their formidable artillery. Blake retreated in good order by Bilbao to Nava; but the enemy followed him and entered the important town of Bilboa on the 1st of November. On the 5th, Blake defeated a French division; but his own divisions had got separated during his advance and during his retreat; his people were exhausted by fatigue, hunger, and cold, for they had passed a fortnight among the rugged mountains of Biscay during rainy nights and the most inclement weather, being almost continually in the open air. It is said that there was not a great-coat, nor even a hat, among the men, and that there were very few shoes. Blake therefore retired to Espinosa de los Monteros. Here he intended to rest for some days; but on the 9th his rear-guard was surprised, and he was attacked and defeated with great loss. Spiking his guns, and crossing the river Trueba, Blake then fled back to Reynosa, a strong position, but to secure which no pains had been taken during his rash advance. The forlorn hope of collecting his scattered forces there was soon defeated; a fatal blow had been struck on the army of the Conde de Belveder, which had been intended to support Blake; and now three French corps were rapidly closing round Reynosa. No alternative was left to Blake but to fly towards the port of S. Andero. He, with a few officers and men, reached that port and got safely on board an English ship; but the greater part of his people sought refuge in the mountains of the Asturias; and his army was so entirely dissipated that scarcely a trace of it could be seen anywhere. Such magazines as were at Reynosa fell into the hands of the French, who sent detachments to S. Andero and to other ports on that coast, where they obtained a good booty, consisting principally of arms, ammunition, and stores, which had been forwarded by the English for men who knew not how to use them. On the 8th of November, between Blake's fight at Espinosa, and his flight from Reynosa, Bonaparte arrived at his brother's head-quarters in the city of Vitoria, and took the entire direction of the campaign. It did not require his quick and practised eye to discover the monstrous errors which the Spanish generals had committed, or the facility afforded by the position into which affairs had been brought for preventing their junction and beating them separately. He was not well pleased at Marshal Lefebvre for opening the campaign before his arrival; but Blake's army had been beaten, and he confidently expected to hem in the Conde de Belveder, or Castaños, or both, and reduce them to a capitulation, which should obliterate the disgrace of Baylen. With a force more than double that of the enemy before him, Marshal Soult was hurried across the Ebro, in the direction of Burgos. Instead of retreating or attempting to form a junction with Castaños, the Conde de Belveder—whose army consisted only of 13,000 regular troops, and a few thousand armed peasants, and enthusiastic students, volunteers from Salamanca and Leon—imprudently encamped and waited the attack in an open position at Gamonal, in front of Burgos. Soult's veterans routed him completely, massacred or took prisoners between 3000 and 4000 of his men, and seized all his cannon and baggage. The Conde fled to Lerma, five and twenty miles from the field of battle, where he wrote a dispatch extolling the intrepidity of his soldiers. The armies on his right being thus dispersed, Bonaparte aimed his blows at the army of General Castaños and the army of Aragon, that were now both on his left. He sent column after column to intercept the communication with Madrid, and to get in Castaños's rear; and he dispatched Marshal Lannes with 30,000 men to attack that Spanish general in front. On the approach of the French, Castaños had fallen back from Calahorra on the banks of the Ebro o Tudela. There he was joined by the army of Aragon, under the command of Palafox, who had had the good sense to see the expediency of this junction, and who had effected it by a march of

extraordinary rapidity. United as they were, the armies of Castaños and Palafox were scarcely equal in number to the forces of Lannes in their front, and Ney and Victor were getting in their rear. We count for little or nothing the irregular bands of peasantry that lengthened and weakened the lines of the two armies. Moreover, the regulars were, for the most part, raw levies, miserably armed. A general of the greatest genius might have trembled at the thought of risking a battle with such troops against veteran masses, strong in cavalry and in artillery, and abundantly provided with the best arms and materials. It would be superfluous to give the details of the battle of Tudela, which was fought on the 23rd of November. The Spaniards were quickly thrown into disorder, put to flight and savagely slaughtered by the French cavalry. These Spanish armies, however, had not the habit of capitulating; fragments went off and saved themselves by fleetness of foot, the rest retreated in tolerably good order to Calatayud. It is said that Bonaparte reproached one of his generals for suffering Castaños to escape, having a vindictive desire to hold in captivity the conqueror of Dupont. Plundering the towns through which they passed, and shooting every Spaniard they caught in arms (Bonaparte having given an express and standing order to that effect), some of the French columns marched forward to drive out the central junta and take possession of Madrid.

Having done nothing when they had time to do it, the central junta now precipitated measures in the most hurried and confused manner, issuing a multitude of orders, some of which were not understood, and very few of which were attended to, partly through the despair which seemed to have fallen upon the Spanish people, and partly through the shortness of time that was allowed them. They ordered the formation of a new militia in all towns; they began to collect provisions and to make barricades; they sent some troops to occupy the passes of the Somosierra, the last bulwark between the French and the capital; and 6000 men were entrenched upon the heights of Sepulveda, overlooking the principal pass. But the French came on rapidly, and the dangerous belief was spread throughout the Spanish forces and the people of Madrid, that their generals and leaders were betraying them. Treachery—foul treachery—there was in the capital; but it appears to have been confined to the party of Don T. Morla, who had distinguished himself as a patriot in the government of Cadiz, and who was never suspected until it was too late to prevent the effects of his treason. On the 29th of November Bonaparte had his head quarters at a village upon the outer skirts of Somosierra. On the 30th the principal pass was carried, the 6000 Spaniards intrenched at Sepulveda flying before a charge of Polish lancers. On the morning of the 2nd of December, Bessières, with the French cavalry, came within sight of Madrid, and took possession of the heights; and at noon on the same day, being the anniversary of his coronation, the Emperor of the French arrived. The town was immediately summoned; but such was the fury of the people that the French officer employed would have been torn to pieces but for the interference of the Spanish regulars. The day passed without the possibility of opening any communication with those who wished to save their houses, their property, and their lives by delivering up the city. In the evening Bonaparte's infantry and artillery came up; arrangements were made by moonlight for an assault the next morning, and the Marques de Castelar was exhorted, in a letter from Berthier, not to expose Madrid to the horrors of a storm. "The night was clear and bright, and in the French camp all was silence and watchful, but a tumultuous noise was heard from every quarter of the city, as if some mighty beast was struggling and howling in the toils,"* There were only 6000 regular troops, under the command of Castelar, in the town; but there were more than 60,000 armed men besides these, consisting of the citizens and populace, and the peasantry who had flocked in from the adjoining country; and, if left to their own impulse and fury, these men would have made a most desperate resistance. They had taken up the pavement, they had barricaded the streets and houses, they had massacred the Marques de Perrales, and other persons suspected of favouring the French, and they were shouting "War to the knife!" Unfortunately, Madrid had no bulwarks or outworks; the houses, though strong, were not fire-proof; the artillery had been placed in the worst and most exposed situations; and the opulent classes soon declared against the madness of attempting to defend a large and open capital incapable of defence. Nor can such exploits as had been performed at Zaragoza ever be expected from a capital city, let it be fortified as it may. Before daylight the French stormed some houses in the suburbs, dislodged a garrison which had been thrown into the Buen Retiro palace, and began to throw shells into the town. Early in the morning of the 3rd they took possession of the immense palace of the Duke of Medina Celi, a key to the city on that side. The city was then summoned for the third time; and in the afternoon Don T. Morla, whose cowardice is supposed to have been even greater than his treachery, came out to demand a suspension of arms. Morla was accompanied by another Spanish officer, who was compelled to hear the terrible threats of Bonaparte, mingled with moral declamations and apophthegms, the farcical parts of the tragedy. "Injustice and bad faith," said this precious moralist, "always recoil upon those who are guilty of them!" Morla returned into the city and told the authorities and the people that Madrid must surrender before six o'clock the next morning, or perish and disappear! There were still thousands who would have staid to have perished under the ruins of the houses—and all would not have perished without

* Colonel Napier.

loss and delay to the French; but the central junta had fled already, with indecent haste, towards Badajoz, and the men in authority that remained confessed that there was nothing left to do but to capitulate. The Marques de Castelar nobly determined not to surrender, and succeeded in withdrawing his 6000 regulars and sixteen cannon in safety. During the night, the populace and the peasantry kept firing on the French outposts, and ringing the church and convent bells: but at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 4th of December Morla came forth with a capitulation, and Madrid surrendered. Such of the Spaniards as remained in arms, and as had not fled out of the town to follow Castelar, were disarmed, and the city was filled with French troops, who had received the strictest orders not to exasperate the people by plunder, or by any other excess. Bonaparte fixed his head-quarters at Chamartin, a country house four miles from Madrid; and in a few days the shops were re-opened, the theatres were frequented as usual, and everything wore the outward appearance of tranquillity. A number of imperial decrees, re-organizing the government, and hurling vengeance at those grandees who had declared that they had acted in Bayonne under compulsion, and who had made head against his brother, were issued from Chamartin, and a proclamation was addressed to the Spaniards in the name of Napoleon. The Spanish people were told that further resistance was useless; that at most they could only protract a destructive war on their own soil; that it had cost the emperor only a few marches to defeat their armies; that he would presently drive the English from the Peninsula; that to the rights which had been ceded him by the princes of the last dynasty he had now added the right of conquest, but that his wish was still to be the regenerator of Spain. "But," he added, "should you not merit my confidence, I must treat you as a conquered people, and place my brother Joseph upon another throne. I shall then set the crown of Spain upon my own head, and cause it to be respected by the guilty; *for God has given me power and inclination to surmount all obstacles!*"* Joseph Bonaparte entered Madrid in the tail of the French army; but, though all seemed so quiet and submissive, he dreaded insurrection and assassination; and, while his brother went to look after Sir John Moore and the English, he retired, well guarded, to the royal palace at S. Ildefonso.

Palace of S. Ildefonso.

The situation of the English general was, in the extremest degree, critical. On the 28th of November news reached Sir John Moore at Salamanca, of the unexpected dispersion of all the Spanish armies, and of the rapid advance of Bonaparte with overwhelming forces. It appeared to him that, as there was no longer an army in the north of Spain with which he could combine, and as the southern provinces would quickly be invaded, it was most advisable to lead back his troops to Lisbon; where they would be enabled to join any

* Southey, Hist. of the Peninsular War.

Spanish corps which might rise in the south, or to render essential services by being conveyed by sea to Cadiz. Accordingly, Sir John sent orders to Sir David Baird, who had not got much beyond Astorga, to prepare to retreat to Coruña and sail with his division to the Tagus; and he instructed General Hope, who was still far away, to join him if practicable, or to march to Ciudad Rodrigo, near the Portuguese frontier, where they could unite. It is said that this plan met with the full approbation of Hope and Baird. But at this juncture intelligence was brought to Moore from Madrid, that a very favourable change had taken place in the state of affairs. It was most confidently reported, on the authority of the junta and of Don T. Morla, that San Juan, a Spanish general, had repulsed three attacks of the French at Sepulveda; that Castaños was bringing up the greater part of his force to unite with San Juan; and that Bonaparte was still at Burgos, or a good many marches from Madrid. Of the immense force which the French had now brought to the southward of the Pyrenees and of the Ebro, and of the strong reserves that were ready to follow, Moore apparently received no information. But at the same time a long dispatch from Mr. Frere, dated Aranjuez, November 30th, reached him. The ambassador strongly deprecated a retreat into Portugal; assuring Sir John that the provinces he had seen were the least distinguished of all Spain for a military or patriotic spirit; that the other provinces possessed the most ardent and determined patriotism; and that, as he believed, every individual in the central junta or government was resolved to perish with the country rather than submit. In the common lamentable ignorance of the amount of the French force, and in the fatal reliance on the rhodomontade reports of Spaniards who were fools or traitors, Mr. Frere recommended Moore to collect a force capable of repulsing the French *before* they received their reinforcements, telling him that the covering and protecting Madrid was a point of the greatest moment; that the people of the capital were full of resolution, and determined to defend it to extremity, in spite of its unfavourable situation; and that surely this determination ought to be encouraged by some show of support.* Letters also came from Don T. Morla, imploring Sir John to succour Madrid. Two Spanish generals also arrived at Salamanca with a letter from Don Martin Garay, the war minister: both these generals and the minister's letter spoke in glowing terms of the improved prospect of affairs, assuring Sir John that the Spanish armies were undismayed, were augmenting daily, and were rendering the approach of the French to Madrid utterly impracticable. But, before these two generals and this letter came to hand, the French were undisputed masters of the capital; and the army of San Juan existed nowhere except upon paper, for the troops had fled pusillanimously, and had murdered—at Talavera—their own general, reputed the best officer in the Spanish service. There is every reason for believing that Don T. Morla's letter, which was dated on the 2nd of December, the very day that he actually began negotiating terms for surrendering Madrid, was dictated by some of Bonaparte's people, or was written and sent to serve that conqueror by drawing the English army into a snare. It was utterly impossible that Morla could have been ignorant of the true state of affairs; and yet he told Sir John Moore that Castaños, with 25,000 men, was falling back on Madrid in the greatest haste, to unite with its garrison; and that 10,000 men from the Somosierra were coming for the same purpose to the city, where nearly 40,000 men would join them!

Great pains were taken to continue the unaccountable delusion into which Mr. Frere had fallen, and to conceal from him the submission of Madrid. There was in that city a Frenchman, named Charmilly, who gave himself out as a royalist emigrant and refugee, and who, in that capacity, and as a mortal enemy to Bonaparte, had offered his services to the central junta. This man was afterwards denounced in the British parliament as one who had been an organizer of assassination in San Domingo, and a fraudulent bankrupt in London; and there appears no reason to doubt that he was, and had been, an unprincipled adventurer. As soon as he saw that the French were the strongest he stole out of Madrid and joined them. Bonaparte's skill in these matters was at least as conspicuous as his military genius; and wherever he moved there was a household or camp police composed of men who had been trained by those great masters, Fouché and Savary, and who had been exercised under his own eye. On the 2nd of December, when Don T. Morla first presented himself in the French camp, and evidently before he had written to entrap Sir John Moore, Charmilly had a private interview with that Spanish apostate. Immediately after this conference Charmilly posted after the English ambassador, who was flying with the central junta at, or nearly at, the very moment that Moore was reading his famous Aranjuez dispatch. The Frenchman overtook Mr. Frere at Talavera, and, apparently with little difficulty, convinced that credulous man that the Spanish affairs were prospering; that Madrid was quite capable of holding out for a long time against the *small* army which Bonaparte had brought against it; and, finally, that nothing was wanting to raise the siege and compel the French to a speedy retreat except the approach of the British. Without a single doubt as to the character and reputation of this

* Parliamentary papers.—"Mr. Frere had come out to Spain impressed with false notions of what was passing in that country, and, tenaciously clinging to the pictures of his imagination, he resented the intrusion of reason and spurned at facts. The defeat of the Conde de Belveder at Gamonal, a defeat that broke the centre of the Spanish line, uncovered the flank and rear of Castaños's army, opened a way to Madrid, and rendered the concentration of the British divisions unsafe if not impossible, he curiously called the 'unlucky affair of the 10th at Burgos.' After the battle of Tudela he estimated the whole French army on the side of Burgos and Valladolid at *eleven thousand* men, when they were above *one hundred thousand*; and yet, with information so absurdly defective, he was prompt to interfere with, and eager to control, the military combinations of the General (Sir John Moore), which were founded upon the true and acknowledged principles of the art of war."—*Napier.*

French adventurer, the facetious and accomplished writer in the 'Anti-Jacobin' unbosomed himself, and made him the depository of secrets which might have committed the safety and honour of every British soldier in Spain. Morla, who had sent the Frenchman to catch Frere, had by this time secured to himself his military rank and his fortune—which last must have been chiefly made by appropriating the money which England had so liberally and so carelessly sent out;—and very soon afterwards he was rewarded by high employment under King Joseph. The English ambassador, with his head full of the mendacious intelligence which Charmilly had brought him, sat down and wrote a dispatch to Sir John Moore, commencing by referring to his famous Aranjuez dispatch, in which he had recommended the covering and protecting Madrid; and then referring Sir John to *Colonel* Charmilly, the bearer of the present letter, for the state in which he had left that city. Mr. Frere could not but confess that he and the central junta were flying for Badajoz, "from a situation in which they were exposed to be made prisoners;" yet he still urged Sir John to succour the capital, offering to take upon himself any degree of responsibility;—as if the commander-in-chief of an army could shift his responsibility from his own shoulders to those of a fugitive diplomatist. With this dispatch, and with all Frere's secrets in his possession, Charmilly sped away for Salamanca; but it was neither our ambassador at Talavera or at Badajoz, nor our general at Salamanca, that could tell with whom Charmilly communicated on the road, or what messengers he sent to the French at Madrid. Presenting himself at Sir John Moore's head-quarters, the Frenchman delivered the dispatch and pressed vehemently to see the general. Sir John, who had no love for Frenchmen of any kind, and a great detestation for all spies and secret agents, reluctantly admitted him to his presence, and closely questioned him upon the intelligence he brought. Charmilly, like one used to the trade, positively asserted that Bonaparte's army was not considerable; that nothing could exceed the patriotic zeal of all ranks of Spaniards at Madrid; that clouds of people from the country were rushing in to defend that city; that all classes were at work; that the city was already surrounded with batteries; that every street was barricaded, and that Mr. Frere was most desirous that Sir John should instantly advance and raise the siege of Madrid. All this was said just three days after Madrid had surrendered! Sir John listened without uttering a word which could indicate his thoughts or the course he meant to pursue. The adventurer saw he was suspected; but, cunning as he was, he duped himself into the belief that Moore persisted in his original intention of retreating rapidly to Portugal. Early next morning he again appeared at head-quarters, and presented a second letter from Mr. Frere, which he had suppressed, by that ambassador's directions, at his first interview. This was strange enough, but there was matter in the letter, in this rider to the dispatch, which was still stranger—for it contained a request that, should Sir John continue in his resolution to retreat, "*the bearer might be previously examined before a council of war!*" This was nothing less than attempting to wrest the command of the army out of the general's hands, to appeal from Sir John Moore to the officers serving under him, and to intimate to those officers and the whole army that, in the opinion of the ambassador, Sir John was deficient in zeal, bravery, and ability. A grosser insult was never offered to a brave and high-minded man; and it was the grosser and the bitterer from the character of the agent who delivered it. Moore instantly ordered Charmilly to quit the cantonments of the British army. Whether the Frenchman repaired to Badajoz to condole with Mr. Frere, or went to Madrid to hold him up to the ridicule he merited, we cannot decide; but it should appear that he communicated intelligence to French head-quarters, which, from the mistake he had fallen into, misled Bonaparte, and confirmed him in the belief that the British were in full retreat to Lisbon.

Moore's nature was generous, his temper beautiful: as soon as the odious Frenchman was gone his resentment cooled;* and, calmly weighing Frere's dispatch and the information which Charmilly had brought, and comparing it with the information contained in the letter of Morla, of whose treachery he was wholly ignorant, and with the details given by the two Spanish generals, who had waited upon him at Salamanca, he was induced to believe that Madrid was really standing a siege, that the Spanish generals were concentrating their scattered forces, that the French army was not very considerable, and that the spirit and energy of the country, of which he had scarcely seen a sign, were at last awaking. On the 5th or 6th of December he was joined by the ordnance from General Hope's division, and this tended to raise his spirits. On the 6th he wrote to Sir David Baird, who, after destroying some stores, had retreated as far as Villa Franca, to concentrate his troops and return to Astorga. "I mean," said Moore, "to proceed bridle in hand; for if the bubble bursts *we shall have a run for it.*" He also ordered Hope, who was now near at hand, to join him without delay; and he opened a correspondence with Romana, who had so cleverly brought his Spanish veterans from the Baltic, but the best part of whose forces had been engaged on the Ebro, and beaten and scattered. Romana, who had succeeded to Blake's command, was quartered in the city of Leon; but none except the wildest and falsest intelligence could be ob-

* Writing a few hours afterwards to Frere to express his wish that nothing should disturb the harmony which ought to subsist between them, Moore said—"I shall abstain from any remarks upon the two letters from you, delivered to me last night and this morning by Colonel Charmilly, or on the message which accompanied them. I certainly at first did feel and express much indignation at a person like him being made the channel of a communication of that sort from you to me. Those feelings are at an end, and I dare say they never will be created towards you again."

tained of the strength of his army.* Before flying from Madrid, the central junta had assured Colonel Graham (at present Lord Lynedoch) that Romana's army exceeded 30,000 men. The marques himself is said to have stated to a British officer that he had 22,000 infantry and 300 cavalry; yet now, when he was required to act, he wrote a letter to Sir John Moore, acknowledging that he could only assemble 9000 or 10,000 men, and two days afterwards these dwindled to 7000. Such, invariably, was the sort of official intelligence that Moore received from Spanish generals and ministers: there was never any dependence to be placed in their reports, and it was clear that nothing was to be expected from Romana. Sir John then wrote to Lord Castlereagh, stating that he intended to advance by Valladolid towards Burgos, in conjunction with Sir David Baird, and with or without the army of Romana, for the purpose of threatening the communication of the French. The Somosierra and the Guadarrama were both known to be in possession of the enemy, wherefore no direct movement could be made towards Madrid; but Moore knew that Zaragoza was determined to stand a second siege; he had received from the junta of Toledo a formal assurance of their resolution to bury themselves under the ruins of the town rather than submit; and he was informed that the southern provinces were forwarding crowds of fresh levies. He concluded that Bonaparte would be more anxious to strike a heavy blow against the English than to overrun any particular province; and therefore he resolved to throw himself upon the communications of the French army, hoping, if fortune were favourable, to inflict a severe loss upon the troops which guarded them before aid could arrive. If Bonaparte, suspending his operations against the south, should detach troops largely, Madrid would thereby be relieved: if he did not detach largely, the British could hold their ground. Moore could not but know that a great general like the Emperor of the French would be most likely to unite his whole army, and fall upon the troops which thus ventured to place themselves on his line of operations; but, in order to relieve the Spaniards at a critical moment, and to give time for the southern provinces to organize their defences, he was willing to draw the mass of the enemy upon himself.*

In the meanwhile Sir John had sent forward Colonel Graham to carry a message to Morla, and to endeavour to obtain some correct information of what was passing in Madrid and the country round it. Graham returned to Salamanca on the evening of the 9th, bringing the first intimation of the prompt capitulation of the Spanish capital. He had not been able to penetrate farther than Talavera, where he had met two members of the central junta, who assured him that the French were only from 20,000 to 30,000 strong, and had possessed themselves of nothing more than the Retiro palace; that the people were still in arms; that 30,000 men of the Spanish army of the centre were at Guadalaxara; that 14,000 men were at Almaraz; and that Romana, who was anxious to unite with the English, would soon have 30,000 fighting men. Mortified as he was to find that the capital had held out only one day, and induced as he was by that fact to doubt of the Spanish spirit, and to place less reliance than ever on the reports and assurances he received, Moore would not forego his resolution to advance; for he calculated that a diversion for the southern provinces might still be effected, and that he was bound to prove that England would not abandon the cause even when the Spaniards themselves seemed to be abandoning it. With a full sense of the perilousness of his enterprise, and with the conviction that no faith was to be put on reports from the Spanish authorities, Moore engaged some confidential persons to watch and send him timely notice of the movements of the enemy's columns. On the 11th of December he pushed forward his cavalry towards Toro and Tordesillas, on the river Douro. He himself left Salamanca on the 13th. Preparations for a retreat upon Portugal were, however, continued, and Sir David Baird was ordered to form magazines at Benevente, Astorga, and other places, by which arrangements two lines of operation were secured, and a greater freedom of action obtained. The cavalry had not proceeded far, when Brigadier General C. Stewart (the present Marquess of Londonderry), who was at their head, got notice that the village of Rueda was occupied by a party of French infantry and cavalry. The place was presently surrounded by our dragoons, and almost the whole party, consisting of eighty men, were killed or taken. The prisoners declared that they had no suspicion that the British were advancing—that they believed them to be retreating upon Lisbon. On the evening of the 13th Moore's head-quarters were at Alaejos. There on the 14th an intercepted dispatch from Berthier to Soult was brought to him, and its contents induced him to change the direction of his march. The dispatch described Madrid as perfectly tranquil, and the public amusements going forward as in a time of peace. It directed Soult to take possession of Leon, drive the Spaniards into Galicia, and make himself master of Benevente and Zamora; being assured that no apprehension of the English need be entertained, as everything confirmed the belief that they were in full retreat into Portugal. The fourth corps of the French army was said to be already at Talavera, on the route to Badajoz; and this movement, it was observed, would force the English general to retreat, if, contrary to the emperor's belief, he had not done so already. The fifth corps was on the march to Zaragoza, and the eighth corps to Burgos. Such was the confidence of the French at Madrid, that Berthier had sent this important dispatch (dated December the 10th)

* Colonel Napier, History of the War in the Peninsula.—The historian of the war adds—"Moore felt that, in doing so, he compromised the safety of his own army, that he must glide along the edge of a precipice, that he must cross a gulf on a rotten plank; but he also knew the martial qualities of his soldiers, he had confidence in his own genius, and, the occasion being worthy of a great deed, he dared essay it even against Napoleon."

by a single staff officer, who rode post through the country without an escort, and in perfect safety, until his abusive language to the postmaster of Valdestillos created a tumult, in which he lost his life. Captain Waters, who had been sent out by Moore to obtain intelligence, chanced to arrive at Valdestillos and to hear of the murder; he purchased the French dispatch for twenty dollars: neither money nor patriotism had hitherto induced the Spaniards to bring Moore any intelligence.* It was now certain that Burgos would be strongly protected, and that Baird's line of march would be rendered unsafe if Soult followed Berthier's instructions and advanced. On the other hand, as the French appeared to be ignorant of the British movements, there was some chance of surprising and beating Soult before Bonaparte could come to his succour. Moore therefore ordered Hope to pass the Douro, at Tordesillas, and direct his march upon Villapando; he removed his head-quarters to Toro, and fixed upon Valderas as the point of junction with Baird's division, the head of which was now at Benevente. On the 16th, being at Toro, Moore received two letters, one from the fugitive central junta, who by this time had fled from Badajoz to Truxillo, and the other from Mr. Frere, who had accompanied them in their flight, and who was still giving implicit faith to their sanguine and extravagant or treacherous reports. [Other persons suspected that several members of the junta were in the French interest; but our ambassador never seems to have suspected any thing, except the zeal, the skill, and firmness of our general.] The letter from the junta impudently complained that, when Romana proposed to unite 14,000 picked men to the British army, with a view to a forward movement, his offer had been disregarded, and a retreat determined upon, in spite of his remonstrances; that this retreat was uncalled for, "as the enemy was never so near his ruin as at that moment," &c. The junta still urged Sir John to join Romana, with his 14,000 select men, assuring him that 30,000 recruits would be added to the ranks in the course of—*a month*. Mr. Frere's letter bitterly censured Sir John for having ever thought of a retreat, told him that he had done the utmost possible mischief to the Spanish cause, and that "*upon a supposed military necessity*," he was inflicting final ruin on our ally, and indelible disgrace on his own country! Now, at this moment, Mr. Frere, safe and far away at Truxillo, knew absolutely nothing about the state of Romana's army, or the intentions of that general, or the force and movements of the French corps that were gathering round Moore; and he afterwards acknowledged that the Spanish enthusiasm was extinguished, and that a general panic was commencing at the very moment he was writing this offensive epistle. Romana, with a few thousand miserable soldiers, was at this time retiring into Galicia, although he was fully aware of the advance which Moore had made, and had engaged to support him. Thus the only Spanish force on foot in the north was retreating, while the British were advancing. On the 18th, Moore carried his head-quarters forward to Castro Nuevo, whence he wrote to Romana, acquainting him with his intention to fall upon Soult, and desiring his co-operation: he also requested that the marques, according to his own plan which had been presented to the British minister in London, would reserve the Asturias for his own line, and leave Galicia to the British. Romana halted, and was disposed to do his duty with spirit; but his military genius* was as limited as were the means at his command: his soldiers had been defrauded of their pay —of the money sent out by England—by the profligate Asturian authorities, and were hungry, half naked, and ready at every moment to desert. The British continued in full march. On the 20th of December the whole of the forces of Moore, Baird, and Hope were united at and near Mayorga. Nominally the army was nearly 35,000 strong; but four regiments were still in Portugal, and three regiments had been left at Lugo and Astorga; nearly 1700 men were detached, and about 4000 were in hospital: hence the actual number at present at Mayorga was only about 23,580 men with 60 pieces of artillery. In their advance the cavalry had scoured the country on the side of Valladolid, and had taken a number of prisoners from the French, who could be no longer ignorant of Moore's movements. At Mayorga information was obtained that about 700 French cavalry were lying in the town of Sahagun. To surprise this corps, Lord Paget (now Marquess of Anglesey) marched all night with two regiments of hussars. The surprise failed, but the attack nevertheless succeeded; the French were charged and broken, many were sabred, 157 were taken prisoners, and the rest, whose horses were fresh while the English horses were jaded, escaped by flight. This feat was performed by the 15th, who had only 400 men, for the 10th hussars were not in sight when Paget made his brilliant charge. The English infantry soon advanced, and Sahagun became head-quarters. Romana remained behind at Mancilla, writing encouraging letters, yet showing very plainly that no assistance was to be expected from him. The whole British army was, however, on fire for a general battle; and Moore entertained sanguine hopes that he might still have time to strike a decisive blow at Soult, who was at a short distance, posted behind the river Carion, with from 16,000 to 18,000 men, and with some other corps not far off in his rear. But, having outmarched their supplies, the English troops were obliged to halt at Sahagun until the 23rd. On that day Romana gave notice that the French were in full march from the side of Madrid; and in the night of the 23rd, when the English troops were actually in march for the Carion, with the intention of forcing the bridge over that river and falling upon Soult, Moore received certain reports, from his own confidential

* Napier.

* Lord Wellington said, in 1809, that, though Romana was one of the best of the Spanish generals, he much doubted of his ability to command an army.—*Dispatches.*

agents, that the whole French army was in movement to concentrate, and to crush the British:—the fourth corps had been halted at Talavera, the fifth was at Vitoria, the eighth was fast closing up to reinforce Soult, and Bonaparte in person was marching with his usual rapidity towards the Guadarrama, having expressed his astonishment at the unexpected boldness of the British movement, and having exclaimed that Moore was the only general now fit to contend with him.* The emperor of the French was aiming at the occupation of Benevente, in Moore's rear. No fewer than 100,000 men were hurrying forward by four different routes: the conquest of the south and every other operation was suspended. It was the *mot* not only of Bonaparte, but of Soult and all his generals, that, if they could only beat Moore, there was nothing to be feared from any army that existed in Spain. If Soult would have waited to give battle on the banks of the Carion, Moore could have beaten him with ease; but it was suspected (and the case was really so) that Soult had received orders to fall back on the columns that were hastening to his support, and to draw Moore on towards Burgos, which would have allowed time for the converging corps of the French to envelope him. In his one great object Sir John had fully succeeded: he had tempted Bonaparte from Madrid; he had gained good breathing time for the southern provinces; he had caused the siege of Zaragoza to be delayed; he had gained for the Spaniards an opportunity of uniting in other provinces; and more he could not do, without risking the total destruction of his army and the ignominious fate of Dupont. He therefore immediately countermanded the advance of the army, sending the baggage, with the brigades in his rear, back towards Astorga; and, to cover the retreat and to deceive Soult, he remained a whole day with the reserve, and sent forward squadrons of cavalry to skirmish with the French outposts. He apprized Romana of his intentions, and requested him to leave a strong guard at the bridge of Mancilla, which spans the river Esla. The beginning of the retreat was conducted with the most perfect order; and by the 26th the whole British army was safely behind the Esla. On the same day Bonaparte reached Tordesillas, on the Douro, fully expecting to cut off Moore's retreat; but notwithstanding his amazing speed he found he arrived twelve hours too late. Before getting across the Esla some squadrons of French horse were hanging on the flanks of the English, and an advanced corps of their cavalry occupied a hill near the road. These last were attacked by the 10th hussars, who put many of them to the sword and took about 100 prisoners. During twelve successive days the English cavalry had been engaged more or less; they had been so well headed in every affair or skirmish that they had taken upwards of 500 prisoners in all. The river Esla was fordable in many places, there were several bridges which the Spaniards had neglected to destroy, and little confidence could be placed upon Romana's people, who had undertaken to defend the bridge at Mancilla. Brigadier-general Craufurd blew up one of the bridges at Castro Gonzalo, one half of his men working amidst torrents of rain and snow, and the other half keeping the enemy at bay, for some of the cavalry of the French imperial guard had collected on the heights on the opposite bank. Behind Mancilla stood the town of Leon, inclosed with walls and capable of considerable resistance. Leaving 3,000 of his men, with four pieces of artillery, to defend or destroy the bridge, Romana undertook to hold Leon with the rest of his forces, and with a rabble that had gathered round him. A few French light horse drove the Spaniards from the bridge, captured their guns, and chased them towards Leon. By this easy means Soult, whose single corps now exceeded the British army in number, got possession of an important road and advanced rapidly; and then Romana abandoned Leon without firing a musket, and fled with his dissolving forces to the north. Moore had gained two days' rest at Benevente, but, as he had not the means of removing them, he was obliged to destroy most of his stores.* On the 29th the mass of the British gained Astorga, the cavalry remaining behind at Benevente, with piquets watching the fords of the Esla. General Lefebvre Desnouettes dashed across the river, with 600 horse of the imperial guard. Our piquets retired fighting, and Brigadier-general the Hon. C. Stewart obstinately disputed the ground; but the French kept advancing across the plain, which was then covered with stragglers, baggage waggons, and camp followers. Benevente was filled with tumult and confusion; but Lord Paget mounted the 10th hussars at the edge of the town, rallied and collected the piquets and the 3rd German hussars, and made a charge with the whole. In an instant the scene changed; the French were galloping back towards the river, with the British and Lord Paget close at their heels. Lefebvre Desnouettes was wounded and made prisoner;

* "Sir John Moore had no friendly corps to protect his flanks—no reinforcements to expect. He commanded an army, brilliant in appearance, yet weak in numerical strength; but upon that, and that alone, was dependence to be placed for the successful result of a very bold advance against a superior enemy in his front, a corps nearly as strong as his own upon his right flank, and the whole army of the emperor unoccupied and ready to move against him. In stating that a superior force was in front of the British army, it must not be supposed to apply to the corps d'armée of Marshal Soult alone, but to include that of the Duke of Abrantes (Junot), then between Vitoria and Burgos. . . . The march upon the Carion would undoubtedly have compromised the safety of our army. Not only the most probable, but the most to be desired, result of that movement, namely, the defeat of Marshal Soult, would but have added to its dangers and difficulties. Had Marshal Soult retired when assailed by the British force, it is probable that its general, being yet in ignorance of the rapid movement making against him from Madrid, would have advanced in pursuit, and this must have rendered his situation still more critical. In either case, the time lost could not fail to occasion the destruction or capture of our army."—*Lieutenant-colonel Leith Hay, Narrative of the Peninsular War.*

* "The army was and had been from the first without sufficient means of transport; the general had no money to procure it, and the ill-will of the Spaniards, and the shuffling conduct of the juntas, added infinitely to their difficulties."—*Napier.*

Some money had been sent to Moore since his advance, but not enough. He was obliged to contract debts with the Spaniards, who were not fond of giving credit, and who forgot, all along, that Moore was fighting their battle. This credit system had a very pernicious effect not only on Sir John's campaign, but also on the first campaign of Sir A. Wellesley in Spain. Sir Arthur, however, in the course of 1809, contrived to pay off all these debts.

other officers were captured; and nearly 200 men were killed, wounded, or taken. The British loss amounted to 50 men. Lord Paget maintained his post till the evening of the 29th, and then took the road to Astorga. On the morning of the 30th, Marshal Bessières crossed the Esla with 9000 horse and followed Paget, and on the same day General Franceschi, who had crossed at the bridge of Mancilla, followed Moore by another road. While he was at Astorga, or before he got there, about 5,000 men of Romana's flying army (the only troops that ever appeared to co-operate) rushed into the town, and began to appropriate the provisions and stores which had been collected for the use of the British. The Spaniards had encumbered the road with carts and mules, they took possession of the houses, and when the English soldiers went to seek lodgings, quarrels and scuffles ensued. Nor was this the worst consequence of the contact of the two allied forces: the Spaniards were afflicted with the typhus fever, and they communicated it to the English. Sir John had earnestly solicited the marques to leave this road vacant, and to retire into the Asturias, where, by lying on the flank or rear of the advancing French army, he might have retarded its progress; but the Spaniard had preferred crossing Moore's line of march, and by so doing he did the British army far more injury than the pursuing French could do it. From this moment the discipline of Moore's people was seriously affected. In the terrible disorder which prevailed, the English soldiers helped themselves, as best they could, to provisions, and to spirits and wine. No orders were observed; and when Moore resumed his retreat he was obliged to leave such of the stores as had not been seized and wasted behind him. Having done all the mischief he could, Romana retired with his cavalry and some guns to the valley of the Minho, leaving his ragged infantry and the rest of his artillery to follow their own instinct. Some of these poor Spaniards mixed with the British army, spreading still more the vermin and the disease with which they were infected; but the greater part of them either disbanded, or were taken by the French. On the 28th of December Bonaparte had slept at Villapando, only four leagues from Benevente. On the 1st of January he took possession of Astorga, where 70,000 French infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 200 pieces of artillery were now united.

A. D. 1809. From the heights behind Astorga the Emperor of the French could discover the now confused rear of the retreating English army; but he was exceedingly wroth that Moore, by his rapid movements, should have escaped him, and circumstances had arisen in a distant part of the world which prevented his enjoying the satisfaction of pursuing the most cordially hated of all his enemies. Dispatches arrived from Paris and from other places, which left no doubt as to the intention of Austria to take the field against him; and therefore, on the 2nd, entrusting the pursuit of Moore to Soult, he turned away from Benevente to Valladolid, whence he travelled with almost incredible speed to his own capital, cursing all the way the efficiency of English policy, alliances, and subsidies, to which solely he attributed the war with which he was now threatened in Germany and Italy.* But even after his emperor's departure Soult had 60,000 men and 91 guns to put in the track of Moore; and he lost no time in precipitating these masses through Galicia. His cavalry was very soon close upon the British rear; and the whole of that army, from excessive privation and suffering, from the murmurs and misconduct of many of the officers, and from the despondency generally induced by such a retreat, was becoming every day more and more demoralized. They had hardly any provisions with them, they could obtain little or nothing, except sour wine, in that famine-stricken country; the roads were wretched, and covered with deep snow; when it did not snow it rained in torrents; the cold on the mountains was intense; and many of the sick, and many of the women and children who had been allowed to follow the army in spite of Sir John's orders, lay down by the road-side and died. Some disgraceful occurrences took place at Bembibre, where there were immense wine-cellars; and similar excesses were committed in Villa Franca. Yet, wherever or whenever the French came up to fight, the English formed in good order and beat them off. The French general Colbert was shot through the heart in one of these encounters, and of the six or eight squadrons of horse that accompanied him the greater number were killed on the spot. In front of Lugo another desperate contest took place, which ended in General the Hon. Sir E. Paget's repulsing a greatly superior force. This was on the 5th of January. On the 7th, Sir John Moore announced his intention of halting and offering battle to his pursuer. "It has been well said," says our military historian, "that a British army may be gleaned in a retreat, but cannot be reaped; whatever may be their misery, the soldiers will always be found clean at review, ready at a fight; and scarcely was this order issued when the line of battle, so attenuated before, was filled with vigorous men, full of confidence and valour."† Moore's positions were well chosen, and the country was rugged and mountainous. Soult formed in order of battle along a ridge fronting the English; but from the nature of the ground he could not discover Moore's force, and, taking it merely for a rear-guard, he attacked rather feebly, and was defeated with the loss of 400 or 500 men. But the French marshal now called up the division of Laborde; and at daybreak on the following morning, he confronted the English general, who had about 16,000 foot, 1800 horse, and 40 pieces of artillery, with 17,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 50 pieces of artillery. But, even with this superiority of force, Soult pre-

* It has been suspected that other causes, besides the attitude of the Austrian emperor, contributed to Bonaparte's hasty departure from his army in Spain; but on this head we can find nothing but conjecture, and the one great cause assigned in the text appears sufficient to account for his return to Paris.

† Colonel Napier.

ferred, waiting for the junction of Marshal Ney to giving battle; and the French remained in line all day without firing a shot. It could not be expected that Moore should move to attack Soult, who might be reinforced at every moment, and it would have been madness to wait where he was: therefore Moore decamped in the night, leaving his fires burning to deceive the French, and continued his retreat towards the coast and the port of Coruña. He had only been able to collect at Lugo bread for one day's consumption; the weather was worse than ever, and the disorganization of the army became more complete. At last, on the 13th of January, Moore got sight of the sea and of Coruña; but his evil star was still predominant; a fleet of transports, in which his army could have been quickly embarked in safety, was not there, but detained by contrary winds at Vigo, and there were only a few small vessels in the harbour. He, however, pressed forward to the town and put his wearied troops into quarters. The town of Coruña was weakly fortified, and commanded on one side by some heights. Some general officers thought that even now the campaign must end in a convention. But such thoughts were far from the mind of Moore, who strengthened the weak side of the town, occupied the citadel, put the worst of his sick on board the few vessels in the harbour, and made the best dispositions to fight the French and secure his embarkation by a general action. In the whole campaign he had had most ample reason to complain of the inertness and stupidity—or worse—of the Spanish authorities; and he now found around him abundant materials for increasing this vexation. He had seen Romana's rabble rout without arms, without ammunition, without clothes; the other Spanish armies he had not seen, because they had made themselves invisible, but from the best information he had received, and from their notorious disasters, he could not but conclude that they were in as bad case as the so-called army of the marques; yet here, absurdly exposed on a hill outside of the town of Coruña, were 4000 barrels of gunpowder, which had been brought from England many months before, and in the town there was a large magazine of English arms—arms and powder having been uselessly kept in store, while the forces in the field were flying like rags in the wind for want of them. To save this immense stock of ammunition from Soult, Sir John removed as many barrels into the town as he could, and blew up all the rest. The explosion was so tremendous that Coruña was shaken as by an earthquake. In the evening of the 14th, the transports from Vigo hove in sight; but it was now impossible to think of embarking without fighting a battle, or abandoning a great portion of the army as a rear-guard, for Soult was crowning the hills, and his light troops were skirmishing close outside the town. In the course of the night and following morning, the remainder of the sick, the dismounted cavalry, the best of the horses, and fifty-two pieces of artillery, were safely embarked, Moore retaining on shore only eight English and four Spanish guns for action.* On the morning of the 15th, the French advanced to the height where the great powder-magazine had been blown up; and our rifle corps skirmished with their light troops. In the evening Colonel Mackenzie of the 5th, commanding the advanced post on the left, made a gallant rush to surprise two of the enemy's cannon; but in crossing a field he was shot, and the attack failed. In the course of the day, Sir John had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Mr. Frere, who was no longer at Truxillo, but much farther away, at Seville. The ambassador informed the general that, upon learning his advance upon the Carion, which was sure to draw upon him the mass of the French forces, he had written to the Duke of Infantado, who was at Cuença with a Spanish force said to be superior to that which the French had left in Madrid, urging him, in the most pressing manner, to make a forward movement upon that capital, which movement might have had the effect of relieving the British army by recalling to Madrid some of the corps that were pressing against it. But Frere did not write this letter until the 2nd of January, when Bonaparte was beyond the Esla, and close on Moore's rear with 80,000 men, and 200 pieces of artillery; and when he had written the letter he left it with the junta, who apparently did nothing with it—an omission of the less consequence, as the army of the Duke of Infantado was little more than an army upon paper, and as the Duke neither would nor could have marched upon Madrid. French officers said that a third part of the garrison left in the capital would have been more than sufficient to scatter the force of the Spanish duke, if, at any time, he had ventured near enough to be attacked.

During the night of the 15th of January, Soult, with great difficulty, established a battery of eleven heavy guns on some rocks which closed the left of the line he had selected for battle. This great battery was not above 1200 yards from the right of the British line, and midway the little village of Elvina was held by some of our piquets. On the morning of the 16th the French were apparently quiet; no firing was heard; and Moore completed his preparations for embarking his army. About one o'clock in the afternoon the English general mounted his horse in good spirits, and set off to visit his outposts; he had not proceeded far ere he received a report from General Hope that the enemy's line were getting under arms. He expressed the highest satisfaction at this intelligence, only regretting that there would not be daylight enough to profit fully from the advantages he anticipated; and, striking spurs into his horse, he galloped to the field. His advanced piquets were already beginning to fire at the enemy's *light*

* Many of the horses had perished on the road, and many more on arriving at Coruña were completely foundered: these last were reluctantly ordered to be shot.

The ground in front of Coruña, where the battle must be fought, was impracticable for cavalry, and did not allow Sir John to make any great use of artillery.

Corunna.

troops, who were pouring rapidly down on the right wing of the British. Our army was drawn up in the order of battle Moore had planned three days before, when he first arrived at Coruña, and examined the ground: it was 14,500 strong—all foot soldiers, and all full of ardour: cavalry there was none. The force of Soult exceeded 20,000 men; and he had some cavalry which, however, was not of much use in the actual battle. The only advantage on the side of the British, except their native spirit, was this—they had exchanged their battered muskets for new English muskets found in deposit at Coruña, and their ammunition was fresh and good. Distributing his lighter guns along the front of his position, and opening a fire from the heavy battery on his left, Soult, at about two o'clock, descended from the hills with three columns covered by clouds of skirmishers. Moore's piquets were driven back, and the village of Elvina was carried by the first French column, which then made a side movement, and fell upon Moore's right wing which was formed by Sir David Baird's division. The French second column advanced against the English centre, and the third attacked the English left which was under the command of Hope, and posted by the village of Palavia Abaxo. The weight of Soult's guns overmatched the English six-pounders, and his shot swept the position to the centre. But Moore called up General the Hon. Sir E. Paget with the whole of his reserve, and sent him to turn the left of the first French column, which was outflanking Baird's right, and menace the great French battery on the hills. General Fraser's division, which had been left immediately before the gates of Coruña, was then ordered up to support Paget. The regiment forming the right of Baird's division was thrown back, and then Moore opened a heavy fire upon the flank of a part of Soult's first column that were advancing in a valley, and met those that were breaking through Elvina with a deadly fire in front from the 50th and 42nd regiments. The French were driven back with great loss; they attempted to make a stand in the village, but they were followed by the 50th, and were soon driven beyond Elvina. Being reinforced beyond the village, and, through a mistake committed by the 42nd, being followed only by the 50th, the French renewed the fight, and drove the English regiment, whose commanding officer was wounded and taken prisoner, back to Elvina.* Sir John Moore rode up to the 42nd with "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" At these words the 42nd rushed forward, driving the French before them, till they were stopped by a stone wall. In the meanwhile General Paget, with the reserve, had checked the advance of the French on the British right, and a furious action had ensued on the left, and all along the line in the valley and on the hills; and this action seemed everywhere favourable to the British. Early in the fight Sir David Baird had his arm shattered with grape shot, and was forced to quit the field. The French having brought up reserves, and having made a concentrated attack at Elvina, where Sir John was cheering on his men, the battle raged fiercely, particularly at this last point, which the English

* The commanding officer of the 50th was Major Charles Napier, (the present General Sir Charles, who has recently distinguished himself so highly in India), eldest brother of the military historian of the 'Peninsular War.' He was hurt in the leg, and received five other wounds before he was taken. He owed his life to the humanity of a French drummer, who prevented some savage soldiers from finishing him with their bayonets, or the butt end of their muskets, as he lay helpless on the ground.

Major Stanhope, who accompanied Major Napier in his advance, received a mortal wound. The honourable major was second son to Earl Stanhope, and nephew to the late Mr. Pitt. As he and Napier were advancing, Moore, who had recommended them both for the military rank they held, was heard to cry out enthusiastically, "Well done, *my* majors! Well done the 50th!"

general was determined to maintain at all hazards. He had sent Captain Hardinge (at present General Sir Henry Hardinge) to order up the guards to support the 42nd highlanders. Captain Hardinge had just returned, and was reporting to his general that the guards were coming quickly, when Sir John was struck on the shoulder and left breast by a cannon ball. He fell from his horse, and was believed to be dead, but before Hardinge could dismount he had half raised himself, and with a steadfast eye and unchanged countenance, was looking after the 42nd and the other troops engaged in his front. He grasped the hand of Hardinge, and, when that gallant and grieving officer said "They are advancing," his countenance lighted up. Colonel Graham now came to the spot, and, from the composure of the general's features, imagined that he was not much hurt, until he saw blood welling from his wound. Shocked at the sight, Graham galloped off in search of surgeons. The hero would not allow himself to be removed to the rear until he saw that his brave highlanders had gained ground far in front. Hardinge tried in vain to stop the effusion of blood with his sash: then, by the help of some highlanders and some guardsmen, he placed the general upon a blanket. In being lifted his sword got entangled, and the hilt pressed against the wound: Hardinge would have unbuckled the belt, and have taken it off; but the dying soldier said, "It is as well as it is. I had rather it should go out of the field with me." Hardinge again began to hope, and to say that he hoped, the wound would not prove mortal. "No, Hardinge," said Moore, "I feel that to be impossible. You need not go with me; report to General Hope that I am wounded, and carried to the rear." * He was then raised from the ground by a highland sergeant and three highland soldiers, who slowly and tenderly conveyed him towards Coruña. The grieved affectionate highlanders had not carried him far when two surgeons came running to his aid. They had been employed in dressing the shattered arm of Baird; who, upon hearing of his disaster, had ordered them to leave him, and hasten to help Moore. But Moore, who was now bleeding fast, said to the surgeons, that they could be of no use to him; that they had better go to the wounded soldiers, to whom they might be useful; and he ordered his bearers to move on. But as his bearers proceeded, he repeatedly made them halt and turn round in order that he might view the battle, and listen to the firing, the fainter sound of which was now indicating that the French were retiring. A spring waggon, bearing Colonel Wynch, wounded from the battle, came up with the highlanders who were carrying Moore. The colonel asked who was in the blanket; and, being told it was Sir John Moore, he wished him to be placed in the waggon. The general asked one of his highlanders whether he thought that the waggon would be better than the blanket: the soldier answered, that the blanket would not shake him so much, as he and his comrades would keep the step, and carry him easy. Sir John said he thought so too; and so they proceeded with him to his lodgings in Coruña, the soldiers shedding tears as they went.

In the meantime the British army had rapidly gained ground everywhere; the obstinate contest at Elvina had terminated in their favour; Paget and the reserve had completely beaten and driven in their left and had even approached their great battery, and Colonel Nicholls had repulsed and pursued the French right. In fact the whole French line was falling back in confusion, leaving the ground thickly strewed with their killed and wounded. Soult had consumed nearly all the ammunition he had brought with him, and must have been exposed to a still more signal overthrow, for the river Mero in his rear was filled by the rising tide, and there was only one bridge over it by which he could retreat; but General Fraser's division could not be brought up in time, and the dark night was now coming on. The French, too, though beaten and disordered, were still far more numerous than the British, the ground they occupied was exceedingly strong, and it was not known how soon reinforcements might reach them. In these circumstances Sir John Hope, upon whom the command devolved, thought it better to avail himself of the present disorder of Soult, and get his own army on board the transports during the night. And this difficult operation was effected without delay and without confusion. The piquets, lighting many fires, covered the retreat of the columns, and, being themselves withdrawn at daybreak, were embarked under the protection of General Hill's brigade, which was posted near the ramparts of the town. These arrangements for embarkation had all been made by Moore, and they were complete and admirable.*

Before the troops began to embark, their beloved leader was dead. When the surgeons waited upon him in his lodgings they found that his left shoulder was shattered to pieces; that the arm was hanging by a piece of skin; that the ribs over the heart were broken, and the muscles of the breast torn in long strips. His pain was great, and he spoke with difficulty. But, when Colonel Anderson, who had been for one-and-twenty years his friend and companion in arms, entered the room, he knew him immediately, though it was almost dark, and, squeezing him by the hand, said—"Anderson, don't leave me!" At intervals he said, with difficulty, but calmly and distinctly—"Anderson, you know that I have always wished to die this way!—Anderson, are the French beaten? [This question he put to every one that came in.] I hope the people of England will be satisfied! I hope my country will do me justice!—Anderson, you will see my friends as soon as you can. Tell them everything; say to my mother—[Here his

* Letter written by Captain Hardinge after the battle.

* Colonel Napier, Hist. of the War in the Peninsula.—James C. Moore, Narrative of the Campaign of the British army in Spain commanded by Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, &c., and his Life of his Brother.

voice quite failed him, and he was, for the first time, excessively agitated.] Hope, Hope!—I have much to say to him, but cannot get it out. Are Colonel Graham and all my aides-de-camp well?" They mercifully concealed from him that Captain Burrard, one of his aides-de-camp, was mortally wounded. When Major Colborne came into the room he spoke most kindly to him, and told Anderson to go to ————, and tell him that it was his request and expectation that he would promote the major, for he had been long with him, and he knew him to be most worthy of promotion. He then asked Major Colborne if the French were well beaten; and on being told that they were, and on every point, he said, "It is a great satisfaction for me to know we have beaten the French. Remember me to General Paget; he is a fine fellow!—I feel myself so strong that I fear I shall be long dying—It is great uneasiness—It is great pain." He thanked the surgeons for their trouble. Two of his aides-de-camp, Captains Percy and Stanhope, now came into the room, and, after speaking kindly to both, he asked again if all his aides-de-camp were well. After some interval he said, "Stanhope, remember me to your sister." * He then pressed Colonel Anderson's hand to his body, and in a few minutes died without a struggle.†

Colonel Anderson said, he had often heard the general declare that, if he were killed in battle, he should like to be buried where he had fallen. General Hope and Colonel Graham acceded to this suggestion, and it was determined that the body should be interred on the ramparts in the old citadel of Coruña. At midnight the mortal remains were carried to the citadel by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and the aides-de-camp, and deposited in Colonel Graham's quarters. A grave was dug by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, as the Spaniards never use any; so the body was never undressed, but wrapped up by the officers of his staff in blankets and a military cloak.

> "No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
> Not in sheet or in shroud we wound him;
> But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
> With his martial cloak around him."

Towards eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th some firing was heard in the distance. The simple funeral rites were then hastened, lest a serious attack should be made, which would oblige the officers to quit the body and prevent their paying the last sad duties to their chief. The officers of his own staff bore the body to the grave, which the soldiers had dug on the rampart: the funeral-service was read by the chaplain, and then the earth was thrown in, and the grave closed by the soldiers.

When the morning dawned, the French, discovering that the British line had quitted its position, pushed forward some battalions to the heights of Santa Lucia; and, about noon, they got up some cannon to a rising ground near the harbour, and fired at the transports. Several timid masters of transports cut their cables, and four of these vessels ran aground stupidly; but the troops in the stranded vessels were immediately removed by some men-of-war's boats, the four transports were burned, and the rest of the fleet got out of the harbour without accident. At two o'clock in the afternoon General Hill's protecting brigade embarked under the citadel. During that night and the following morning General Beresford, who kept possession of the citadel, sent off all the sick and wounded, whose condition admitted of their being removed; and about noon on the 18th this rear-guard got into the boats and reached the fleet in safety. The inhabitants had undertaken to maintain the town, but it appears that the French made no effort to attack it, or to interrupt the embarkation. The enemy were no doubt kept in awe by the presence of some English line-of-battle ships. When all were on board, the admiral made the signal for sailing, and the transports, under a strong convoy, sailed for England.

In the battle of Coruña the English lost from 800 to 1000 men, the French from 2000 to 3000. When Marshal Soult took possession of Coruña, which he did without any difficulty as soon as the English were gone, he behaved with much humanity to the few hopeless wounded and sick who were left behind; and, in admiration of the qualities of the soldier and the man, he ordered a monument to be erected to Sir John Moore. The generous intention was not executed; but at a later period a monument was erected by the Marques de la Romana and Moore's own countrymen.

Tomb of Sir John Moore.

* Captain Stanhope was younger brother to Major Stanhope, who had fallen at Elvina, being Earl Stanhope's third son. The sister to whom Moore desired to be remembered, was Lady Hester Stanhope, who afterwards made herself so much noted by her eccentricities.

† Account written by Colonel Anderson the morning after Moore's death, in Narrative of the Campaign, &c. by James C. Moore.

Thus ended the retreat to Coruña and the first campaign (during the present war, for the exploits of Lord Peterborough and General Stanhope in Queen Anne's time must not be forgotten) of the English in Spain. Some errors had been committed in the advance through inexperience in campaigning, through a want of a sufficient number of well-trained staff and regimental officers, and through too great a reliance on the reports of ignorant Portuguese and Spaniards, who knew next to nothing of their own countries, were but little acquainted with any districts beyond their native ones, which they rarely left, and were altogether incapable of judging what roads were proper or not for the passage of an army with artillery; but Moore's misfortunes had chiefly resulted from the misinformation of Mr. Frere, the rapid dissolution of the Spanish armies that were to co-operate with him, the apathy of the population in the northern provinces, and the panic which then seemed to have seized the Spanish people everywhere, the badness of the roads and of the weather, and, though last, very far from least, the ignorance and ineptitude of his commissariat—that department which still wanted an organization and an intellect, and which Wellington himself could not organize and render fully effective until after two or three campaigns in the Peninsula. Our greatest captain has said that he could discover only one error in Moore's campaign—his not sufficiently providing for retreat when he advanced against Soult.* But it should appear that proper preparations for the retreat were ordered, and that Moore's orders were rendered fruitless by the mistakes and delays of those intrusted with their execution, by the fatal movement of Romana's people across his line of march, and by the assault made by those Spaniards upon the stores and provisions collected at Astorga for the use of the British troops. Poets, reviewers, and soldiers upon paper—politicians, who contend for party-purposes—and ministers, who consider themselves bound to defend their diplomatic agent—may condemn the whole of the campaign; but it is not the Duke of Wellington that will ever blame Sir John Moore for not crossing the Carion, and for not putting trust in disorderly fugitive Spanish armies. He has had too ample an experience of those armies, which were nearly always fighting when they ought to have been retreating, and flying when they ought to have been fighting. Even as late as the year 1812, when time and experience, and his victories and example, might have been expected to have vastly improved the Spanish armies, we shall find him compelled to raise a siege and make a disastrous retreat by the blunders, the obstinacy, and the want of spirit of these Spanish armies. Moore has been bitterly censured for not relying more on the spirit of the Spanish peasantry; but, as far as he went, he saw no symptoms of this spirit; and neither insurgent peasants, nor regular Spanish troops provided with artillery, had been able to defend the Somosierra, the Guadarrama, the Sierra Morena, or any one of their truly formidable mountain-passes. Wherever the French had presented themselves, there they had cut their way through and had driven the Spaniards before them like chaff. Until Moore got as far back as Astorga, his flanks were always and completely exposed. From Astorga to Coruña the country had great natural strength, and the road, running over, or along the sides of steep mountains, offered many excellent defensive positions; but there was not one of these positions but might be turned by an enemy so numerous, so active, and intelligent as the French, whose leaders had had great practice in mountain-warfare among Alps, Apennines, and Pyrenees—mountains far more mighty than those which run through the Asturias and Galicia. The Marques de la Romana, whose regular army defended nothing, and was capable of nothing, did indeed talk loudly about the capability of the armed peasantry to destroy any French corps that might be sent, for the purpose of turning Moore's positions, into the defiles of those mountains. Mountains of nonsense! The French had gone through defiles in Spain far more difficult, and guarded by a more numerous population and by regular Spanish troops. The various roads that led up the mountains to Moore's flank, or to his rear, have been described as mere paths, practicable only to goatherds and their goats; but this is poetry rather than fact, and where goatherds can pass infantry can pass, and where infantry can pass artillery and stores can be dragged up after them. Were these Cordilleras more rugged and lofty than Mount St. Bernard? Were the French soldiers weaker now than they were eight years ago, when they crossed over that Alp without a road, and carried forty pieces of artillery with them? If Moore had stopped anywhere between Mayorga and Astorga, he must have been enveloped; if he had staid for any length of time at any of the boasted passes between Astorga and Coruña, his position must infallibly have been turned. Nor had he the means of thus staying for more than a very few days: there were none but temporary magazines nearer than Coruña—there were no carriages of transport—there was nothing to be obtained from the beggared, half-starved inhabitants, who were gazing with about equal indifference at the passage of English and of French columns through their own territories. Had he stopped in any of the vaunted defensive positions, the hour, the day of fighting must have been chosen and fixed not by Moore, but by Soult; and the French general would have remained quiet until his position was turned, or until his army was starved away. The

* The modest words of the great captain are these:—"In Sir John Moore's campaign, I can see but one error: when he advanced to Sahagun he should have considered it as a movement of retreat, and sent officers to the rear to mark and prepare the halting-places for every brigade. But this opinion I have formed after long experience of war, and especially of *the peculiarities of a Spanish war, which must have been seen to be understood*; finally, it is an opinion formed *after* the event."

retreat did not begin an hour too soon, nor was it too precipitate, when it began. The promptitude with which Moore checked the advance of his army when the close approach of the converging columns of Bonaparte rendered that measure indispensable, and the accuracy with which he calculated the exact moment when the retreat ought to be commenced, have been admired as signal proofs of his capacity for command. In its advance and its retreat the army had moved over more than 500 English miles, and had been for a long while exposed to an enemy of immensely superior force; and yet, after all, including those killed in battle, its loss amounted to no more than 4000 men, or a sixth-part of the whole, which is not considered as a very high proportion of loss. There was a want of discipline—there were disgraceful disorders during the retreat; but these chiefly arose from circumstances which Moore could neither foresee nor provide against. The military chest was indeed thrown over the mountain-side for want of mules to drag it on; and the Spanish peasants found a pleasanter employment in seeking the hard dollars in the ravines and under the deep snow than they fancied they could find in fighting in the gorges against the French. A few 3-pounders were also abandoned, and a good deal of baggage was thrown into the ravines after the dollars, and for the same reason;—but nothing was taken by force; and neither Bonaparte nor Soult won a piece of artillery, a standard, or a single military trophy from the retreating British army.

Terrible however was the disappointment of the English government and people, who had been induced by incorrect reports to expect little short of miracles from the Spanish armies acting in conjunction with the small auxiliary army of Sir John Moore. Grief for his death, admiration for the manner in which he had died, and a national pride at the noble result of the battle of Coruña, suppressed the complaints of the more generous, which was the far greater part of the nation; but other men, acting under the circumstances already alluded to, were much less tender of the reputation of the truly gallant and high-minded soldier, and long continued to heap censure and satire over his bloody and foreign grave. Officers, immeasurably his inferiors in the knowledge and practice of the art of war, long delighted to dwell upon the errors he was supposed to have committed, and to show, after the fact, and even after a better knowledge had been obtained of the nature of the country and the people, how easily these errors might have been avoided.*

Parliament assembled on the 19th of January. The royal speech, delivered by commission, stated his majesty's reasons for rejecting the proposals made for a negotiation by Russia and France, and spoke of the perseverance of the Spaniards in the cause of their legitimate monarchy and national independence, which would induce his majesty to support the people of Spain so long as they should prove true to themselves. Satisfaction was expressed at the liberation of Portugal, together with some dissatisfaction at some of the articles of the miscalled Cintra Convention. A continuance of aid and support to the King of Sweden, who was now almost crushed by Russian arms and French intrigues, was strongly recommended; as was also a speedy augmentation of our regular army.

The great whig organ in the north had not waited till now to cast discredit upon the war in the Peninsula and our interference in it; to declare despondingly that after all we must expect to fight the battle with Bonaparte on our own shores; that Ireland must be torn from us, and that even the most unsuccessful war which France could carry on in this commercial country must be attended with the most dreadful of consequences. The same organ or luminary had, at the beginning of the struggle, delivered the discouraging oracle that the Spaniards could not be aided, but must be defeated and for ever subdued by the tremendous power of the French emperor; that it would be madness in the English to think of assisting them, and a wickedness of the worst sort to endeavour to form another coalition against the French; that army after army would be poured through the Pyrenees until all Spain was one field of blood; that nothing could resist the vigour and unity of Bonaparte, and the discipline of his veteran soldiers, &c. &c.* The defeats and errors of the Spaniards, the retreat and death of Moore, and other obvious facts, had prepared many minds for the reception of these dark omens; and a large portion of the parliamentary opposition were disposed not only to censure our management of the war in the Peninsula, but also to maintain that no management or skill whatsoever could enable us either to defend Portugal and Spain, or to inflict any blow by land on our invincible foe. All these parliamentary prophecies may be read, by those

* Sir Arthur Wellesley was never among these detractors, nor was the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief of the British army, and who, though not a great general himself, was capable of appreciating those who were, and of paying a liberal tribute to merit wherever he saw it. On the 1st of February, a day or two after the arrival of the news of the battle of Coruña, and of Moore's death, the duke issued general orders from the Horse Guards, holding up the deceased general as an example and model to the British army, and briefly running over the history of his services in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt, where he had obtained the admiration, friendship, and entire confidence of that illustrious officer Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

"Sir John Moore," said these general orders, "from his youth embraced the profession with the feelings and sentiments of a soldier. He felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer are the best foundation for subsequent military fame; and his ardent mind, while it looked forward to those brilliant achievements for which it was formed, applied itself with energy and exemplary assiduity to the duties of that station. In the school of regimental duty he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and he was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. . . . . Thus Sir John Moore, at an early period, obtained, with general approbation, that conspicuous station in which he gloriously terminated his useful and honourable life. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any one point as a preferable subject for praise. It exhibits, however, one feature so particularly characteristic of the man, and so important to the best interests of the service, that the commander-in-chief is pleased to mark it with his peculiar approbation. *The life of Sir John Moore was spent amongst the troops.*"

* See Edinburgh Review, vols. ix. xii. xiii.

MONUMENT TO SIR JOHN MOORE, IN ST. PAUL'S. Voted by Parliament, and executed by Bacon, Jun.

who have the patience to read them, in the debates of the times. We say *times*, for they were not only issued now, but continued to be issued for years, and almost down to the eve of the brilliant day when Wellington drove the last French corps down the French side of the Pyrenees. The majority for ministers who entertained better hopes was found, however, to be considerable. Five days before the meeting of Parliament—on the 14th of January, when Moore's retreat was known, and when Spanish affairs bore so gloomy an aspect—Mr. Canning signed the treaty of amity and alliance with the Spanish insurgents, binding his country, which was not hitherto bound by any treaty, to support the cause to the utmost of its power; and never to acknowledge any other king of Spain than his Catholic majesty Ferdinand VII., his heirs, *or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation itself should acknowledge*. This was a species of political heroism, let the hopes our ministers entertained about the new Austrian war be what they might.

The opposition seem almost to have hoped that the misfortunes in Spain, and the few mistakes in the Portuguese convention, would break up the ministry. A motion made in the Commons, by Lord Henry Petty, for directly censuring the Convention in Portugal, and for attributing the whole blame of it to our government, was negatived by 208 against 158; and a motion made by Mr. Ponsonby for an inquiry into the conduct of our late campaign in Spain was rejected by 220 to 127. To those who urged that we ought on no account to have sent an army into Spain, Lord Castlereagh replied that the Spaniards had chosen the mode of regular warfare, and that it would have ill befitted the character of Great Britain to have shrunk from the contest, and to have said to the Spaniards—We will give you money, we will give you arms and stores, but we will not hazard our blood in your defence! The liberation of Portugal was dwelt upon, and Canning, Castlereagh, and others spoke highly of General Wellesley's abilities, and hopefully of the issue of the contest.

The noble secretary-at-war lost no time in urging the necessity of increasing our military force. By two acts greater activity was given to enlistment into the militia, and that force was carried to its full number; the vacancies left by the bill of last session for allowing the militia soldiers to volunteer into the line were filled up; and from 20,000 to 30,000 regular troops, which had been doing garrison or coast duty, were added to the corps disposable for foreign service. An active system of recruiting for the line was commenced at the same time. Some additions were also made to the navy; and in this year the number of cruising line-of-battle ships in commission was 127, being the maximum during the war. Above 27,000,000*l.* were voted for the army and ordnance, and nearly 19,000,000*l.* for the navy. The total amount of supplies for the year for Great Britain and Ireland was 53,862,000*l.* Among the ways and means it was necessary to raise a loan of 11,000,000*l.* The loan was contracted for at a lower rate of interest than

money had ever before been borrowed at on the public account: ministers quoted this as proof of public credit and prosperity; the oppositionists maintained that it was owing to the stagnation of foreign trade, the interruption of our commerce with the United States, arising out of the Berlin and Milan decrees and our own orders in council; or, in other words, that money was lent to government at a low interest only because capitalists could not now employ it in any other way.

Early in the session a subject was introduced which excited extraordinary interest, and which, for months, caused nearly all other public matters to be forgotten by the people. Mr. Wardle, a Welsh gentleman and colonel of militia, who had married a Welsh lady of considerable fortune, who in earlier days had been distinguished by his high Tory zeal, and by the eagerness with which he offered to carry his Welsh militia-men into Ireland to put down the rebels, had lately changed his political creed, and had cultivated a close acquaintance with Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Folkestone, and other members of the extreme opposition party.* On the 27th of January he affirmed in the House of Commons that everything was wrong and rotten at the Horse-guards; that the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief, suffered himself to be swayed by a low-born mistress, one Mary Anne Clarke, who had been carrying on a traffic in commissions and promotions. In proof he stated that Captain Tonyn had paid Mrs. Clarke 500*l.* and immediately after had been gazetted major; that, for 200*l.* paid to Mrs. Clarke, an exchange had been allowed between Lieutenant-colonel Brooke of the infantry, and Lieutenant-colonel Knight of the cavalry; that for 1000*l.* paid to the same lady Major Shaw had been appointed deputy barrack-master at the Cape of Good Hope; that the duke's mistress had a regular scale of prices, &c. &c. Not satisfied with blaming the easiness of temper of the royal commander-in-chief, he insisted that he was a partaker in the benefit and profit arising from these pecuniary transactions. According to Wardle the duke's mistress had also been enabled to dispose of places both in church and state, and had been courted and bribed by more than one clergyman that longed for bishoprics or some other profitable preferment.† The colonel concluded with moving for the appointment of a committee to investigate the charges. Sir Francis Burdett warmly seconded the motion. Lord Castlereagh rose, but not to oppose the motion, for that, he said, would be contrary to the wishes, and still more so to the interests, of the commander-in-chief. He was glad, he added, that the opportunity was afforded of instituting an effectual inquiry into the grounds of the various calumnies which had of late been so industriously circulated against that illustrious personage. His lordship delivered an eulogium on the generosity and application to business which the Duke of York had displayed, and on the extreme order and regularity which he had introduced into the office of the commander-in-chief. Sir Arthur Wellesley spoke in the same tone, but his words carried more weight with them; particularly when he dwelt upon the immense improvement of the army since his royal highness's appointment. Never, he said, was there an army in a better state, as far as depended on the commander-in-chief, than that under his command last summer; and, if that army had not performed all the service for which it was destined, the blame would have rested with him, and not with the commander-in-chief. Whatever discipline and enthusiasm they felt was the result of the example afforded by the illustrious person at the head of the army. Sir Arthur treated with scorn the notion of the duke's putting a little money in his own pocket by encroaching upon the half-pay fund and by trafficking in commissions. The House, he said, would recollect that this very half-pay fund was first established by his royal highness, out of the money furnished from the produce of commissions, which he might have given away without any sale at all: by the system which the Duke of York had introduced an immense saving was effected to the public, and an immense benefit conferred on the service. The loyal Mr. Yorke, for his part, believed that a conspiracy of the most atrocious and diabolical kind existed against his royal highness, founded on the Jacobinical spirit which appeared at the commencement of the French revolution! With better effect this gentleman pointed to the great and undeniable improvement of our military forces. What, said he, was the state of the army when the Duke of York became commander-in-chief? It scarcely deserved the name of an army; and it was now found by experience to be, in proportion to its number, the best army in the world! No well-informed man in the country, no officer in the army, could deny that for this improvement we were in good part indebted to the Duke of York, who, by the common soldiers, was always called "the soldier's friend." Mr. Yorke suggested that a select committee, with power to examine on oath, would be preferable to a committee of the whole House. Lord Folkestone and some more of Wardle's friends were of the same opinion, because they thought it, they said, better calculated for obtaining the ends of justice. Mr. Wilberforce also preferred a select committee, conceiving that justice would be best obtained by an inquiry private in its progress, but to be public in the result; particularly when he reflected on *the description of persons likely to be examined at the bar of the honourable House!*"* The chancellor of

* It appears that Mr. Wardle really served in Ireland during the rebellion, as Major in Sir Watkin William Wynne's Ancient British Light Dragoons. He had been returned to parliament, for the first time, in 1807, for the rotten borough of Oakhampton. He was now living in very splendid style, and spending his wife's fortune with proportionate rapidity. We know from the best source (that is from himself) that he complained in after life of having been made a tool by a party who deserted him as soon as their purposes were served.

† For the very disgraceful details which go to confirm the accusation of ministers and doctors of the Anglican Church courting and bribing the mistress of the Duke of York, we must refer the reader to any of the numerous published accounts of this *delicate* investigation. A very full and good account of the proceedings, the examination of witnesses, &c., will be found in the Edinburgh Annual Register for the year 1809.

* Wilberforce was greatly perplexed by this unpleasant business. He notes in his Diary:—"Wardle's motion on Duke of York—sad

the exchequer, though almost as decorous a man as Wilberforce himself, thought that the House ought not to abandon its inquisitorial functions in this instance, and that the more public the inquiry the better it would be for his royal highness. He could state, on the authority of the Duke of York himself, that that illustrious personage wished, like any other subject, to be put publicly on his trial, and to stand acquitted or convicted upon the case that might be made out. He would stake his reputation that the result of the inquiry would remove all suspicion from his royal highness. The chancellor of the exchequer finished by moving that the inquiry should be carried on by a committee of the whole House. It was agreed that this should be the course pursued, and that the committee should enter upon its functions on Wednesday next, the 1st of February. During the debate Canning had exclaimed, with great heat, "Infamy must attach somewhere! It must attach either to the accused or to *the accuser!*"

The inquiry occupied the almost undivided time and attention of parliament for seven weeks, and it continued to occupy and excite the minds of the people a great deal longer; and this too, in times full of important events, at a crisis as interesting and as critical as any that Europe had known. What Wilberforce most dreaded came to pass—Mrs. Clarke, and one or two others of that "description of persons," were examined at the bar of the House; their examinations were reported day by day; the immorality of the women was forgotten in their wit and graceful impudence; and the House smirked and laughed outright when the pious abolitionist thought they ought to have inwardly groaned. Wilberforce, however, admits that Mrs. Mary Anne did some good, as "by fascinating the House she prevented its degradation by appearing to stifle the inquiry, and take too strong a part with the Duke of York." "It is curious," he adds, "to see how strongly she has won upon people."* This modern Phryne was the daughter of a working printer or compositor, and the wife of a bricklayer or builder, whom she had deserted long ago: she had lived under the *protection*—as it was delicately called—of various gentlemen of superior condition, and was said to have ruined more than one of them by her boundless extravagance. She was remarkable rather for grace than for beauty, and more for her wit than for either: though not old, she was certainly no longer young when she first made the conquest of the Duke of York. Her obeisance at the bar of the House was pronounced a *chef d'œuvre* of theatrical grace; and, when she spoke, her vivacity and quickness, accompanied by the most perfect coolness and self-possession, made the majority of the august legislators feel as if they were only listening to an accomplished actress on the stage. Too many of them had known her aforetime, and occasionally her speaking eye, glancing at the benches, revealed these old intimacies. When the freedom and point, or levity, of her replies were checked with cries of "Order!" and with appeals to the dignity of the House, by the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Wilberforce, others encouraged her, and even cheered her. On the first day her examination lasted two hours. "House," says Wilberforce, "examining Mrs. Clarke for two hours—cross-examining her in the Old Bailey way—she elegantly dressed, consummately impudent, and very clever: she clearly got the better in the tussle;—a number of particulars let out about her life, mother, children, &c. Colonel Gordon's evidence would have been sufficient, and I would not have asked one question of Mrs. Clarke." But the House kept examining Mrs. Clarke for many days; and, every time she went down to it, the House was crowded, as were also the streets through which she passed on her way. She was the greatest of lions or lionesses. Even staid and decorous members of the opposition in parliament, and strait-laced political reformers out of doors, overlooked the history of her life, and took her to their hearts as a patriotess, whose revelations would do infinite good to society by exposing and degrading a member of the royal family, who had been the staunch foe of reform or innovation in church and state. Except an occasional blessing on the he-patriot of the party, the virtuous Colonel Wardle, scarcely a name was heard in public for weeks but that of Mary Anne Clarke. People lost their hats, bonnets, shoes, and pocket-handkerchiefs, in running after the carriage that conveyed her through the Park to St. Stephen's Chapel, or in crowding at the door of the House to get a near view of her face and person. The poets and printers of the Seven Dials, and the street ballad-singers, made a fortune by her.* And still her wit and impudence kept up the lively interest of the House of Commons, charming those senators into a pleasant obliviousness about the war, about Portugal and Spain, about Bonaparte, our difficulties at home as well as abroad, and about everything else. A Miss Mary Anne Taylor deposed how the Duke of York used to call Mrs. Clarke "darling," and allow her to take money for promotions, &c. [After this

work! No apparent sense in the House of the guilt of adultery, only of the political offence.——Spoke for any other proceedings than the bar of the House. Major Cartwright writes about parliamentary reform as the only panacea. Alas! 'tis more a moral disease. . . . I wanted greatly to move the examination of the Duke of York's business from the bar, open gallery, &c. to a committee up-stairs, and some parliamentary inquest on oath. This melancholy business will do irreparable mischief to public morals, by accustoming the public to hear without emotion of shameless violations of decency. . . . Lord, guide me right in this great business that is now going on."—*Diary, in Life by his Sons.*

* Diary.

* We still remember some of the lines that were written by one of these St. Giles's poets, part of a song that was sung in 1809 in every street and lane in London,—

"You have heard of Mrs. Clarke,
Who one night in the dark
With her husband felt out about bacon;
But the theme of which I sing
Is of no such vulgar thing:
If you think it you are grossly mistaken.

The Mrs. Clarke that I mean
Has of late oft been seen
At a house not a mile from the Park;
And, whenever there she goes,
You would laugh to see the beaus
Push and drive for to see Mrs. Clarke."

the errand-boys and the chimney-sweeps, playing at toss halfpenny in the streets, never cried out "Heads or Tails," but "Duke or Darling."] When the attorney-general, with due solemnity, asked Mrs. Clarke who brought her a particular message, she replied—"A particular friend of the duke's."—"Who was he?" said the attorney-general.—"Mr. Taylor, the shoe-maker of Bond-street." (A laugh.) "By whom did you send your desires to the duke?"—"By my own pen."—"I mean who carried the letter?"—"The same ambassador."—"What ambassador?"—"Why, the ambassador of *Morocco*."* This last sally convulsed the House with laughter, and induced the speaker to threaten Mrs. Clarke with the displeasure of the House—from which, it was too evident, she had nothing to fear.

That Mrs. Clarke had really distributed commissions, and among them one to her own brother, and that she had received sums of money for her interest in obtaining promotions and appointments, seemed to be proved beyond all doubt; but that the Duke of York had participated in her gains, or had even had a knowledge of her transactions, were circumstances the proof of which depended chiefly, if not entirely, on the veracity of Mrs. Clarke herself. Her credibility was somewhat shaken at the moment, as it became generally known that she was now enjoying under Colonel Wardle, the duke's public accuser, the same sort of protection which she had enjoyed under the duke; that, months before thus transferring herself, the duke had quarrelled with her, at least parted from her; and that the avowed motives of the disclosures she made were an anxiety to please her present paramour (who appears to have been as credulous in one direction as his royal highness had been in another), and her eagerness to be revenged on the duke, who had neglected to pay her 400*l.* a year, which, she said, he had promised and engaged to do. A little later the public faith in her disclosures was still farther shaken by sundry little circumstances. She quarrelled with Wardle, and separated from him—the quarrel being all about money. In the month of July, of this same year 1809, and before city and county meetings had quite finished voting thanks to Colonel Wardle "for his singular intrepidity and integrity in instituting an inquiry into the conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and for the important and disinterested services he had thereby rendered to his country," a trial came on in the Court of King's Bench, the plaintiff being a Mr. Francis Wright, an upholsterer of Rathbone-place, and the defendant, Colonel Wardle. The attorney-general, who appeared as counsel for the plaintiff, was scarcely to be expected to spare the lash of his tongue on such an occasion: he stated that Mr. Wright brought his action to recover 1914*l.* for the amount of sundry articles of furniture, delivered at Colonel Wardle's order, for fitting up a house for Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke in Westbourne-place, Chelsea. "The colonel," he said, "had personally given the order for the furniture and the promise to pay for it. The plaintiff would not have trusted Mrs. Clarke, who already owed him 500*l.* or 600*l.*; but she told him at the end of last autumn (that is, after she had quarrelled with the duke, and after Wardle had begun collecting materials for his charges), that she had a friend in her eye who would pay him for the furniture for the new house. Wardle had gone with her to the plaintiff's shop or warehouse more than once; some time after the furniture had been delivered, Colonel Wardle, being short of ready money, had called again, and had given the plaintiff, in part payment, a bill for 500*l.* at three months; but, as the investigation of the charges against the Duke of York was then to be proceeded in, this bill was not signed by Colonel Wardle, but by his wine-merchant, a Mr. Illingworth of Pall Mall, who had taken up the bill as soon as it became due. In the House of Commons the attorney-general, together with the other crown lawyers, had strenuously endeavoured to prove that the frail Mary Anne was not a witness to be believed upon her oath; but now he had another cue, and, as counsel for the upholsterer, he could professionally ask how Colonel Wardle could possibly deny the credibility of Mrs. Clarke? It was true, continued the crown lawyer, that she could not get credit of her upholsterer, yet, as her evidence would be confirmed by the brother of the plaintiff, and she was upon her oath, she was deserving of credit before a jury. Being called in, Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke appeared with her usual gaiety. She stated upon oath that she first became acquainted with Colonel Wardle in consequence of a letter written by or for him to her from the Exchequer coffee-house—that she took her new house in Westbourne-place last September, but did not enter till the 9th of November—that she communicated to the colonel that she had taken it, and held several conversations with him about furnishing it before she applied to Wright the upholsterer, to whom she was already in debt. "I did not," said the pleasant and plain-speaking lady, whose tones, however, were not now so agreeable to the colonel's ear as they had been in the House of Commons, when divulging the failings of the duke, "I did not propose to Mr. Wright to furnish my new house on credit, because I knew it would be in vain. I told him I had a friend in view who would pay him. Colonel Wardle was that friend in view, in consequence of some promises he was holding out to me. I was to give him every information in my power, and to assist him in the *investigation*, in return for which he was to furnish my house. This was to be a part of the requital to me for giving him that assistance. . . . . I had no other means then of paying. I was very much

* This ambassador of Morocco—or this Mr. Taylor, ladies' shoemaker of Bond Street—had been a very active agent for the Duke of York and his some-while mistress. It was he who bought for the lady, with the Duke's money, the house and furniture in Gloucester-place, which had belonged to, and had been for years occupied by, the American General Arnold, who had played false to Washington and the American Republic.

distressed at that time. He knew that, and knew of the debt to Wright, because he advised Mr. Wright to bring an action against the person (the Duke of York) who he thought ought to pay it. He promised to Mr. Wright, if he should bring such an action, that he would pay all the costs." She swore point blank to the colonel's ordering the furniture, and promising to pay for it all. The colonel, she said, had afterwards gone a great many times to Wright's in a hackney-coach to look out things for her. Major Dodd, private secretary to the Duke of Kent, went once with Colonel Wardle to the upholsterer's to choose some carpeting. She had chosen a pattern in Westbourne-place, and a piece had been sent in; but the colonel and the major preferred a pattern they had seen at Wright's. "They wished," said she, "to have a *scarlet* and *bronze* pattern." Nothing could bring scarlet into her face: Lord Ellenborough was obliged to speak of her living husband, and one of the counsel let drop the word "adulteress," at which she only smiled. She swore to the bill given for the colonel by Illingworth, the wine-merchant, "in consequence of the *investigation* that was going on, or about to be commenced." "I was rather fearful," said she, "of doing with him alone what Wardle wanted me to do, because he was not much known in parliament. He introduced Major Dodd to me as a gentleman, a friend of his. I had heard of Major Dodd before. About the end of November we went on a tour for three days to view the Martello Towers. Colonel Wardle, Mr. Glennie, the engineer, and Major Dodd, were of the party. I never went out of town but with Wardle. This time, before I could go out of town, I was obliged to have 50*l.* of the colonel," &c. &c. She declared that Wardle's attorney had called upon her and upon the upholsterer two or three days before the trial to endeavour to stop it, and keep the matter from being made public by referring it to arbitration; and that this attorney had told her that if it came before the court Sergeant Best would cut her up by a severe cross-examination, and Colonel Wardle and his friends would give it out that she had been bribed by ministers. Mr. D. Wright, the upholsterer's brother, confirmed Mrs. Clarke in every particular as to the credit being given to Colonel Wardle. To save his client's purse, Sergeant Best, Wardle's counsel, was obliged to expose his want of intellect, and to assail the credibility of the woman who had been the colonel's chief witness against the Duke of York. "*As for this Mrs. Clarke,*" said Best, "*she is a woman whom nobody ought to believe; she is the most artful inventor of a fictitious tale that ever appeared.*" The jury would surely not invade both Colonel Wardle's property and honour upon the testimony of *a woman who could not be believed in any court of justice;*—if he could judge of his client's feelings by his own, he was quite sure that, if she had made an exhibition like that which she had made to-day *before* the colonel had happened to make the motion against the Duke of York, *he would have attached no credit to her evidence against his royal highness!*

The jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with costs, deducting the 500*l.* which had been paid by the wine-merchant's bill, and some items which were thought to be improperly charged to him. The affair cost Wardle 2000*l.*, and a loss of reputation from which he never could recover. On the very next day he published a thundering letter in the newspapers, declaring before God and his country that the verdict had been obtained by perjury alone; and pledging himself to prove the fact the earliest moment the forms of the law would allow him to do so, by proceeding to a second trial, for which he had made application. But, whether it was that the colonel shrunk from the expense, or that he dreaded any further contest with so formidable an enemy and so skilful a manœuvrer as Mrs. Clarke, this second trial never came on.

Only a part of this edifying history was known in the months of February and March, when the investigation and the debates on the amount of the Duke of York's culpability were going on in the House of Commons (the upholsterer's trial not having come on until July); but already enough was known of the character of Mrs. Clarke, of her vindictive unscrupulous temper, and of the relation in which she now stood towards the duke's accuser, to entitle that prince to more than the benefit of a doubt in those most serious and most dishonouring portions of the charges which were supported solely by her evidence. Upon other grounds it was very clearly proved that the duke, if ever he had known of her pecuniary transactions, had never participated in her gains. His known character was enough to negative any such implication; he was, in many matters where no mistress was concerned, credulous and confiding, thoughtless about money, and thus quite capable, and of necessity obliged, to run into debt; but of anything worse than this in money transactions he appears to have been altogether incapable.* It was not proved, unless we admit the evidence of Mrs. Clarke, and a single story of her friend, Miss Mary Anne Taylor (whose brother was married to Mrs. Clarke's sister), that the commander-in-chief ever knew of her getting money by the favours which he dispensed at her intercession; but that he had yielded to that intercession, and had granted a few commissions and promotions and appointments to persons recommended by his mistress, was proved and established by ample and good evidence. The whole extent of this distribution of patronage was, however, very

* During the proceedings in the Commons an honourable member (Mr. Burton) endeavoured to excuse the Duke of York upon the score of his ignorance of the value of money, saying, that forty years ago one of the preceptors of the princes had told him he never could teach them this, though they were quick enough at Greek and even at arithmetic! Whitbread replied, that in the forty years which had elapsed since this opinion was delivered by the tutor their royal highnesses had surely had ample time to gain information and experience. Other members laughed at Burton's anecdote; yet, with reference to more than one of the sons of the careful George III. and the saving Queen Charlotte, it must be admitted that the anecdote had a true point.

inconsiderable—was absolutely nothing compared with what had been dispensed in that way, under the same influences and through the same medium, in former times; and, although some of the appointments were bestowed on improper persons (thus Mrs. Clarke's foot-boy had got a commission in the army as well as her brother), this was certainly not the general rule, and there were two or three cases in which the prevailing mistress, who had her generous qualities too, had successfully exerted herself in behalf of meritorious individuals who did honour to the service, and who, being in distressed circumstances at the time, could not have paid her for the commissions or places she procured them.

The defenders of the duke were, for the most part, though not entirely, members of the present administration, and crown lawyers; while on the opposite side were many of the so-called independent members, who were not habitual oppositionists, and who assumed on all occasions the merit of voting solely and simply according to the dictates of their judgment and conscience. Among these was Wilberforce, the warmth of whose moral and religious feelings seems to have prevented him from carefully examining the question, so as to ascertain on what points the duke was culpable and on what perfectly innocent. He spoke several times, and at great length on one occasion, when the House grew impatient and hurried him to a conclusion.* He took, however, a middle line between the leniency of his friend, Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, and the Spartan severity of Colonel Wardle. His friends told him that his speech made a great moral impression in the country; and that the Duke of Cumberland, the king, and all the royal family were extremely angry at him; and, as Wilberforce, perhaps unknown to himself, loved the breath of popularity, and prided himself in little martyrdoms for conscience sake, he must have been doubly gratified by this information. Testimonials of the highest value, as coming from the most competent judges, continued, however, to be given to the Duke of York's general management of affairs at the Horse Guards; and it was cogently urged that the numerous improvements which he had introduced into the army, and the point of excellence to which the army had attained since he had been its commander-in-chief, ought to cover and wipe away a few petty irregularities and peccadilloes. It might be proved that the duke had his weaknesses, and had, in some instances, yielded to a most artful and fascinating woman; but no one could disprove the facts that he had been assiduous in his attention to the business of the army, and that he had proved himself to be a good man of business. The army had never had a commander-in-chief with whom it was so well satisfied, or to whom it was so much attached:—take common soldiers, as well as officers of every class, and these feelings of satisfaction and attachment would be found in immense majorities. Such were the best arguments used in the duke's defence, and the truths on which they rest remain indisputable. After much consideration on the mode of coming to a decision, three different determinations remained for the choice of the House:—1. The administration proposed to acquit the duke entirely on all the charges:—2. Wardle, Lord Folkestone, Burdett, Whitbread, and their friends proposed that the duke's knowledge of, and connivance at, the corrupt practices which had been proved to exist should be admitted, or held by implication, as substantiated by the evidence, and that the House should suggest to his majesty the propriety of the duke's immediate removal from office:—3. Mr. Bankes, supported by Wilberforce, Thornton, and all that party, would acquit the duke of all personal corruption; but, assuming that he could not have been wholly ignorant of some of the abuses, they were of opinion that the command of the army could not with propriety be continued to him. On the 15th of March, or rather on the 16th (for the House sat through the night until six o'clock in the morning) there was a division on the question whether the mode of proceeding should be by address or by resolution. Ministers were very anxious to exclude the medium of address; and the proceeding by resolution was carried by 294 against 199. The House then divided upon Wardle's motion, containing a direct inculpation of the duke, which was negatived by 364 against 123, for many who allowed the minor offences would not admit the major. On the 17th of March the chancellor of the exchequer recommended the first of the three determinations, moving, "That the House, having examined the evidence in the investigation on the Duke of York's conduct, and having found that personal corruption and connivance at corruption have been imputed to him, are of opinion that the imputation is wholly without foundation." The so-called independent members, who took the middle course with Bankes and Wilberforce, kept aloof; but Perceval's motion was nevertheless carried by 278 against 196. This was only a majority of 82; but before dividing upon Perceval's resolution the House had divided upon an amendment, moved by Sir T. Turton, which went to charge the duke with having knowledge of all the corruption which had been disclosed, and, as upon this point the independent or middle party voted with ministers, the said amendment had been rejected by a majority of 200 all but one, the numbers having been 334 against 135. It was now five o'clock on Saturday morning the 19th of March, and the House adjourned till Monday

* Wilberforce said, with some point, that it was not at a time like the present, when all the continental nations were broken down by the armies of France, that this country should have a commander-in-chief liable to be blinded and duped by a woman! "Bonaparte succeeded as much by intrigue as by open force, and, if he found that we had a commander-in-chief who was duped by his mistress, it would be easy for him to gain an ascendancy over such a woman, in order to command the most important secrets of the state. Bonaparte could easily bring over such a woman, not only for a sum of money, but by promising to make a *duchess* or a *princess* of her! This was a game he had played before now; and the more innocent and the more unsuspecting the Duke of York might be the greater would be the danger if the enemy could find out anybody that had such influence over him."

the 21st. On their next meeting the chancellor of the exchequer informed them, that on the Saturday morning, as soon as their decision had been made known to him, the Duke of York had waited upon the king, and tendered his resignation, which had been accepted.* The chancellor of the exchequer added that, having made this communication, he left it to the House without comment—that whether it did not render any further proceeding unnecessary was for Mr. Bathurst and the House to determine. Mr. Bathurst, still thinking it the duty of the Commons to insert in their journals such a decision as should contain both example and admonition, persisted in moving a resolution to this effect, of which he had before given notice. Lord Althorpe, though desirous of recording some condemnation of the duke's conduct, differed from Mr. Bathurst, and wished it to be stated in the journal that the duke had resigned. This, his lordship said, would bring the whole proceeding to its proper close, and show satisfactorily why it was closed. Removal from office was not, indeed, a constitutional punishment; but it would, in this case, be so far effective as to preclude the possibility of the royal duke being ever re-appointed to a situation which he had proved himself so incompetent to fill. He had lost the confidence of the country for ever, and must, therefore, abandon all hope of ever returning to that situation. Lord Althorpe concluded with moving, that, his royal highness having resigned, the House does not *now* think it necessary to proceed any farther in consideration of the evidence. Perceval replied, that, after the House had negatived the charges, it would be unjust, it would be monstrous, thus to reserve to themselves the right of reviving the proceedings against his royal highness at any future period; and he moved as an amendment that Lord Althorpe's word "now" should be expunged. This was carried by a majority of 123; the numbers voting being 235 against 112. Mr. Bathurst's admonitory resolution was then negatived without a division.

Thus terminated a discussion which occupied nearly a third of the whole session, to the grievous interruption of public business, and the more grievous excitement of the people. The affair, however, was not without its beneficial results. A striking proof was given to the world that, under our constitution, no rank, however elevated, could shelter abuses from detection, or screen those concerned in them from the effects of public displeasure. The king's second and favourite son, a prince so near the throne himself, had been driven from office by a member of the House of Commons who was unheard of before this transaction, and who possessed neither the influence of character nor the influence of talent. It had been proved to the conviction of the country that the Duke of York was so far culpable as to render his resignation proper; that resignation had taken place in consequence, and public opinion had thus obtained a most signal triumph. Where the duke had thus incurred punishment and disgrace individuals of less rank and influence could not expect that their official delinquencies or irregularities should escape; the fate of the prince was an example and admonition not easily to be forgotten. Until the time when there will be no more war, and when men will no more want commissions in armies, or profitable places under government, it will be in vain to expect perfection in anything, vain to hope that the distributors of patronage will not occasionally yield to favouritism and other influences, besides that great parliamentary influence over appointments which—fatal as it often is—can hardly be destroyed without destroying the constitution. [And, were we to destroy the British constitution to-morrow by thoroughly democratizing it, we have the melancholy example of the United States of America to convince us that democracy is no protection against such abuses—that there is more jobbing and dirty work in one State of the Union than in all Downing-street and Whitehall.]* But, notwithstanding the occasional interference of friends, wives, sisters, cousins, and other connexions, which may possibly be as mischievous though less indecorous than that of a mistress, we believe it is admitted, by all candid and properly informed persons, that since the investigation in 1809, patronage at the Horse-guards, as well as in the other offices of government, has been distributed with more attention to the public service than at any time preceding that inquiry.

It had been hoped, on the resignation of the Duke of York, that the system of the Admiralty would be adopted at the War-office, and that the office of commander-in-chief would be put in commission. This had been the more confidently expected as it would make several places, instead of one, and so far tend to increase the patronage of government. But, to the disappointment of sundry expectants, ministers made no alteration in the existing system, and that worthy but old and pedantic and worn-out officer, Lieutenant-General Sir David Dundas, was appointed to succeed his royal highness. The army felt that it had sustained a grievous loss by this change, and before old Sir David had presided six months at the Horse-guards there was a universal clamour against him.

In the course of the session the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the sale and brokerage of offices. He observed, that the practices lately disclosed consisted

* The Duke of York had said to his father, that, the House of Commons having passed a resolution declaratory of his innocence, he might now approach his majesty and tender his resignation, as he could no longer be suspected of acting from any apprehension of the result of the parliamentary investigation, nor be accused of having shrunk from an inquiry which, painful as it had been, he had met with a patience and firmness which could have arisen only from conscious innocence:—that he must quit with sincere regret a situation in which his majesty's confidence and partiality had placed him, and the duties of which it had been his anxious study and pride, during fourteen years, to discharge with integrity and fidelity; whether he might be allowed to add with advantage to the service his majesty was best able to decide.

* See for confirmation the extracts from the Correspondence of Lord Sydenham (Poulett Thomson), in the Memoir of his Life recently published by his Brother.

not in the sale of offices by those who had the power to give them, but in the arts of those who pretended to possess an influence over such persons. His object, therefore, was to make it highly penal to solicit money for procuring government offices, or to circulate advertisements with that view. Leave being given, the bill was brought in, and, before the end of the session, it was passed into a law.

The commissioners of naval inquiry and revision presented another report, which brought to light many more abuses in that department. The commissioners of military inquiry, who also continued their labours, presented several very significant reports, showing that large sums of money, and large powers in money-transactions, had often been intrusted to various persons without the necessary securities, checks, and precautions; that in the West Indies a regular and unchecked system of peculation had been carried on in the most unblushing manner; that the paymasters, the agents of the commissary-general, and others in our West India islands, had been in the habit of committing great frauds, &c. It is to be observed that these denunciations were almost entirely retrospective, referring to transactions which had passed many years ago. The evils appear to have originated principally in the unsystematic, slovenly way of keeping the public accounts.

It had been for some time reported by the opposition that government had made, and was still making, a regular traffic in East India appointments. A select committee of the House of Commons was nominated to inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices in regard to the appointment of writers or cadets in the service of the East India Company; and this committee reported that it appeared that a very great number of such places had been disposed of in an illegal manner. In the course of the examinations it was discovered that Lord Castlereagh, as president of the board of control, had placed a writership at the disposal of his friend Lord Clancarty, which writership Clancarty was to give to one Mr. Reding, as the price of a seat in Parliament for himself (Clancarty), the said Mr. Reding, a regular dealer in contraband promotions, meaning to sell this writership for 3000 guineas. This negotiation being disclosed to the House, Lord Archibald Hamilton, on the 25th of April, moved, that Lord Castlereagh had been guilty of a violation of his duty, of an abuse of his influence and authority as president of the board of control, and also of an attack upon the purity and constitution of parliament. Lord Castlereagh's defence was, that when this transaction took place he had no notion that such a person existed as a trafficking broker for places; that Reding had represented to him that a member of the House of Commons, who intended to vacate his seat, had a nephew whom he wished to send out to India as a writer, and would favour the election of any friend of his. "I perceived," said his lordship, "no impropriety in the case, *considering it perfectly fair for one friend to serve another at an election.* When I placed the writership at Lord Clancarty's disposal, I had no other view than to serve my friend, and had no hesitation to give a writership to the son or nephew of any respectable gentleman who could promote that view, particularly as I was myself to determine whether the party recommended for the writership was eligible. In my opinion, no turpitude attaches to the transaction." Lord Castlereagh then modestly bowed and withdrew from the House.* Lord Binning insisted that there was no corrupt design in the transaction, and moved the order of the day. Mr. Croker supported the motion, saying that in this case there really existed nothing but a parliamentary difficulty; that the thing had become familiar by custom, and could only be considered as a venial offence. The chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Manners Sutton argued that, as the whole case rested in a mere intention:—as nothing had taken effect—as no bargain had been concluded—as no privilege had been violated,—therefore no further proceeding was necessary. On the other hand, Mr. C. W. Wynne maintained, that, if the negotiation had failed, it was not from any want of inclination in Lord Castlereagh to complete it. He knew, he said, that there were many persons in the House who were disposed to argue that the influence of government over elections was not injurious, and that little disadvantage resulted from the practice of bribery; but, for himself, he must think, when a case like the present was made out, they were bound in duty to follow the course prescribed by law and by act of parliament, whatever their private opinions might be. Surely the intention manifested and acknowledged was sufficient to establish the criminality. Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. W. Smith warmly supported Lord Archibald Hamilton. Windham recommended a middle course, saying, that, if the House passed to the order of the day, as proposed by Lord Binning, it might be regarded as an approbation of the principle involved in the proceeding; and that, on the other hand, before condemning Lord Castlereagh so very violently as Lord Archibald Hamilton proposed to do, they would do well to ask themselves whether they would hesitate, for the purpose of securing an election, to recommend a friend to government. Windham concluded by alluding to the meetings that were holding, and to the loud cry that was prevailing out of doors, for parliamentary reform—for a reform which, he said, must inevitably terminate in revolution. This was calculated to alarm many who were not altogether indisposed to mark with some censure the conduct of Lord Castlereagh. Wilber-

* Before withdrawing, his Lordship however added:—"I had no suspicion of the improper motives from which Mr. Reding was acting. The only conversation Lord Clancarty had with him was for the purpose of learning who was the person disposed to retire from parliament, and, finding that he could not obtain that information, he broke off the business. It is evident, therefore, that the bartering of a writership for any corrupt consideration was as far from Lord Clancarty's mind as from my own."

force, after being "long doubtful," at last decided to vote in favour of Castlereagh, thinking it "too severe to turn him out for such an offence." Some of Wilberforce's friends, however, took the opposite course. The debate was concluded by Canning, who moved, "That it is the duty of the House to maintain a jealous guard over the purity and independence of parliament; but that, having duly weighed the evidence and all the circumstances of the present case, the House does not think it necessary to come to any criminating resolution." Upon a division Lord Archibald Hamilton's original motion was negatived by 216 against 167. The House then divided upon Canning's motion, which was carried by a majority of 47.*

On the 5th of May, Mr. Madox, then a close ally of Sir Francis Burdett, Colonel Wardle, and other hot parliamentary reformers, brought forward in the house charges against Perceval, the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Castlereagh, as secretary-at-war, and the Hon. Henry Wellesley, brother to General Sir Arthur, and late secretrry of the treasury, of being guilty of corrupt and criminal practices, in order to procure members to be elected into this parliament. But a few days afterwards, when Madox moved criminating resolutions, he was out-voted by a majority of 225 against 85. In the meantime Mr. Curwen had (on the 4th of May) moved for leave to bring in a bill for "better securing the independence and purity of parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining seats by corrupt practices, and likewise more effectually to prevent bribery." Mr. Curwen made use of some very unfortunate arguments; but the leave he asked was granted, and his bill, which dwelt in generalities, and which added little to the Grenville Act already existing, was carried by a narrow majority, and became law—but not until it had been subjected to various alterations.

On the 15th of June, two days after the closing of the discussions upon Curwen's bill, Sir Francis Burdett made a motion for a sweeping parliamentary reform. Nearly all the country gentlemen in the House had left town, and of the members that remained, but few were inclined to enter upon this discussion at the fag end of the session. Sir Francis had intended to make his motion the day before, but there had not been members enough present to make a House; and now, when the House divided, he found only 15 to vote for him, while 74 voted against him.

On the 21st of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, again delivered by commissioners. This speech dwelt chiefly upon the determined and unconquerable resistance of Spain against the usurpation and tyranny of the French government, and upon the splendid and important successes which had recently crowned the arms of the Emperor of Austria, under the able and distinguished conduct of his Imperial Highness the Archduke Charles.

The Austrian war operated as a grand diversion likely to be highly favourable for the Peninsula, as it distracted the attention of Bonaparte, obliged him to withdraw his Imperial Guards from Spain, and prevented his sending reinforcements to that country so quickly as he would otherwise have done. The British government, undismayed by the unfortunate, but not inglorious or discouraging result of Sir John Moore's campaign, and undeterred by the orators and writers who represented the attempt as the height of madness, resolved to persevere in sending assistance to the Peninsula, and to enter upon that war on a larger and a bolder scale. Spain, at the moment, did indeed seem prostrate and lost; and even Portugal, from which the French had been completely expelled, was, long before the rising of parliament, re-invaded by an army under Marshal Soult. But, in a memorandum dated on the 7th of March, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had well examined the country during his short stay in it, delivered his decided opinion that Portugal might be defended, whatever might be the result of the contest in Spain; and that in the meantime the measures adopted for the defence of Portugal would be highly useful to the Spaniards in their contest with the French. His notion was,—that the Portuguese military establishments ought, by means of English assistance, to be raised to 40,000 militia and 30,000 regular troops; that the British troops in the country should be raised to 20,000 infantry, and 4000 or 5000 cavalry; that the rifle corps should be increased; that other choice infantry should be sent out, together with an additional corps of artillery and more ordnance; that, even if Spain should be conquered, the French would not be able to overrun Portugal with a smaller force than 100,000 men; and that, as long as the contest should continue in Spain, the united British and Portuguese force, if it could be put in a state of activity, would be highly useful to the Spaniards, and *might eventually decide the contest.**

* After this, Mr. C. W. Wynne proposed to add to Canning's resolution words to this effect:—"That the House is confirmed in its opinion, that it is unnecessary to proceed further in the case, from the openness which Lord Castlereagh has displayed, and the regret which he has expressed for his conduct." This was negatived without a division. But Wilberforce admitted the principle into his Diary, saying, a few days afterwards, "The Burdettites are trying to stir up a flame about Castlereagh's not being condemned by the House of Commons; but he owned his fault frankly and humbly; so did all his colleagues; and it rested in intention, and never was an act."

* In this remarkable document, short as it is, nearly everything is foreseen and provided for. Sir Arthur knew how the Spanish juntas had misapplied the money which Great Britain had sent; and, therefore, he recommends that the English ambassador at Lisbon shall be empowered to give or withhold such sums as he may think necessary for the support of the Portuguese military establishments *only*. The Spanish juntas, partly through their own ignorance of business, partly through their own corruption, and partly through the difficulty of raising any taxes even in the districts where the French were not, had made a terrible jumble of the revenue. Sir Arthur recommended that the English ambassador at Lisbon should see that the revenues of Portugal, whatever they might be, were in the first instance applied to the military establishments of the country, and that our ambassador should have a complete control over the measures of the Portuguese government. As indispensable parts of his plan, Sir Arthur laid it down that the whole of the army in Portugal, Portuguese as well as British, *should be placed under the command of British officers;* that the staff of the army, *the commissariat in particular*, must be British; and that these two departments must be increased in proportion to the strength of the whole army about to act in Portugal, to the number of detached posts it would be necessary to occupy, and with a view *to the great difficulties of providing and distributing supplies in that country*. But for the care taken by Sir Arthur Wellesley of the commissariat, which other commanders in-chief had

There could now scarcely be a doubt as to the proper person to be appointed to the supreme command of the armies in Portugal. If any such doubt had lingered, it ought to have been dissipated by Sir Arthur's memorandum of the 7th of March, by other suggestions he offered to ministers with rare brevity, clearness, and precision, and by the concurring opinion of the best officers in the British army. Men as well as officers, Portuguese as well as British, called loudly for his return to the Peninsula. In spite of the very illiberal and very unwise opposition of Lord Folkestone, and a few other individuals of that party, votes of thanks to Sir Arthur, and a resolution in approbation of the gallant conduct of the non-commissioned officers and privates who had fought at Roliça and Vimeiro, were passed by both Houses in the month of February. Towards the end of March, Sir Arthur Wellesley, having previously resigned his office of secretary for Ireland, as well as his seat in parliament, and having taken a long farewell of home politics, accepted the chief command of the British forces in the Peninsula. On the 15th of April he set sail from Portsmouth for Lisbon in the 'Surveillante' frigate, which was very nearly lost in a storm at the back of the Isle of Wight, the night after she quitted Spithead.* The fleet having on board his horses, two regiments of heavy dragoons, and some horses for the artillery, sailed a few days after him; and a regiment of hussars, the 24th foot, and a brigade of light infantry, very soon followed. On the 22nd of April he arrived safely at Lisbon, and took the command of the army, which had now been left for some time in the hands of Sir J. Cradock. Almost as soon as he arrived, he said he thought that Marshal Soult would not remain long in Portugal.

Soult, after the capitulation of the Spaniards at

Lisbon.

Coruña, had obtained easy possession of Ferrol, Bilboa, and all the most important places on the northern coast of Spain. Then he had proceeded towards Portugal, and, having entered that country by Braga, he had taken possession of Oporto on the 29th of March, after a spiritless resistance of only two days. Upon the rapid advance of Soult Sir J. Cradock had concentrated his forces for the defence of Lisbon. There were other discouraging circumstances: the French had reduced many towns and districts on the east of the Ebro; Zaragoza, a second time besieged, was not so valorous or so fortunate as in 1808, but had been obliged to surrender at discretion on the 14th of February; and, what was gloomiest of all, the Spaniards at Madrid, and in many other large cities and districts, seemed to be quietly resigning themselves to the dominion of King Joseph. Still, however,

been accustomed woefully to neglect, or to leave to their inferiors—thinking barrels of salt pork and bags of biscuits unworthy the attention of well-bred gentlemen and gallant soldiers—but for the reforms he gradually introduced into our un-systematised commissariat department, there would have been no such glorious victories as Salamanca, Vitoria, and Toulouse; but the British army would have been wasted away by famine, and driven from the Peninsula with disgrace.

For the rest of this memorandum on the defence of Portugal, see Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

* Note by Colonel Gurwood, in Dispatches.

there were some brighter glimpses—some few indications of Spanish patriotism and resolution: for no sooner had Soult evacuated Galicia than the people rose in arms, and several places in the Asturias and in the Biscayan provinces had been re-taken by the patriots. Moreover, in Portugal, a body of Portuguese regulars had been admirably disciplined in the English manner by General Beresford, to whom the Prince Regent of Portugal had given the chief command of all his troops. Beresford's Portuguese, being added to the British reinforcements, enabled Sir Arthur to take the field with an army of about 25,000 men. His first business was to dislodge Soult from Oporto; and to this end, and after leaving a division on the Tagus to guard the eastern frontiers against the French division or corps of Victor, stationed in Spanish Estremadura, he quitted Lisbon, on the 28th of April, for Coimbra. Having collected his forces at Coimbra, he moved, on the 9th of May, in the direction of Oporto, driving back all the French who had advanced south of the Douro.* By the 11th he occupied the southern bank of that river opposite the town of Oporto. The French had destroyed the bridges and removed the boats to their own side; and Soult was preparing to retire leisurely by the road to Galicia. But Wellesley determined that the Marshal's retreat should not be quite so comfortable: he sent General Murray with a brigade to pass the Douro, about four miles above Oporto, whilst the brigade of guards was directed to cross the river at the suburb of Villanova, and the main body, under Wellesley's own eye, was to attempt a passage in the centre, by means of any boats that they could find, just above the town. The Douro at this part is very rapid, and nearly three hundred yards wide. The ground on the left bank, or English side of the river, was protected and commanded by some cannon placed on the height of the Serra convent at Villanova; and there appeared to be a good position for our troops on the opposite side of the river, till they should be collected in sufficient numbers. The enemy took no notice of the collecting of boats by the English, or of the embarkation of our troops, till after the first battalion (the Buffs) were landed, and had taken up their selected position, on the opposite bank, under the command of Major-General the Honourable Sir E. Paget.† The French then made a most furious attack, which they continued for about two hours; but the Buffs got possession of an unfinished building called the Seminario, from which nothing could dislodge them; and, although cavalry, infantry, and artillery, under the command of Marshal Soult himself, were hurled against them, the Buffs most gallantly kept their position, till supported successively by the 48th and 66th regiments, belonging to the brigade of Major-General Hill, who crossed the river in fine style, by a Portuguese battalion, and afterwards by the first battalion of detachments. General Paget was wounded soon after the French attack commenced, when the command of these troops devolved upon General Hill.* While Hill was maintaining the combat at the Seminario, and giving ample occupation to Soult, General Sherbrooke, with the guards (one brigade) and the 29th regiment, crossed the river lower down, entered into the very town of Oporto, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, charged the French through the streets, and presently appeared upon Soult's right flank. In the meantime General Murray had crossed the river at Avintas, about four miles higher up, and the head of his column now began to show itself on the French left. Soult instantly ordered a retreat, which was effected in the utmost confusion: he left behind his sick and wounded, and many prisoners, besides artillery and ammunition, and retired by Amarante, with the intention of passing through Tras-os-Montes into Spain.

Thus the fair city of Oporto was left in possession of the British. The passage of the broad and rapid Douro, effected in broad day, with most defective means of transport, and in presence of a French marshal at the head of 10,000 veterans, has been considered one of Wellington's finest achievements. He had lost only 23 killed and 98 wounded. Soult's loss was very large, and the sick and wounded he left in Oporto amounted to 700.† On taking possession of Oporto, General Wellesley issued a very necessary proclamation, strictly enjoining the inhabitants to respect the French wounded and prisoners. "I call upon the inhabitants of Oporto to be merciful to the wounded and prisoners! By the laws of war they are entitled to my protection, *which I am determined to afford them;* and it will be worthy of the generosity and bravery of the Portuguese nation not to revenge the injuries which have been done to them on these unfortunate persons, who can only be considered as instruments in the hands of the more powerful, who are still in arms against us." He also wrote immediately to Marshal Soult to request him to send some French medical officers to take care of their sick and wounded, as he could not spare his own army surgeons, and as he did not wish to trust to the practitioners of the

* We have no room for details of minor engagements; but in this advance there were two affairs of some importance. On the 10th of May Sir Arthur attempted to surprise the French cavalry which had crossed the Douro; and, although the surprise failed, several advantages were gained in the field, and one piece of cannon was taken. The Portuguese riflemen, and the Portuguese students, who had volunteered into the army, behaved remarkably well. On the 11th of May the French gave him a field-day. His advanced guard, consisting only of the first battalion of detachments, two battalions of the German Legion, and Colonel Doyle's battalion of the 16th Portuguese regiment, completely beat a corps of about 4000 infantry. The Portuguese troops again behaved remarkably well. It was already clear that, under good British officers, full reliance might be placed upon them. On their retreat the French were hotly pursued by two squadrons of dragoons, led by Brigadier General the Honourable Charles Stewart (now Marquess of Londonderry), who destroyed many, and took some prisoners.—*Wellington Dispatches.*

† Brother to the Marquess of Anglesey.

* General Paget, who had behaved so nobly under Sir John Moore, lost his right arm at Oporto.

† "I cannot say too much in favour of the officers and troops. They have marched in four days over eighty miles of most difficult country, have gained many important positions, and have engaged and defeated three different bodies of the enemy's troops."—*Sir Arthur's Dispatch to Viscount Castlereagh, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

OPORTO.

town of Oporto, who, whatever might be the amount of their humanity, were certainly not distinguished by professional skill. He assured Soult that his medical officers should be returned to him as soon as they had cured the wounded; and he proposed a cartel or mutual exchange of prisoners. Whatever Sir Arthur could do to diminish the horrors of war was done, and promptly. We firmly believe it to have been in the nature of Soult to respond on his part; but it was impossible for him to subdue or control the ferocity of some of the troops that were serving under him, and that were driven frantic by their reverses and sufferings, and the merciless attacks of the Portuguese peasantry, which could only be checked by the immediate presence of British forces, who could not be everywhere.

Almost from the first commencement of the Spanish war there had been murmuring and discontent among the French troops, divisions and jealousies among the superior officers, and intrigues which embraced a very wide field, and which had many ramifications, some of which have never been explained or understood; while some are known to have originated in secret societies. A few days before gaining possession of Oporto, Sir Arthur Wellesley had obtained information from a French officer, or at least an officer in the French service (a Captain ....., himself one of the conspirators), that conspiracies existed in Soult's army. The English general did what he was justified in doing by the law and practice of war, and what no belligerent, having the means, ever neglected to do. On the 9th of May, Captain ..... was seized on his return to Oporto, after his last interview with Sir Arthur Wellesley. His papers were likewise seized, among which were found English passports, and the captain could not deny that he had had communications with the English general. It appeared that he had been endeavouring to gain over the French General ....., who, instead of entering into his views, revealed the secret to Soult. Captain ....., at the persuasion of the officer of gendarmes who had charge of him, revealed the names of some of his fellow-conspirators, and they were seized likewise. Sir Arthur obtained the original orders for their seizure and confinement *au secret*. They were all marched away as prisoners after the evacuation of Oporto. But on the 13th of May, Captain ....., having fired at the officer of gendarmes who had induced him to reveal the names of his accomplices, escaped and came to Sir Arthur in Oporto. He reported that he had escaped by the advice of a colonel of dragoons, one of the principals of the conspiracy, who conceived that when he should be gone there would be no evidence against himself. The conspirators had intended nothing less than to seize Soult, and induce the other general officers to lead the army back into France.* This Captain .....

* It appears that this Captain ..... first got into communication with Sir Arthur Wellesley as early as the 25th of April, and at Lisbon, to which city he had gone secretly with Major Douglas, who was serving under General Beresford in the Portuguese army. He informed Sir Arthur that great discontent and dissatisfaction with the measures

gave Sir Arthur very important information concerning Soult's movements and intentions; he showed him a paper very ably drawn up, as he said, by a French officer of high rank, which pointed out the different lines of retreat, and the line which Soult would prefer. He solemnly declared that the conspiracy in the French army still existed, and that, sooner or later, it must burst forth and fall heavily upon the head of the usurper; and he talked of the war in Spain as being odious to the army and to the whole French nation. Sir Arthur sent him to England and profited by his advice. He wrote to Beresford, who was at Villa Real with his Portuguese corps—"Keep Villa Real, if you can do so with safety, and depend upon my being close upon the heels of the French." When Soult reached Amarante he found that General Loison had abandoned the bridge there. This obliged him to change his route, and, marching by Guimaraens and Braga, he intended to make for Salamonde and Montealegre, and thence into Galicia, the part of Spain from which he had advanced in the early spring. But, on the evening of the 16th of May, he was overtaken on the road near Salamonde by Sir Arthur, who cut up his rear-guard and took some prisoners. A good many of the French were killed and wounded, and a great many more of them were lost in crossing a narrow bridge over the Cabado, in the dark and in the hurry of their flight. On our side the Guards only were engaged. "We should have had the whole of Soult's rear-guard," says Sir Arthur, "if we had but had half an hour more daylight. ....I shall follow him to-morrow....He has lost every thing—cannon, ammunition, baggage, military-chest, and his retreat is, in every respect, even in weather, a *pendant* for the retreat to Coruña." Thus speedily was Sir John Moore avenged on the French marshal who had pursued him. Soult, like Moore, had to retire through a mountainous country: he left the road strewed with dead horses and mules, and with the bodies of French soldiers, who were put to death by the peasantry before the advance-guard of the British could come up and save them. The French, by their own conduct, had provoked this merciless retaliation. "Their soldiers," says Wellesley, "have plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure; and I have seen many persons hanging in the trees by the sides of the road, executed for no other reason that I could learn, excepting that they have not been friendly to the French invasion and usurpation of the government of their country; and the route of their column on their retreat could be traced by the smoke of the villages to which they set fire."* The same horrible scenes occurred in all the subsequent retrograde movements of the French: the blessed fountains of mercy were dried up in the invaders and in the invaded. With troops that carried with them over the roughest roads artillery, baggage, and full equipments, Sir Arthur could not hope to come up with Soult with an army that had lightened itself by throwing away everything, and that depended for its provisions on plunder. He stopped his pursuit at Montealegre, a few leagues from the frontier of Spain, across which the French fled in irremediable disorder—in a state so crippled that they could do no harm, and might have been destroyed by Romana, if that general had had any force at all. But Romana, who ought to have met Soult on the borders of Galicia, was again "nowhere."

Sir Arthur returned by Ruivaes, Braga, and

of Bonaparte prevailed throughout the French army, and particularly in the corps of Marshal Soult, which had suffered, and was still suffering, extreme distress; that a large portion of the officers of Soult's army were determined to revolt, and to seize the general, together with such of his principal officers as were supposed to be particularly attached to the interests of Bonaparte, if that army should be so pressed by the British as to oblige Soult to concentrate in situations chosen with a view to defence rather than with a view to the subsistence of the French troops. Captain .... earnestly asked for passports for himself and two other captains of Soult's army to go to France, where they wished to communicate with three general officers and with other persons dissatisfied with the existing order of things. Sir Arthur communicated with the British admiral and obtained the passports enabling the three French captains to go to France by sea. Sir Arthur, however, pledged himself no further, telling the conspirators that, though he wished them success, the *line* which he would take must depend upon circumstances. "Your lordship," said Sir Arthur, writing to Castlereagh, "will observe that I have not thought it proper to discourage the disposition which appears to prevail among the French officers; at the same time that I have taken care not only not to pledge myself to any particular line of conduct, but that those concerned should understand that I do not consider myself pledged by anything that has passed. The successful revolt of a French army might be attended by the most extensive and important consequences; whereas their defeat, or what is a more improbable event, their surrender, would affect only local interests and objects, excepting that either of these events would add to the reputation of his majesty's arms."—*Dispatch dated Lisbon, 27th April, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

In a more private communication Sir Arthur assured Castlereagh that he fully believed in the intention of some of the French officers to revolt; that the existence of this intention was confirmed in his mind by the recollection of what had dropped from nearly every individual of Junot's army with whom he had conversed when in Portugal last year; but that he much doubted whether it would be quite so easy to carry the intention successfully into execution. He added, that he certainly should not count upon or wait for a revolt, but try his own means of subduing Soult. On his advance towards the Douro Sir Arthur saw the French captain again by night, and at a bivouac fire, on the road between Fornos and Martede. He was now informed that there were two parties in Soult's army: one, determined to seize him at all events: the other, who wished to seize him only in case of his declaring himself *King of Portugal*—a bold and strange design, of which both Marshall Soult and his predecessor Junot were at different times suspected. Captain ..... said that, if Soult could only be induced to declare himself king, the whole army of Laborde and Loison would declare against him, and *lead the army back into France.* He proposed to Sir Arthur two plans: one, that the English should endeavour to draw Soult into a snare by persuading some of the people in that part of the country to address him and invite him to declare himself king, and even that Sir Arthur himself should write to the marshal to recommend the same measure, as one most likely to pacify Portugal and Spain:—*the other plan* was, that Sir Arthur, who, as yet, was only at Coimbra, should make his dispositions, and attack Soult forthwith. To the first wild plan the English general replied, that he could have nothing to do with it, as it must deprive him of the confidence of the Portuguese. With respect to the attack, he told "our friend" that he would make it as soon as he could, but that the time must depend upon circumstances.

According to a French authority some nobles, burghers, and priests had, during Soult's residence in Oporto, presented addresses in their own name and in the name of several Portuguese towns, inviting the marshal to put an end to the troubles of the country by declaring himself king of it under the suzerainty of the Emperor Napoleon; Soult had accepted the invitation, with the proviso of the emperor's approbation; the marshal addressed to his generals of division a printed proclamation drawn up in this sense, which they were requested to put into the order of the day of the army; but the generals refused to do this, and wrote to acquaint Bonaparte, then in Germany, with this curious intrigue. According to the same authority, the officer that communicated with Sir Arthur Wellesley was the Adjutant-Major d'Argenton; and the *ensemble* of the great design of the conspirators was to make all the French troops in the Peninsula revolt against Bonaparte, bring back General Moreau, place him at the head of all those *corps d'armée*, and then invade France while Bonaparte should be contending on the Danube with the Archduke Charles, overthrow his throne and his whole system, and erect a republic or a free constitutional monarchic government.—*Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution Française.*

* Dispatch to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Montealegre, 18th May, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

S. Terso to Oporto, where he diligently applied himself to the means of improving the commissariat; of fostering a kindly feeling between the British and Portuguese officers; of remedying the most crying distresses of the Portuguese people; and of obtaining the most accurate information as to the nature of the country and the state of the roads. It was while he was at Oporto that he learned that Mr. Frere had been superseded by his own brother the Marquess of Wellesley, whose appointment led, in course of time, to very important results. But by the 26th of May, the greater part of the British troops had crossed the Mondego, and all Sir Arthur's arrangements were completed for an advance into Spain, where he intended to co-operate with, or at least to receive some aid from, General Cuesta, who commanded the army of Estremadura, and who was said to have collected on the Guadiana from 40,000 to 50,000 men.

The advanced guard of the British army entered Spain by Zarza-la-Mayor on the 2nd of July; and on the 8th Sir Arthur's headquarters were at Plasencia.* He had not come into Spain quite so strong as he could have wished; but he thought that, counting Craufurd's brigade, which was shortly expected, he should have nearly 20,000 rank and file of infantry, and about 3000 cavalry. Cuesta crossed the Tagus by the bridge of Almaraz, and effected his junction with Wellesley at Oropesa on the 20th of July; but the Spanish general was now found to have no more than 30,000 men, and these were, for the most part, discouraged by repeated defeats, and were lank, lean, and hungry besides. Sir Arthur, who now for the first time saw a Spanish army in the field, was but little satisfied with what he saw: there was a defective organization, very little discipline, and a proud and bigoted and jealous spirit, which foreboded no good fellowship with the English soldiery, who were, for the far greater part, Protestants, and, as such, heretics in the eyes of the Spaniards. Beyond the quality of courage (and that appears to have had its ebbs and flows), Cuesta had none of the qualities which constitute a general; he was ignorant, self-willed, and obstinate; and, although Wellesley calls him by no harsher name than that of "the old gentleman," it is quite evident that he thought him an old fool. The commencement of their intercourse was quite laughable: the old Spaniard received his ally with great etiquette and ceremony; but he would not condescend to speak French with him, and, as Sir Arthur could not then talk Spanish, no conversation took place between them.* All the provisions that could be procured in the country were eaten up by Cuesta's people. At times, when Cuesta's camp abounded with provisions and forage, the British camp was so ill supplied that the men were reduced to half rations. "The French," Wellesley says, "can take what they like, and will take it, but we cannot even buy common necessaries." In vain appeals were made to the Spanish population, to the local authorities, to the juntas; Spanish inertness and prejudice, and, in some instances, a bias towards the French (for there was now a French party in some of the towns), all contributed to half starve the English army, which was ready and willing and able to pay liberally for whatever it wanted. There was, too, a notion among the victuallers, farmers, and tradespeople, that all the English were inordinately rich, and that it was proper and commendable to sell them the worst meat and drink at the highest possible prices. Between this Spanish greed, and the roguery of a part of our commissariat—which was not to be cured and made perfect in a day—excessive prices were paid for everything that was supplied to the army which had come into Spain to relieve it from the heavy yoke of France.

When Wellesley first began his march, to enter the country and gave the hand to Cuesta, the French forces were thus disposed:—Marshal Victor, the nearest to the allied army, was in Estremadura, close to the borders of Portugal, with the *first* corps, numbering in the muster-rolls 35,000 men; General Sebastiani commanded the *fourth* corps, which was in La Mancha, and which counted about 20,000 men under arms; General Dessolles, with a division of reserve, and some of Joseph's guards (in all, 15,000 men), was at Madrid, taking care of the intrusive king; Kellermann and Bonnet were stationed in Old Castile, and on the borders of Leon and the Asturias, with two divisions that formed together 10,000 men: (all these corps and troops, forming a numerical total of 80,000 men, were considered as being immediately under the command of Joseph, who knew not how to command a troop of horse or a company of foot, but who was aided and assisted by Marshal Jourdan). Soult had collected the *second* corps in the northern provinces, hoping to be able to retrace his steps into Portugal with 20,000 men; and immediately dependent upon Soult were Marshal Mortier with the *fifth* corps, 16,000 strong, and Ney with the *sixth* corps, which also counted about 16,000 men under arms. Thus, Soult's force, in all, was about 52,000; and thus, in advancing into Spain, Sir Arthur, with none to aid him but the "old gentleman" and his 33,000 Spaniards, might come into collision with 132,000 French, the total of the two armies of King Joseph and Marshal Soult. But, besides all this mighty array, there were 50,000 Frenchmen in Aragon and Catalonia, under Suchet

* The general was much vexed by the delays and failures which had impeded his marching. He had expected to arrive in Spain ten or twelve days earlier. He writes on the 27th of June from Abrantes to Lord Castlereagh,—"Just to show you the uncertainty of all communications in this country, and probably *the deficiencies of our commissariat*, I shall mention that the money which arrived on the 15th at Lisbon, and was sent off immediately, did not arrive here till late on the 25th. *It is the same with everything else.* On the day I determined to move into Spain, I ordered everything that could be required for the army, and I have not had occasion to add to or alter the original order; yet the articles ordered are not yet arrived, notwithstanding that there is a water communication from Lisbon, and officers and others come up in five days. I believe much of this delay and failure is to be attributed to *the want of experience of our commissariat;* much to the want of money, and to our discredit in Portugal, on account of our large and long-owed debts; and something to the uncertainty and natural difficulties of all the communications in Portugal."

Letter from Sir Arthur to Mr. Frere.

and Augereau; and 35,000 more were scattered over the surface of Spain to maintain posts and fortresses, and keep open the various lines of communication. The principal fortresses and fortified towns in the hands of the French were—1st, on the northern line, S. Sebastian, Pamplona, Bilbao, Santona, Santander, Burgos, Leon, and Astorga; 2nd, on the central line, Jaca, Zaragoza, Guadalaxara, Toledo, Segovia, and Zamora; 3rd, on the eastern coast, Figueras, Rosas, and Barcelona. But, before General Wellesley entered Spain, Soult found it necessary to withdraw from Galicia; and Ney followed his movement, abandoning Coruña, Ferrol, &c. A disagreement between Soult and Ney (the French marshals and generals in Spain were incessantly quarrelling, and neither Joseph Bonaparte nor Jourdan could prevent them, or bring them to any obedience of the orders emanating from Madrid) led to the deliverance of the extensive province of Galicia, where the French never regained a footing. Soult reached Zamora at the beginning of July, or about the same time that the English troops arrived at Zarza-la-Mayor; and he kept there, or hovered about the eastern frontiers of Portugal. Ney had halted at Astorga. Mortier, when advancing from Zaragoza to Valladolid, had received orders from Paris to stop. The Catalans and Aragonese were giving pretty full employment to Augereau and Suchet; Andalusia and Valencia were entirely free of French troops; the first of these two provinces had not yet been touched; the second—the fiercest, perhaps, in all Spain—had driven away its invaders with a terrific slaughter. Some of the French *corps d'armée* were suffering severely from privations, and from endemic and other disorders. This was particularly the case with the corps of Marshal Victor, who, on the approach of the British, had posted himself in a rather low and swampy country between the Tagus and the Guadiana.

Sir Arthur Wellesley detached Sir Robert Wilson with the Lusitanian Legion, a battalion of Portuguese, Caçadores, and two Spanish battalions, in the direction of Madrid; and, notwithstanding the immensity of the French force which might possibly have been brought upon him, Sir Robert succeeded in getting in Marshal Victor's rear, and in reaching Escalona, on the Alberche, which is only eight leagues distant from the Spanish capital. In this rapid advance, as in several subsequent movements, Sir Robert Wilson displayed very remarkable activity and intelligence. He led his light-footed Portuguese across rugged mountains without roads, through labyrinths of forests and wilds, and across many rivers; and, whatever was the nature of his route, he was always true to time. On the 22nd of July, the combined armies of Sir Arthur Wellesley and Cuesta attacked Marshal Victor's outposts at Talavera, and drove them in. The French would have suffered more than they did if old Cuesta had not thought fit to absent himself. On the 23rd the British columns were again formed for the attack of the French position, as Sir Arthur wished to beat Victor before he should be joined by Sebastiani, who had moved from La Mancha; but Cuesta "contrived to lose the whole of the day, owing to the whimsical perverseness of his disposition."* Thus, although the Spanish troops were under arms, and the British actually put in march, nothing was done on the 23rd; and, at one hour after midnight, Marshal Victor left Talavera to retreat to S. Olalla, and thence towards Torrijos, to form a junction with Sebastiani. Early on the 24th, Sir Arthur established his head-quarters in Talavera. "I have not," he says, "been able to follow the enemy as I could wish, on account of the great deficiency in the means of transport, and owing to my having found it *impossible to procure even one mule or a cart in Spain.*"† He had already done enough, if advantage had been duly taken of it by the Spaniards, to give Cuesta possession of the course of the Tagus, and to open his communication with La Mancha and with General Venegas, who was collecting a respectable corps in the Sierra Morena; and this was all that Sir Arthur had engaged to do. He therefore resolved to enter into no new operation, but rather to halt, and even to return to Portugal, if he should not be supplied as he ought to be. "His Majesty's troops," he adds, "have been engaged in very active operations, the success of which depended no less upon their bravery and exertions than upon the example they should hold out and the countenance they should give to the Spanish troops, *and yet they have been in actual want of provisions for these last two days.* Even if I should have been willing, under such circumstances, to continue my co-operation with General Cuesta, I am unable to do so with any justice to the troops."‡ A great deal too much has been said in praise of Spanish sobriety, frugality, and powers of abstinence or fasting. No doubt the peasantry, in the genial climate of the south of Spain, will live upon very little rather than work for more; no doubt drunkenness is not the national vice; and, speaking very generally (for some of the most ravenous gluttons we ever saw were Spaniards), the people of all the provinces can live upon a slenderer diet than the English; but this is in good part owing to their doing infinitely less work than the English,

* Sir Arthur Wellesley to Mr. Frere.—In the same letter Sir Arthur says—"I find General Cuesta more and more impracticable every day. It is impossible to do business with him, and very uncertain that any operation will succeed in which he has any concern. . . . . He has quarrelled with some of his principal officers; and I understand that all are dissatisfied with him."

† Dispatch to Lord Castlereagh, dated Talavera Reyna, 24th July.

‡ Id. Id.—In the same dispatch, Sir Arthur says to Lord Castlereagh—"I understand that Cuesta has urged the central junta to adopt vigorous measures to have our wants supplied. It is certain that at the present moment the people of this part of Spain are either unable or unwilling to supply them; and in either case, until I am supplied, I do not think it proper, and, indeed, I cannot continue my operations in Spain. I *ought*, probably, to have stipulated that I should be supplied with the necessary means of transport before the army entered Spain; I did require it, and I adopted the measures necessary to procure those means which I conceived would have answered; and, as I could not engage to enter upon any operations in Spain which should not be consistent with the defence of Portugal, I did not think it proper to make any stipulation for the advantage of the troops, which stipulation, after all, did not appear necessary to enable me to procure what I wanted."—*Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

and with them, just as with other nations, a superior degree of exertion can only be sustained by an increase of aliment. Poets and imaginative travellers had really made some people believe that the Spanish soldier could live upon air, with merely a whiff of tobacco, and a bite of garlic at intervals. Sir Arthur Wellesley knew better.—"No troops," he tells his brother the marquess, "can serve to any good purpose unless they are regularly fed; and it is an error to suppose that a Spaniard, or a man, or animal, of any country, can make an exertion without food. *In fact, the Spanish troops are more clamorous for their food, and more exhausted if they do not receive it regularly, than our own troops are.*" *

When Sir Arthur halted the British troops at Talavera, Cuesta seemed all of a sudden to be invaded by an irrepressible energy and activity; and, with remarkable arrogance, he singly dashed forward in pursuit of the French. His columns passed the Alberche in rapid succession, as if they were determined to stop at nothing short of the iron barrier of the Pyrenees. Sir Arthur, who could scarcely help foreseeing how all this sudden ardour would end, recommended caution and circumspection to the old gentleman, and sent a part of the British force some ten miles in advance of Talavera. The two armies previously acting in concert were now separated, the least effective part being in pursuit of Marshal Victor, and the mass of the British forces remaining perfectly quiet—"enjoying demi-starvation upon the banks of the Tagus."† Cuesta went blundering through S. Olalla, and rushed on, like a wild bull broke loose from the amphitheatre, to Torrijos. But here he found the rear-guard of the French marshal, who had been joined by General Sebastiani; and the sting of the French tail—Victor's rear at Torrijos—was quite enough for this disorderly, ill-commanded Spanish army. During the 25th the English heard nothing of it, or of Cuesta, but on the following day the report of artillery in the distance announced its return towards Talavera—not unaccompanied. Presently Spanish runaways and stragglers passed to the British rear; and in the course of the afternoon and during the night of the 26th, the distant cannonade having died away, the greater part of Cuesta's army passed to the rear. On the morning of the 27th other battalions passed close by some of the British who had bivouacked in an olive grove—battalion after battalion forming a continuous line of march in the same direction. From amidst clouds of dust, disorderly chattering assemblages of half-clad, half-armed men became occasionally visible; again, regiments marching in perfect order, cavalry staff officers, bands of musicians, flocks of sheep, droves of bullocks, artillery, cars, carriages, and wagons varied the confused and singular scene.‡ All the information that could be obtained by the English officers from these fugitives was that they had been overpowered and beaten at Torrijos, and that the French, in full force, were following close at their heels. The latter part of this information was not quite correct, for although Victor had been joined by the fourth corps, which Sebastiani had brought up from La Mancha, he deemed it prudent to wait a few hours for the arrival of Joseph Bonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, who were marching towards him with the guards and the garrison of Madrid, and thus leaving that capital exposed to Sir Robert Wilson and his rapid Lusitanians. It was clear, however, to Sir Arthur Wellesley that he would not be allowed a long repose; and therefore he busily employed himself in examining and strengthening his position at Talavera. Great was the need he must have had at this moment of activity, genius, calmness, heroism; for, besides the great army collecting in his front under Victor, his old enemy Soult, by rapidly advancing from Salamanca, was getting in his rear, Marshal Mortier at Valladolid was preparing to follow Soult, and Marshal Ney, unknown to the English general, was hurrying from Astorga with the hope of falling upon his left flank. Thus there were more than 50,000 fighting Frenchmen behind the mountains of Plasencia ready to act on the flank and rear of the British, whose front was threatened by at least 50,000 more. Sir Arthur's force in the field did not exceed 20,000 men; for some of the battalions were still on their march from Lisbon, and did not come up until after the battle of Talavera had been fought. The Portuguese regular troops, under Beresford, had been left to guard the north-east frontier of Portugal, towards Almeida. There was nothing at hand for the immediate support of Sir Arthur's 20,000 British save the army of Cuesta; but these 30,000 men had already proved themselves worth very little in the field. General Venegas indeed had descended with the Spanish army of Andalusia from the Sierra Morena mountains, and had marched through La Mancha upon Madrid with from 20,000 to 25,000 men: but the supreme junta had sent Venegas counter-orders which had had the effect of slackening his march. At last, however, and, as it turned out, at a most opportune moment, Venegas, a much abler and more honest man than any of the junta Dons that assumed authority over him, did make a brilliant movement, and show himself on the road that leads to Aranjuez and Madrid; and it was his timely approach on that side which induced Joseph, who had now joined Victor, to engage Sir Arthur Wellesley and Cuesta, in order to save his capital. If Joseph had kept the allies in check at Talavera for a few days longer, Soult's arrival at Plasencia would have obliged the English to retire precipitately into Portugal. But Joseph and his adviser Jourdan, fearing that Venegas from the south, and Sir Robert Wilson from the north, would enter Madrid, and seize the stores, the reserves, the hospitals, &c., recommended Marshal Victor to wait no longer, but attack the allies in front; for, if Wellesley were once defeated, Madrid

* Letter, dated 8th August, 1809.—*Ibid.*
† Lieutenant-colonel Leith Hay, Narrative of the Peninsular War.
‡ Id.

could very easily be protected or recovered, and both Venegas and Wilson, it was thought, might be enveloped and reduced to capitulation. The movements in Victor's army announced to Sir Arthur that a battle was at hand. His greatest difficulty was in overruling the mulish obstinacy of the old gentleman; but, at last, he got Cuesta to consent to occupy the ground he had selected for him, which was on the right near the Tagus, and immediately in front of the town of Talavera. This was a position in which the Spaniards could scarcely be seriously attacked; it afforded in abundance those covers under which they had always been found to fight best; the ground was covered by olive-trees, and much intersected by thick mud walls and ditches; there was a strong old church with a heavy battery in front of it, and along the whole line were redoubts, walls, banks, and abattis, or parapets, made of felled trees. All the avenues of the town were defended in a similar manner. The British infantry, in whom Sir Arthur placed full reliance, occupied the left of the line, which was quite open in front, but its extreme left rested upon a steep hill, which was the key of the whole position, and on which was posted a division of infantry under the orders of Major-General Hill. The whole line extended in length about two miles. There was some skirmishing and outpost fighting in the dark on the night of the 26th. On the 27th, Victor moved from S. Olalla in full force, crossed the Alberche, and attacked two advanced British brigades, which fell back steadily across the plain into their assigned positions in the line. This was at about two o'clock in the afternoon. As the day declined the French advanced to a general attack; but it was the dusk of the evening before Victor began by a hot cannonade upon the British left, and by an attempt with his cavalry to ride over the Spanish infantry. From the care taken to cover their front, the Spaniards were found to be unapproachable, and the cavalry charge failed completely. Early in the night Victor followed up his cannonade by pushing a strong division along a valley on the left of the height occupied by General Hill. The French gained momentary possession of that key to our position; but Hill almost instantly attacked with the bayonet, regained possession, and drove the enemy down the steeps. Victor repeated the attack on this point, on which everything depended, at the dead of night; but Hill was reinforced, Sir Arthur himself rode to the spot, and ordered up some more artillery; and, after another terrible conflict in the dark*—a darkness illuminated only by the flames from the cannon's mouth and the blaze of musketry—the assailants were again hurled back into the valley, and again left the level ground on the hill-top thickly strewed with dead bodies and wounded men. Repose and a dead silence succeeded; but this was interrupted about midnight by a firing towards the town of Talavera, which sounded like the crack of doom. "It was not," says an ear and eye witness, "the straggling, desultory, yet distinct reports of light troops, but a roll of musketry that illuminated the whole extent of the Spanish line. It was one discharge; but of such a nature that I have never heard it equalled. It appeared not to be returned, nor was it repeated. All again became silent. A false alarm had occasioned this tremendous volley; but we were too distant to ascertain what had produced the violent eruption, or how many of our allies had thrown away their arms, and fled, after having delivered a fire sufficiently formidable to have shaken the best and bravest troops."* But Sir Arthur, who was nearer at hand, and soon on the spot whence that formidable fire had proceeded, had the mortification of ascertaining that several thousands of the Spaniards, after discharging their pieces, were flying panic-stricken to the rear, followed by their artillery, and creating the greatest confusion among the baggage retainers and the mules, &c.; and it was with difficulty that he and Cuesta prevented the rest of the Spanish troops from following this pernicious example. We believe it was never correctly ascertained what created this sudden alarm in troops that were so sheltered and covered that they had little to fear: perhaps some cows or goats had passed along their front, or perhaps some of those animals which Sancho Panza loved had come in the darkness to browse among the olive-trees; but all that is not hypothetical is, that they made one of the loudest reports that had ever scared the night, and then turned to run. Luckily Victor knew nothing of what was passing; and, after his cavalry had discovered the strength of the Spanish position, he directed all his efforts against the British left. At daylight, on the morning of the 28th, he hurled two more strong divisions of infantry against the fatal height; but the Englishmen there had been told that they must maintain that position, and nobly did they maintain it: Hill lost many brave officers and soldiers, and was wounded himself; but he soon had the satisfaction of seeing the two French columns reeling

* According to Colonel Leith Hay, who was with his regiment on the top of the hill, it was so dark even when the first attack was made that the blaze of musketry alone displayed the forms of the assailants. "A considerable body of the French were then in possession of the height. Their numbers rapidly increasing, the drums beat the *pas de charge*; while at intervals voices were heard shouting in the dark, some calling out they were the German Legion, others not to fire. . . . . The leading company of the 29th poured in a volley when close to the bayonets of the enemy; the glorious cheer of British infantry accompanied the charge, which succeeded. The rest of our regiment arrived in quick time, and formed a close column, which speedily drove everything before it. The enemy was pushed down the hill. . . . . No second attempt was for some time made to carry this most important point. The 29th remained in possession of the ground, lying on their arms in the midst of fallen enemies. The furred chaco of a dead French soldier became my pillow for the night."—*Narrative*.

"Darkling they fight, and only know
If chance has sped the fatal blow
Or by the trodden corse below,
Or by the dying groan:
Furious they strike without a mark,
Save now and then the sulphurous spark
Illumes some visage grim and dark,
That with the flash is gone!"

*The Battles of Talavera, a Poem*, 1809 (now, we believe, the avowed production of the Right Hon. John Wilson Croker).

* Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative.

from before his British bayonets, and rolling down the steeps. In these attacks on the hill the French lost about 2500 men: entire brigades had been destroyed.

Another long pause ensued; but about the hour of noon the French renewed their attack upon the whole of that part of the position occupied by the British army. In consequence of the repeated attempts upon the height on his left, by the valley which ran round the hill, Sir Arthur had placed two brigades of British cavalry in that valley, supported in the rear by a division of Spanish cavalry. The general attack began by the march of several columns of French infantry into that valley, with a view to try the hill once more. These columns were charged by our horse, who prevented the execution of their plan; but the assailants suffered great loss in the fight, the 23rd light dragoons having nearly one-half of their number killed or wounded. While this was going on on the left, heavy columns of the infantry of Sebastiani's corps twice attacked the British right under General Campbell, but they were each time repulsed by the steady fire of the English, and, when a Spanish regiment of horse came gallantly up and charged them in flank, they retired in disorder, leaving ten guns, and heaps of killed and wounded, behind them. But the principal attack made by Victor was against Sir Arthur Wellesley's centre, which consisted of the Guards and the German Legion. Here the French marshal employed nearly every man he could spare. His massy columns came close up to the British line, as if confident in their vastly superior numbers, and as if absolutely determined, at any cost, to crush the centre, and pass over it to exterminate the disjointed remnants of Wellesley's forces; but they were most gallantly repulsed by a charge with bayonets by the whole division, and they reeled back in helpless disorder. Unluckily the brigade of Guards on the right, elated by their success, and by the inward and intimate conviction that it was not Frenchmen that could withstand a charge of British bayonets, advanced too far in pursuit, and so exposed their left flank to the fire of the French batteries: as they began to fall back some of the troops they had been pursuing rallied and turned against them; some supporting columns and French dragoons advanced; and now the Guards in their turn retired in some disorder. At the same time the German Legion, which was on the left of the Guards, and which had not advanced with them, fell into some confusion, and, being hard-pressed by the French, the Legion gave way completely. Sir Arthur's centre was thus broken; but, as soon as he saw from the summit of the steep hill on the left the over-hot charge of the Guards, he foresaw what might happen, and provided for it by instantly sending from the hill the 48th regiment, and ordering General Cotton's light cavalry to advance. And now the brave 48th, led on by Colonel Donellan, came up to fill the gap made in the centre, moving in beautiful order amidst the retiring crowds, wheeling back by companies to let the Guards and the Legion pass through the intervals, and then resuming its line and marching against the right of the pursuing columns, who, at one moment, seemed almost mixed with our guardsmen and legionaries. When close on the French flank, the 48th plied them with destructive discharges of musketry, and, closing upon them with a firm and regular pace, completely checked their forward movement. Our centre was presently restored, for the Guards and the German Legion quickly rallied; and then Cotton's brigade of light cavalry, coming up from the rear at a smart trot, the French columns, whose success had been so momentary, began to waver, their general, Lapisse, was mortally wounded, their loss from the fire of the 48th alone was dreadful, and at last they gave way and retired to their own lines, their retreat being protected by their light troops and artillery. No other attempt was made either to break our centre or to carry the murderous hill: there was, in fact, no more fighting. The British, reduced to less than 14,000 men, and exhausted by fatigue, were unable to pursue the French, and the Spanish army, which had been scarcely engaged, was incapable of making any evolutions. King Joseph's Guards and the French reserve had not been engaged during the day, and had Napoleon been there perhaps a last effort might have been tried; but, as it was, the French, having been repulsed at all points, were evidently but too happy to desist; and thus, at about six o'clock in the evening all fighting and firing ceased, each army retaining the position that it had occupied in the morning. Out of the 50,000 men which they had on the field at the beginning of the battle, the French had lost 7000 in killed and wounded, an immense number of officers and two generals being among the killed. Out of the less than 20,000 British, 857 had been killed and 3913 wounded; 653 were reported missing; and two general officers, Major-general Mackenzie and Brigadier-general Langwerth, were among the slain.* The French also lost a considerable number of men as prisoners, and as they retired they left in the hands of the

* "The battle," says Sir Arthur, "was a long and most desperate one. Our loss has been very great; that of the enemy greater. The attack was made principally upon the British, who were on the left; and we had about two to one against us; fearful odds! but we maintained all our positions, and gave the enemy a terrible beating! The Spanish troops that were engaged behaved well; but there were very few of them engaged, as the attack was made upon us."—*Wellington Dispatches.* He thought that after this experiment the French would feel they had nothing to hope, even with double numbers, from a general action with British troops. The French emperor appears to have come to the same conclusion, at very nearly the same time. In private communications, at least, the tone of Bonaparte, in speaking of British armies, was very materially altered. In a letter, dated the 31st of August, he severely censured the conduct of Victor, Jourdan, and all the generals engaged, disapproving not only of the manner in which the battle of Talavera was fought, but of its being fought at all, when there were "*only* 50,000 French to 30,000 English, who have thus been allowed to *brave* the whole French army."—*J. Belmas, Chef de Bataillon du Genie, Journaux de Sièges, &c., rédigés d'après les ordres du Gouvernement sur les documents existant aux Archives de la Guerre et au Dépôt des Fortifications.* Paris, 1836.

We see that here Bonaparte overrated the number of the British troops by more than 10,000. But he counts the Spaniards for nothing. This last opinion he very frequently repeated. In January, 1810, he wrote to his generals—"There is nothing in Spain dangerous but the English; all the rest is *canaille*, that can never keep the field."—*J. Belmas, Id.*

English 17 pieces of artillery, with tumbrils and ammunition complete.

The next morning at daybreak the whole French army, who had begun retreating during the night, were on the other side of the Alberche, and taking up a position in the rear of that river, on the heights of Salinas. Except at Albuera, the French never again fought so well throughout the rest of this war; and yet France confessed, in a hurried night-retreat, that she had been beaten and humiliated—

"Far from the field where late she fought—
The tents where late she lay—
With rapid step and humbled thought
All night she holds her way;
Leaving to Britain's conquering sons
Standards rent and ponderous guns,
The trophies of the fray;
The weak, the wounded, and the slain,
The triumph of the battle-plain,
The glory of the day."*

In the course of the same day, the 29th of July, General Robert Craufurd reached Sir Arthur Wellesley's camp from Lisbon, with the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th (rifles). The reinforcement altogether amounted to nearly 3000 men. This was the light brigade, which was ever after in advance during the Peninsular campaigns, and which acquired military celebrity for its gallantry and quickness of movement.† Sir Arthur passed the 29th and 30th in establishing his hospitals in the town of Talavera, and in endeavouring to get provisions for his half-starved men. In this he was assisted neither by the Spanish authorities nor by the Spanish inhabitants. This was the more unpardonable as there were at the moment large deposits of grain—more than sufficient to supply both the Spanish and the English army—in Talavera. But the truth was, the Spanish holders of the grain concealed it, and were determined to produce it only for a high price and for ready money. In the state of poverty in which the army of Sir John Moore had been left, that general had been obliged to contract some debts at Salamanca, and in various towns in Galicia, and to give *buenas* or promissory notes on his government for the payment of them: the British government had not yet paid these debts, which for Spaniards were rather heavy; and, as this evil news got spread over other provinces, it destroyed English credit, and increased the tenacity with which Spaniards generally hold what they have.‡ But the Spaniards of Talavera and that neighbourhood were not more disposed to open their grain deposits to Cuesta than to Wellesley. "They have no magazines," says Sir Arthur, "nor have we, nor can we collect any, and there is a scramble for everything. . . . I wish that Don Martin de Garay, or the gentlemen of the junta, before they blame me for not doing more, or impute to me beforehand the probable consequence of the blunders or the indiscretion of others, would either come or send here somebody to satisfy the wants of our half-starved army, which, although they have been engaged for two days, and have defeated twice their numbers, in the service of Spain, have not bread to eat. It is positively a fact that during the last seven days the British army have not received one-third of their provisions; that at this moment there are nearly 4000 wounded soldiers dying in the hospital in this town from want of common assistance and necessaries, which any other country in the world would have given even to its enemies; and that I can get no assistance of any description from this country. I cannot prevail upon them even to bury the dead carcasses in the neighbourhood, the stench of which will destroy themselves as well as us."* At the same time General Beresford, from Almeida, was crying out, "Blankets! blankets!" and for clothes wherewith to

* Battles of Talavera,—General Sarrazin, who, like a good Frenchman, does not like to confess too much, confesses that "the bloody day (*la sanglante journée*) of Talavera had spread terror in the French army (*avait répandu l'effroi dans l'armée Française*), and it was admitted that the English fought *quite as well as the Russians.*"

† André Vieussenx, Military Life of the Duke of Wellington. The author of this admirable brief and correct compendium served for some time in the Peninsula, with the light brigade.

‡ A good many rogues in our commissariat department augmented this evil, by practices not altogether undeserving of the gallows. Long after the battle of Talavera it was customary to pay the muleteers who followed our army, and the proprietors or contractors who furnished mules for transport, with promissory notes payable at Lisbon or at head-quarters; and for a long while there was no convincing these mulish drivers of mules that the paper was as good as money. Some of them made wrappers for cigars of their bits of paper, went home with their animals, and never returned. Others applied to commissariat clerks, and gave them from twenty to fifty per cent., or more, to change their paper into hard dollars or doubloons in hand. Often has an ignorant muleteer been known to give a note for 100 dollars for 20 dollars cash—and not unfrequently for 10 dollars. When detection was apprehended, our employés did their business through certain moneyed followers of the camp—Jews who had gone over from London, *soi-disant* amateur campaigners, traders from Gibraltar and Lisbon, and the like, who brought their dollars and doubloons with them. Some of these speculators put a climax to their rascality by sending out plated dollars—silver without and copper within. But where the dollars were good—as in most cases they were—the sacrifices that the poor Portuguese and Spaniards were obliged to make in order to procure them in exchange for their good paper were enormous. Fortunes were known to be made in a very short time in this way, and by other means about equally honourable. We have heard of a Manchester man, who followed the army for a long time, and who was known to the soldiers under the name of "White Stockings," who finished his campaigning by carrying off more profit than a great cotton mill could have rendered in the same period of time. His dealings lay chiefly with the muleteers and with the commissariat of accounts, who paid in paper, and who participated in the gains of turning paper into silver and gold.

The evil was in good part rectified afterwards by the vigilance of the commander-in-chief, and by the better class of men that were put into all the departments of our commissariat.

* This Don Martin de Garay was now, as he had been in Sir John Moore's time, the central junta's war-minister. He and some of his colleagues had taken it upon themselves to suggest, nay, almost to command, the movements which Sir Arthur Wellesley should make. They would have led him into a trap and a *coupe gorge*, as they would have done with Moore. Our unaccountable diplomatist, Mr. Frere, appears to have made himself the medium of conveying some of their complaints or remonstrances to the British General; and it is to Mr. Frere, who was still sojourning with or travelling about in the wake of the wandering junta, that Sir Arthur writes the terrible letter we have quoted in our text.

"It is not a difficult matter," says Sir Arthur in the same letter, "for a gentleman in the situation of Don Martin de Garay to sit down in his cabinet and write his ideas of the glory which would result from driving the French through the Pyrenees! I believe there is no man in Spain who has risked so much, or who has sacrificed so much, to effect that object as I have. But . . . . " (then followed the passage we have given in the text). And then Sir Arthur concludes with saying, "I positively will not move, nay, more, I will disperse my army, till I am supplied with provisions and means of transport as I ought to be."—*Letter to the Right Hon. J. H. Frere, dated Talavera, 31st July, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

If it had been to General Wellesley that Mr. Frere had sent his French agent, and his monstrous proposition for calling a council of war, it is probable that his friend and agent, *Colonel* Charmilly, would have been handed over to the provost marshal. Mr. *Frere*, whose functions soon ceased altogether—never again to be resumed in any part of the world—must have felt that he had a firmer and a sterner man to deal with now than he had found in Sir John Moore; but the situation of Sir Arthur Wellesley, his loud complaints, and the conduct of the Spaniards, ought to have induced the diplomatist and his warm friends in England to mitigate the severity of their censures on the conduct of Moore's campaign and retreat, and to deduct ninety per cent. from the confidence they placed in the Spaniards.

cover his Portuguese troops, and for provisions wherewith to feed them.

On the 1st of August, Joseph Bonaparte, with the fourth or Sebastiani's corps and the reserve, retreated farther back to Illescas, on the road between Madrid and Toledo, in order to oppose Venegas and his Andalusian army; and Victor soon afterwards retreated likewise on the road to Madrid, from an exaggerated alarm at the rapid movements of Sir Robert Wilson. But, before even Joseph began his retreat from Salinas, Soult had got into Plasencia, only a few marches in the British rear. There was a strong pass or defile in the mountains of Plasencia, called the Puerto de Baños —a pass which could not be turned without a long *détour*, and which might well have been stopped against the enemy's advance. Sir Arthur had applied to Cuesta for this important service, and Cuesta had engaged to stop the pass; but, instead of sending an adequate force, the old gentleman sent only 600 men, who ran away almost as soon as the head of the first French column showed itself. This foremost French column was nothing less than a part of the *corps d'armée* of Marshal Mortier, who walked through the defile on the 31st of July. Soult followed with the second corps, and entered Plasencia on the morning of the 1st of August. Marshal Ney was coming fast round from Salamanca to the same point, so that in a few days or hours 53,000 men would be collected at Plasencia. On entering that town Soult found it deserted by most of its inhabitants, and, though so near to the field of Talavera, he could obtain no information of what had passed, or of what was passing—he could learn nothing of the position or numbers of the British and Spanish armies. This ignorance of each other's movements was a common occurrence in the Spanish war, and is to be accounted for by the nature of the country, the difficulties of communication, the thinness of the population, and the incurious, indolent habits of the people. There were cases where a great battle was fought in one valley, and not known behind the mountains which divided it from another valley; and, when more was known of what was passing, it was seldom that any pains were taken to convey information to their friends: the people preferred staying in their homesteads to defend or conceal their property, or taking the field and lying in ambush near the French line of march, in order to cut off stragglers and make booty. On the 2nd of August, however, Sir Arthur Wellesley learned that the enemy had entered Plasencia, but that was all he could learn. Supposing that Soult was alone with his corps, that that corps did not exceed 15,000 men, and that Soult's intention was to join Victor, he determined to encounter him before he could effect the junction. Accordingly, on the 3rd of August, the British army set out for Oropesa, leaving Cuesta at Talavera, where he engaged to protect the hospitals. This last charge was particularly recommended to him by Sir Arthur, who told him that, in case of the Spaniards being obliged, by any advance of Victor, to abandon Talavera, he might collect carts to move away the British wounded. The old gentleman engaged to do all this; but he kept his engagement about as well as he had done his preceding one, to maintain the defile of Puerto de Baños. The position of the hostile armies was now very singular: they were all crowded along the narrow valley of the Tagus, from the neighbourhood of Madrid to the frontiers of Portugal. Joseph and Sebastiani were at Illescas, between Madrid and Toledo; the Spanish general Venegas was on the opposite side of the river, not far from Toledo; Victor was lower down on the right bank, watching Cuesta, who was at Talavera; Wellesley was still lower down at Oropesa; whilst Soult was on the road from Plasencia to Almaraz; and Beresford was now said to be moving farther west along the frontiers of Portugal. "The allies, under Wellesley and Cuesta, held the centre, being only one day's march asunder; but their force, when concentrated, was not more than 47,000 men. The French could not unite under three days, but their combined forces exceeded 90,000 men, of whom 53,000 were under Soult; and this singular situation was rendered more remarkable by the ignorance in which all parties were as to the strength and movements of their adversaries. Victor and the king, frightened by Wilson's partisan corps of 4000 men, were preparing to unite at Mostoles, near Madrid; while Cuesta, equally alarmed at Victor, was retiring from Talavera. Sir Arthur Wellesley was supposed by King Joseph to be at the head of 25,000 British; and Sir Arthur, calculating on Soult's weakness, was marching with 23,000 English and Spanish to engage 53,000 French; while Soult, unable to ascertain the exact situation of either friends or enemies, little suspected that the prey was rushing into his jaws. At this moment the fate of the Peninsula hung by a thread, which could not bear the weight for twenty-four hours; yet fortune so ordained that no irreparable disaster ensued." *

On the evening of the 3rd of August Sir Arthur Wellesley learned at Oropesa that Soult's advanced posts were at Naval-Moral, and consequently between him and the bridge of Almaraz, on the Tagus, thus cutting the line of communication of the English with Portugal. About an hour after the reception of this intelligence Sir Arthur got letters from Cuesta, informing him that the enemy was moving upon his (Cuesta's) flank, and had returned to S. Olalla in his front; that Joseph was coming back to join Victor; that Soult must be stronger than General Wellesley supposed, and that therefore, and from the consideration that General Wellesley was not strong enough to check Soult's corps coming from Plasencia, he (Cuesta) intended to leave Talavera that evening (and to leave in it the English hospitals, excepting such men as could be moved by the means he had already collected) in order to join the British army

* Napier, Hist. of the Peninsular War.

at Oropesa, and assist it in repelling Soult. The old gentleman's reasons did not appear to Sir Arthur quite sufficient for giving up so important a post as Talavera, for exposing the combined armies to an attack in front and rear at one and the same time, and for abandoning his sick and wounded. He wrote one of his short and earnest letters to the wilful old man, imploring him to stay where he was, or to wait at least till next morning, in order to cover the removal of the British hospitals from Talavera: but before this letter could reach him, Cuesta, who evidently feared having his own tail pinched by Victor, had begun his march, and on the next morning the rising sun shone upon his dirty ragged troops marching into Oropesa. This was the 4th of August. About 2000 of the British wounded had been brought away from the hospitals, but about 1500 had been left behind.* Cuesta's retreat must almost immediately bring Victor and Joseph upon Sir Arthur, who, by this time, had ascertained by intercepted letters that Soult's force was much stronger than he had reckoned. The English general was now placed between the mountains and the Tagus, with a French army advancing upon each flank, and with his retreat by the bridge at Almaraz completely cut off; after the experience he had had of Cuesta and the Spanish army, he could not rely upon them in an open field of battle; and he could not, with 17,000 British, fatigued and famishing, hope to fight successively two French armies, each nearly three times stronger than his own. Before this moment of real jeopardy, he had said, in speaking of the Spaniards—"I cannot bring forward such troops, owing to their miserable state of discipline and their want of officers properly qualified. These troops are entirely incapable of performing any manœuvre, however simple. They would get into irretrievable confusion, and the result would probably be the loss of everything."† But there was still one—and only one—line of retreat left open to the British, for, a little below Talavera, the Tagus was crossed by the bridge of Arzobispo; and by this route, and by this bridge, Sir Arthur determined to retire immediately, before the enemy should have time to intercept him. He calculated that by taking up a line of defence beyond the Tagus, he might keep open the road by Truxillo to Badajoz; he communicated his determination to Cuesta, who, according to custom, opposed it. That perverse old gentleman wanted, forsooth, to stop and fight the French at Oropesa! Wearied out with his absurdities, Sir Arthur sternly told him that he might do as he liked, but that, for his own part, being responsible for the British army, he should move forthwith; and accordingly, on that same morning, before Cuesta's disorderly rear got to Oropesa, the British army filed off towards Arzobispo. It was a blessing that the Spaniards, who generally destroyed what they ought to have left standing, and left standing what they ought to have destroyed, had not blown up the only bridge open to Sir Arthur: the 2000 wounded, the artillery, the stores, were all carried safely over the Tagus; before evening the general took up an excellent position behind the right bank of that river; and then the British army was safe.* Mad as he was, Cuesta was not mad enough to stay when Sir Arthur was gone—we can scarcely believe that he would have stayed at Oropesa even if the British general had wanted to remain, or that his daring proposition about giving battle there was anything more than a Spanish *façon de parler*—he moved to the bridge of Arzobispo, and there halted his troops, who, having little to carry with them, were ready to pass the Tagus at any moment. But so little did Cuesta act in concert with Sir Arthur, that he moved his head-quarters, and suffered three days to elapse without sending him any information of his plans or movements. Finding that the French did not make their appearance near him, the old Spanish general removed on the night of the 7th to Peraleda de Garbin, between Puente del Arzobispo and Almaraz, leaving two divisions of infantry and some cavalry behind to defend the bridge, which was barricaded, and protected by several batteries. He never thought of examining whether the river might not be fordable. On the 8th Marshal Mortier, who commanded the French corps which led the pursuit, made his appearance near the *tête-du-pont*, and, while he pretended to be erecting batteries, he sent the Pole Dombrowsky with two good swimmers to sound the Tagus. A good ford, passable even for infantry, was found, not 200 yards above the bridge and the Spanish batteries. At this moment Marshal Soult himself came up, and determined to effect the passage in the heat of the day, when the Spanish troops might be taking their siesta, or mid-day sleep. And as the marshal calculated so it happened: the Spaniards, relying upon the river, and their batteries and barricades, were nearly all buried in sleep, when the French dashed across the ford, and took their works on the bridge in the rear. Some of the Spanish artillerymen were cut down at their guns, and others were compelled to turn their guns upon their own country-

* Sir Arthur says, however, that he doubted, whether under any circumstances it would have been possible or consistent with humanity to have attempted to remove any more of them. He adds—"From the treatment some of our soldiers who were wounded on the 27th, and who fell into the hands of the enemy, experienced from them, and from the manner in which I have always taken care of their wounded who have fallen into my hands, I expect that these men left at Talavera will be well treated."—*Dispatches.*

† These were precisely the same convictions as were entertained by Sir John Moore when he began his retreat; and yet Mr. Frere entertained at the time, and Southey and others of his friends continued to repeat many years afterwards, that, with the assistance of Spanish generals and Spanish troops, Sir John ought to have driven the French beyond the Pyrenees!

* In a letter written to Lord Castlereagh, four days after crossing the Tagus, Sir Arthur says, "I hope my public dispatches will justify me from all blame, *excepting that of having trusted the Spanish general in anything.* We should have been safe at Talavera, if I could have prevailed upon him to occupy Bafios as it ought to have been; and we should have avoided the disgrace of the loss of the hospital, if he had sent away General Bassecourt on the night of the 30th, or on the morning of the 31st, or if he had maintained his post at Talavera. As it is, I really believe that I have saved the whole of both armies, by retiring to Arzobispo, and taking up the line of the Tagus."

men: the works were presently demolished, and then masses of French infantry rushed over the bridge. Some Spanish cavalry that were reposing in a shady place nearly a league from the scene of action mounted at the first alarm, hastened to support their countrymen, and made a brilliant charge. But this was too late: the two Spanish divisions of infantry were in confusion, and presently horse and foot fled towards the mountains, abandoning artillery, baggage, ammunition, everything. The French said they cut down 1600 of them in the pursuit.*

By this time the British army was considerably advanced on its road to Truxillo. On the night of the 5th they halted in a ravine, distant six leagues from the Puente del Arzobispo. On the 6th they continued their route, passing over a most mountainous and rugged country, by the steepest and worst of roads, which, in many places, were scarcely roads at all. The Alps of St. Bernard were loftier, yet scarcely more difficult; but these excellent and excellently commanded English troops carried over their artillery and stores, and thought little of the exploit when it was done.† The light brigade under Craufurd had preceded the army, to watch the passage of the Tagus at Almaraz, where, however, the French did not attempt to pass in time. On the 8th the British head-quarters were at Deleytosa, a small healthy village, seated on an eminence, in the direct road to Truxillo; on the morning of the 9th Spanish cavalry and infantry again appeared retiring upon the track of Sir Arthur Wellesley. It was all that remained of Cuesta's army in full retreat. "We have now," writes Sir Arthur on the 8th, "the whole host of French marshals in Estremadura—Soult, Ney, Mortier, Kellermann, Victor, and Sebastiani, with King Joseph besides, and 5000 men from Suchet!..... I have recommended to the junta to set Romana, the Duque del Parque, and the guerillas to work towards Madrid." ‡ From Deleytosa the forced marches were discontinued, for Wellesley had now brought his army into a country where it had nothing to fear from any or all of the French marshals, who were wondering how he could have escaped them. Making easy marches over a comparatively flat country, the British army crossed the Rio del Monte, near to Jaraicejo, and took up an alignement on its opposite bank. The camp was in a most picturesque country, upon some shady hills, with extensive forests of cork, chestnuts, and oak in the rear, and with a broad deep stream in front. The country, too, was productive as well as picturesque; supplies of provision and wine, and other comforts, were procured for the almost exhausted soldiers; and here they remained, as in a Land of Goshen, in perfect inactivity for some days.* On the 20th and 21st of August the divisions of the army marched by Truxillo, the birthplace of Pizarro. On the 23rd they traversed the field of Medellin, where old Cuesta (whose army had by this time disappeared again, to go no man knew whither) had fought a battle with Marshal Victor, and had sustained a most murderous defeat in the preceding month of March, before Sir Arthur Wellesley's second arrival in Portugal. The plain still bore numerous marks of having been a field of battle; nor had the five intervening months effaced the evidences of Spanish defeat and slaughter. Fragments of uniforms, caps, bones, dead horses, cartridges, exploded shells, strewed the ground in every direction.

By the 2nd of September Sir Arthur had his head-quarters at Badajoz, close on the frontiers of Portugal; and in a day or two a part of his army was sent across the frontier, and his sick and wounded were conveyed to the strongly fortified Portuguese town of Elvas, which now became the general hospital of the army. Of the two corps which had advanced upon Madrid in Joseph Bonaparte's absence, the Spanish one, under General Venegas, was easily defeated at Almonacid, by Sebastiani, who drove it back upon the Sierra Morena and the Andalusian frontier, from which it had advanced; but the mixed Portuguese and Spanish corps commanded by Sir Robert Wilson was extricated by that rapid and ingenious officer. Wilson had made a masterly march from the neighbourhood of Talavera through the mountains to Bejar, contriving to make the French believe that he had 15,000 or 20,000 men with him; and, when warned by Wellesley to retire, he came back as rapidly as he had advanced. On the 12th of August, eight days after Sir Arthur's retreat from Oropesa, Sir Robert fought a large corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, for a whole day, near the Puerto de Baños, and retired at night, in good order, to Colmenar. Although nearly the whole of Marshal Ney's corps was upon him, Wilson brought his Portuguese and Spanish corps, much less diminished than might have been expected, in safety and in honour to the Portuguese

* Southey, Hist. Peninsular War.

† "At one part of the Sierra, and for a considerable distance, to drag the artillery up by the usual means became impossible. The infantry were put to the guns, who, with considerable difficulty and exertion, forced them along the mountain-road. On this day's march, for the first time, were heard complaints from the soldiers on the subject of want of food. Toiling over these mountains, dragging the cannon, severely harassed by excessive heat, the men, conversing with each other, talked loudly of the hardships endured; but a soothing and encouraging expression was alone necessary to restore their good humour, even when assailed on the tenderest point."—*Col. Leith Hay, Narrative of the Peninsular War.*

‡ Dispatch to Viscount Castlereagh from Deleytosa.

In a letter written on the same day to the Rt. Hon. John Villiers, Sir Arthur says, "All is now safe, and I should feel no anxiety on any subject if we had provisions: *but we are almost starving.*"

* Colonel Leith Hay gives a very amusing picture of the rush that was made by officers as well as soldiers into the town and market of Truxillo, to purchase meat, vegetables, bread, groceries, &c. It appears that our worthy allies the vintners and wine-sellers of Truxillo played some tricks which had a very pernicious effect on our soldiers' stomachs and bowels. Until assured that everything would be paid for, money in hand, the inhabitants fled, or pretended they had nothing to sell.

"Everything was of course charged enormously. Wine was sold in profusion. The depositaries had nearly become emptied; but ingenuity made up for the insufficiency of the supply. The Spaniards, conceiving that their allies were persons who must have wine, and at the same time would not be particular as to the quality, diluted and mixed the originally poor produce of the grape of Estremadura in such a manner, composing so horrible a description of drink, that it is only extraordinary more fatal effects were not immediately produced by its deleterious qualities."

frontier, and, by the 7th of September, or six days after the arrival of Sir Arthur at Badajoz, Sir Robert was at Castello Branco, watching the enemy's motions.*

In the meanwhile King Joseph, who had no taste for campaigning, and who had a very eager desire to return to the ease and luxuries of Madrid, had recalled Marshal Mortier, who had crossed the Tagus in pursuit of Cuesta; and Marshal Ney, who had suffered considerable loss in the affair with Sir Robert Wilson, had found it impracticable, or had not thought it proper, to ford the Tagus below Almaraz in order to follow the retiring columns of the British army. There was no concert or good-will between Ney and Soult, or in fact between any of these marshals. Soult, after the recall of Mortier and the retreat or halt of Ney, had proposed to march with his three corps into Portugal by Coria and Abrantes, in the hope of reaching Lisbon, by the right bank of the Tagus, before the English; but Ney, Jourdan, and Joseph opposed this bold plan, and soon afterwards a dispatch arrived from their emperor, who dated from the Emperor of Austria's palace at Schönbrunn after the battle of Wagram, and who forbade further offensive operations till the termination of the Austrian war should enable him to send large reinforcements into Spain. The following brief remarks are worthy of especial notice, and may be recommended to the considera tion of those who seem not to know how to distinguish between the different phases and epochs of the genius of Bonaparte, but who continue to give that extatic admiration to all his campaigns which is properly due only to his earliest ones:—

"Napoleon, since he had assumed the imperial crown, trusted chiefly to his overwhelming masses, which he recruited so cheaply by means of the conscription. The proportion of cavalry in his armies in Spain was beyond all precedent. How different from the adventurous general of the army of Italy, who, with 30,000 men, encountered and defeated three Austrian armies, each stronger than his own, in 1796! But he was now bloated with success, and war must be with him a sure game. He had already 200,000 men in Spain, and yet he did not think them enough. His generals had adopted the same views: 'It is large masses only, the strongest that you can form, that will succeed.' Thus wrote Soult to King Joseph before the battle of Talavera. It is worthy of remark, that Sir Arthur Wellesley, writing about the same time, said—'I conceive that the French are dangerous only when in large masses.' Such was the character of the wars of the French empire. And yet, with all his tremendous masses, and a proportionate waste of human life, Napoleon failed in the end."* We doubt whether the great secret has ever been so well told in so few words.

Soult's army now went into cantonments in Estremadura and Leon, near the borders of Portugal; Joseph Bonaparte had got back to Madrid as soon as it had been possible or safe to do so; French moveable columns, not unlike the infernal columns which had formerly traversed the Vendée, now traversed various parts of Spain; the irregular guerilla warfare was carried on in many distant provinces and districts; some towns on the eastern coast, in Catalonia and Valencia, were taken by the French, while others held out, costing the besiegers an enormous sacrifice of life (Gerona alone, which did not capitulate until January, 1810, when it was reduced by famine, cost the lives of from 15,000 to 20,000 French soldiers, and completely disheartened and drove away three or four French generals of the highest name); but, from the middle of August till the middle of November, no actions took place in the field, of any importance, either on the part of the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley or on the part of any of the scattered Spanish armies; nor was the repose of the British forces very materially interrupted until the month of May, 1810.

On the 4th of September, 1809, almost as soon as the news of his remarkable battle reached England, Sir Arthur was raised to the peerage with the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley and Viscount Wellington of Talavera. He had now placed his army in cantonments on the line of the Guadiana, to cover Portugal from Soult, who continued to be cantoned in Estremadura and Leon. But, if neither Soult nor any other French force whatever had been threatening the Portuguese frontier, it would have been impossible for Lord Wellington to have tried another advance into Spain; for no junta, central or provincial, could or would undertake to supply his army with provisions, and it was only by drawing on his magazines in Portugal, which were chiefly filled from England, that he could preserve his troops from starvation; and added to this impossibility there was another—the impossibility of co-operating with undisciplined Spanish armies, and proud, obstinate, ignorant, and incapable Spanish generals. He had tried the last experiment fairly: it had failed; and, but for the resources of his own genius and the admirable qualities of his troops, he must have been utterly ruined in attempting to co-operate with the Spaniards. The want of vigour and capacity in the members of the so-called central Spanish government, which, after wandering from place to place, had now fixed itself at Seville, was quite as conspicuous as were the deficiencies of the Spanish generals in the field, who, indeed, very generally contrived to throw the blame of their own failures upon the civilians in the junta. In vain the Marquess Wellesley, who was now residing

* No man was warmer in his praises of Sir Robert Wilson than was his high-minded commander-in-chief. In a dispatch, dated the 21st of August, Sir Arthur says:—"Sir R. Wilson has been very active, intelligent, and useful in the command of the Portuguese and Spanish corps, with which he was detached from this army. Before the battle of the 28th July (Talavera) he had pushed his parties almost to the gates of Madrid, with which city he was in communication, and he would have been in Madrid, if I had not thought it proper to call him in, in expectation of that general action which took place on the 28th of July. He afterwards alarmed the enemy on the right of his army; and throughout the service has shown himself to be an active and intelligent partisan, well acquainted with the country in which he was acting, and possessing the confidence of the troops which he commanded."

* A. Vieusseux, Military Life of the Duke of Wellington.

with them at Seville, laboured to convince the junta of the fatal consequences which must result from their wretched military system, and to teach them how to render their armies efficient, and the resources of their country available; the Dons all pretended to be wiser than the marquess, or to know more about their own countrymen and country than he could know: the national pride was the rock upon which the designs of the friends and the enemies of the Spaniards were equally wrecked.* And, not satisfied with turning a deaf ear to the marquess's advice, they insulted him by casting reproaches on his brother. Don Martin de Garay the war minister, together with other members of the central junta, raised as loud an outcry against Wellington's retreat from Oropesa as they had raised against Sir John Moore's retreat from the banks of the Carion. This led our ambassador into a very unpleasant correspondence; but the marquess maintained the character of the nation, of the army, and of his brother, with proper dignity and spirit; and Lord Wellington himself wrote two or three of his closely reasoned and conclusive letters, exposing what the junta had done for him and his army, what sort of assistance and co-operation he had received from the Spanish generals, together with the degree of reliance that was to be placed upon their word.

In the autumn, the British troops cantoned in the valley of the Guadiana suffered rather severely from malaria fevers; but it was not yet considered expedient to withdraw them entirely from the territory of Spain. On the 10th of October his lordship, with a few able officers, arrived at Lisbon, and proceeded to reconnoitre and examine minutely the whole country in front of that capital. He had appreciated at the first glance after the battle of Vimeiro the excellences of Torres Vedras as a defensive position, and he had now determined upon the construction of those celebrated lines which enabled him to baffle all the efforts of the French in 1810. As early as the 20th of October he wrote a "Memorandum" for Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher of the engineers, in which he clearly pointed out the double line of position, the entrenchments and redoubts, the number of men required at each post, &c., and ordered Colonel Fletcher to examine every road, every hill, river, or rivulet in that vicinity; to calculate the precise time it would take to erect the works, to break up the bridges in front of them, &c.* But of this great plan nothing was said, or even whispered, at the time. By the 30th of October Lord Wellington had returned to his head-quarters at Badajoz. By the 2nd or 3rd of November he was at Seville, having proceeded thither to confer with his brother the Marquess Wellesley, and, perhaps, to see whether by personal application he might not be able to set aright some of the errors and prejudices of the junta. From Seville he proceeded with Lord Wellesley to Cadiz, "partly to arrange money matters, and partly by curiosity to see the place." By the 12th of November he was back at Badajoz, where he received information that orders had been given in all the Spanish villages of that province to prevent the sale of forage and provisions to the British army.† And a few days after this last intelligence he was informed that the Spanish army had run headlong into destruction, and had suffered at Ocaña a more tremendous defeat than any they had sustained since the commencement of the war. The command of the army of Andalusia, which had retreated before Sebastiani into the recesses of the Sierra Morena, had been taken from General Venegas to be given to General Areizaga, an inferior man, an inexperienced young officer, but who happened to be in favour with the central junta. Old Cuesta had also retired from the command of the army of Estremadura, and—incredible as it may seem—a greater blunderer than he, General Eguia, had been found and appointed to succeed him. [Lord Wellington knew something of this Eguia, and as far back as the 14th of September he had set down some of his plans as "rank nonsense."] Early in November the sapient junta, who had chosen two

* The 'Dispatches and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley during his lordship's mission to Spain as ambassador extraordinary to the supreme junta,' 1809 (edited by Mr. Montgomery Martin), contain a great deal of information respecting the fruitless efforts that were made against Spanish pride, conceit, and stupidity.

On the 15th of September we find the marquess writing to Mr. Canning that he had vainly applied to the junta for provisions and means of movement to the British army; that he had told them his brother must abstain from all engagement to co-operate with the Spanish troops within the territory of Spain; that, even if the system of supplies could have been corrected, the state of the Spanish army alone must form an irresistible motive for withholding any future co-operation, while the same evils should be left unremedied; that in his opinion any British army, though of 40,000 men, that should attempt to act in Spain under the present circumstances of the country, and of the enemy, would be exposed to the utmost hazard of total destruction.

In the same dispatch the marquess gave it as the decided opinion of his brother, Lord Wellington, that, in the event of a British army acting in Spain, *it would be absolutely necessary that the chief command of the Spanish army should be vested in the commander-in-chief of the British forces.* The marquess thought that the difficulties of obtaining supplies did not all proceed from the poverty and nakedness of the country. In the same dispatch he says to Mr. Canning, "At present, local difficulties certainly exist in some of the provinces, and many of the districts continue to suffer under the consequences of war, or of former mismanagement. *But many provinces abound in the means of subsistence and transport.* No system, however, has been established, by which the deficiencies of one district can be supplied from the abundance of another, nor does any regulation exist properly calculated to secure and collect the resources of any province for its separate defence, and still less for any more remote objects of active war. The civil establishments throughout the provinces are not properly formed for the purpose of ascertaining, or bringing into use for the service of the army, either the productions of the soil, or the articles of transport and conveyance existing in the several districts. To this want of due regulation and system must be added *the corruption, and even the positive disaffection, of many of the civil authorities in the provinces; in many instances the strongest evidence has appeared of positive aversion to the cause of Spain and of the allies, and of treacherous inclination to the interests of France.*

"The disposition of *the people* is generally favourable to the great cause in which the nation is engaged, and the mass of the population of Spain certainly appears to contain the foundations on which a good and powerful government might be securely established, and the materials of which an efficient army might be composed. Among the higher and middle classes of society are to be found too many examples of the success of French intrigue. In those classes may be traced a disposition to observe events, and to prepare for accommodation with that party which may ultimately prevail in the existing contest. Many persons of this description, if not favoured, are not discountenanced by the government. From these circumstances, and from the want of any regular mode of collecting popular opinion, the public spirit of the people is not properly cultivated, nor directed to the great objects of the contest. The people also are still subject to many heavy exactions, and the abuses and grievances accumulated by recent mal-administration have not yet been duly remedied or redressed."

* For this extraordinary document, which has been considered as one of the most striking evidences existing of Wellington's comprehensive mind, penetration, and foresight, see Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches, vol. v., from p. 234 to 239.

† Dispatches.

such excellent generals, ordered the army of Andalusia, joined by the greater part of the army of Estremadura, to advance suddenly upon Madrid, and this without any previous communication with Lord Wellington at Badajoz, or with the Duque del Parque and the other Spanish commanders in the north of Spain. Young Areizaga wanted to have the whole glory of recovering the Spanish capital: with nearly 50,000 men and 60 pieces of artillery, he descended from the mountains, where the French could not have touched him, and advanced with the confidence of an ignorant boy into the wide plains of La Mancha. It was on the morning of the 19th of November that he encountered in the open fields of Ocaña the two united corps of Mortier and Sebastiani, who advanced upon him in three columns, threw his cavalry head over heels, and broke the infantry of his right wing; upon which his left wing retired, or fled, without firing a shot. Then followed a general *débacle*, with the loss of fifty-five of their sixty cannon, of the military chest, provisions, baggage, clothing, &c., and with a terrific loss of life, which must have been sustained rather in the flight than in the fight.* The fugitives that were quick or fortunate to escape rushed like maniacs through the strong pass of Despeñas Perros, or fled by other rough roads towards Murcia or Valencia. Many thousands were taken prisoners, so that more than one half of this army—the largest that the junta had hitherto sent into the field—was destroyed or lost. It is said that very cruel usage was adopted to force the prisoners into the French service; that 8000 of them yielded, but took the first opportunity to desert, and join the guerillas in the mountains.

The defeat of Areizaga at Ocaña drew after it the defeat of the Duque del Parque, who had quitted the line of the Tagus to co-operate in the insane plan for recovering Madrid. Del Parque, in the month of October, being well stationed on the heights of Tamames, had defeated General Marchand, with a force not much superior in number to that of the French. This rare event too much elated the duque, who, not satisfied with freeing Salamanca from the French, risked his army several times in the open country; and, when Areizaga was thought to be advancing victoriously through La Mancha, he pushed forward into the open country of Castile, till Marchand, whom he had defeated, was joined by Kellermann and a fresh division from Valladolid. Even then, ignorant of their real force, he advanced against the enemy. On discovering that Kellermann had come up the duque retreated; but it was too late, and he was overtaken and beaten to pieces by Kellermann, on the 28th of November, at Alba de Tormes, the whole of his cavalry being seized with a sudden panic, and taking to flight before a French sabre or bullet could touch them. The Spanish infantry did better, forming into square and repulsing three successive charges of the French cavalry; but, when del Parque ordered a retreat upon Tamames, the scene of his victory in October, the infantry too began to desert; and on the following morning the roads were strewed with musquets and knapsacks thrown away by the fugitives, and the duque's army of 20,000 men was dwindled down to a few hundreds. Kellermann reported that he took all the artillery of the right wing, killed 3000 men, and made 200 prisoners.* Thus the two armies which constituted the principal regular force of the Spaniards, and which, if they had been kept within the line of the Tagus and posted along the Sierra Morena, might long have protected Andalusia and the provinces of the South from French invasion, had been thrown away on a most foolish errand! Lord Wellington, whose advice and warning had been rejected and despised, was deeply mortified by the events. "I lament," says he, "that a cause which promised so well a few weeks ago should have been so completely lost by the ignorance, presumption, and mismanagement of those to whose direction it was intrusted. I declare that, if they had preserved their two armies, or even one of them, the cause was safe. The French could have sent no reinforcements which could have been of any use; time would have been gained; the state of affairs would have improved daily; all the chances were in our favour; and in the first moment of weakness, occasioned by any diversion on the continent, or by the growing discontent of the French themselves with the war, the French armies must have been driven out of Spain. But, no! nothing will answer except to fight great battles in plains, in which the defeat of the Spanish armies is as certain as is the commencement of the battle. They will not credit the accounts I have repeatedly given them of the superior number even of the French: they will seek them out, and they find them invari-

* We could never understand how—or, to speak more plainly, we could never believe that—whole Spanish battalions died immoveable at their posts, in an open plain, in Cuesta's famous battle of Medellin. The British army, even in later days, when the Spaniards were vastly improved, never saw them capable of quite so much steadiness. At Medellin there was indeed a smashing fire of artillery upon the Spanish ranks and columns; but this would hardly account for the sort of destruction which is reported to have taken place. It appears that at Medellin, as at Ocaña, the Spaniards were broken and enveloped at once, that their retreat was completely cut off, and that, in their despair, they sold their lives dearly. At the time of the battle of Ocaña, when Bonaparte had successfully terminated the Austrian war, and when his brother Joseph was entertaining sanguine hopes of establishing his throne, the system was recommended and adopted of taking as many Spanish prisoners as possible, and of trying afterwards to induce them to enter into the service of the intrusive king; but at the time of the battle of Medellin, when Joseph's fears were great, a much more sanguinary system prevailed. Marshal Victor, however, wrote to King Joseph after the battle of Medellin: "The loss of the Spaniards was so great that it must be seen to be believed. I myself have gone over the field of battle to ascertain the facts. All the Spanish battalions which General Cuesta had stationed to oppose us, whether in line or in columns, *are still lying there in the same order.* Every man, officer and soldier, was killed; I at first stated their loss at 10,000 to 12,000 killed; I now believe it was more. All my staff have seen it as well as myself. But you must not suppose that it was a massacre of prisoners: no, they defended themselves to the last extremity, exclaiming '*No quarter.*' The sight of the field of battle is really frightful." Still this may have been, in good part, an attempt to cover the atrocity of the slaughter. Colonel Napier, after mentioning how Latour Maubourg with his cavalry swept round the left flank, and then fell on the rear of Cuesta, and how, at the same moment, Lasalle and his cavalry galloped in upon the broken bands, says, with a startling brevity, "A horrible carnage ensued, for the French soldiers, while their strength would permit, continued to follow and strike, until three-fifths of the Spanish army wallowed in blood."—*History of the Peninsular War.*

In the battle of Medellin Cuesta was wounded, and fell from his horse; but he was quickly remounted, and escaped. Another Spanish general, Frias, was severely wounded and was taken prisoner.

* Southey, History of the Peninsular War.

The declaration of war by Austria against France —which would not have been made at that moment without English encouragement and promises of aid—bound our government to attempt two great diversions (in addition to the war we were carrying on in the Spanish Peninsula, and which gave occupation to 200,000 French) in two very opposite parts of Europe,—in Holland and in the South of Italy. From the beginning of the month of May preparations were made for fitting out one of the greatest armaments that had ever issued from the ports of Great Britain; and by the end of July an army of 40,000 men was collected, and a fleet of thirty-seven sail of the line, two 50-gun ships, three of 44 guns, twenty-three frigates, thirty-one ship and brig sloops, five bomb vessels, twenty-three gun brigs, and about one hundred and twenty sail of hired cutters, tenders, gunboats, &c.—in all two hundred and forty-five vessels of war—accompanied by about four hundred sail of transports, was ready to convey and co-operate with the army. Unfortunately the destination of this mighty armament could not possibly be concealed from the French, or from any other people that knew what was, and had long been, in progress on the Scheldt. Not even Nelson and Trafalgar had made Bonaparte despair of disputing the sovereignty of the seas and invading England. Ever since the spring of 1807 formidable naval preparations had been carried on by France in those waters; and, finding that the port of Antwerp was not quite deep enough to float an 80-gun ship, with her guns and stores on board, Bonaparte had forced his brother Louis, the nominal King of Holland, to cede to France the port of Flushing, which lies at the entrance of the Scheldt, and offers a capacious bason, in which twenty or more sail of the line may lie in perfect safety, and in readiness for sea on all occasion. By the spring of the present year ten 74-gun ships were at anchor near the Calot Sand; nine ships of the line were on the stocks at Antwerp, most of them ready to be launched, and at the same place the keels of nineteen ships of war, large and small, were laid, while on the stocks at Flushing there were one 74 and three smaller vessels. Besides these there were, at Flushing, at Antwerp, and in the Texel, several sail of the line actually ready for sea. Counting on his conference with the Emperor Alexander at Erfurt, the Emperor of the French fully expected that nineteen or twenty Russian ships of the line would be put at his disposal; he knew that he could calculate on the hardy seamen of Denmark, and on what little remained of the fleet of that country; the defeats of the King of Sweden by the French and by the Russians would place the naval resources of the Swedes in his hands; and altogether he hoped to collect at some opportune moment a fleet of sixty sail of the line on the Dutch coast. Bonaparte, too, was known to have expended nearly 3,000,000*l.* sterling in converting Antwerp into a great naval dépôt, in making basons, dock-yards, and arsenals, and fortifications to defend them. It was not to be expected that England should allow these preparations to go on without making an attempt to interrupt them; and, as soon as our armament was begun, its destination was but an obvious inference. The very same reasons which account for the impossibility of secrecy justify the government in selecting Holland rather than any other country, in which to operate the diversion in favour of Austria; and this point was, moreover, recommended by the known existence of a very strong party in the United Provinces hostile to the French. Nor in the present state of the northern powers, with Denmark hostile, with Russia hostile, with Sweden crushed and falling to pieces, with Prussia conquered and her sea-ports and forts in the hands of the French, would it be very easy to discover where our diversion could have been made except in Holland. Small flying forces, like those led by Major Schill and the Duke of Brunswick, were able to maintain themselves for a short season in the north of Germany and the country on the Elbe; but those impoverished regions could not have supported a large British army, and a small one would have been sacrificed. And, even admitting that 30,000 or 40,000 British troops might have been landed on the Elbe,* marched into the interior of Germany, and there supported with the provisions and stores they carried with them, or by such as should be sent after them, from England, our government might be excused for not rushing into this bold adventure, since such an army must be only secondary to the great armies of the Emperor of Austria, and, in fact, almost entirely dependent on Austrian steadiness, ability, and good luck, which were all so very doubtful—to say nothing of that treachery, both in council and in the field, the existence of which seems to be proved by so many fatal reverses in past campaigns, as well as in the present. Before our expedition sailed from the Downs, Bonaparte had fought and won the battle of Wagram, and errors had been committed by the Austrians similar in nature and equal in amount to any that they had committed in former wars. Our appearance on the continent might reasonably be expected to revive the spirit of the Emperor Francis; and it behoved our government to make a great effort for the destruction of the docks and arsenals on the Scheldt, and for the capture or destruction of all that they contained. The Walcheren expedition, even as it was managed, gave serious alarm to Bonaparte, then far away on the Danube, and it kept on the Dutch coast, and on the N.W. coast of France, some troops which might have been sent to reinforce him in a struggle in which he was, at least once,

* Some trifling demonstrations were made on the Elbe. Captain Goate, with H. M. sloop the 'Mosquito,' and three small gun-vessels, entered that river on the 9th of July, and, landing sailors and marines, took both the town and the battery of Cuxhaven, although the battery was strong, surrounded by a wet ditch, and defended by 500 French troops. And subsequently to this an English flotilla with some hundreds of troops on board appeared in the same waters. The force was too small to do any good, as the popular insurrection in the north of Germany was then being crushed; but it appears to have been in these English vessels that the Duke of Brunswick and his brave companions escaped from the continent.

ably in all parts in numbers superior to themselves."*

The defeat of the Duque del Parque left the French at full leisure to direct their operations against the most vulnerable part of Portugal. On the line of the Guadiana, where his army was stationed, or on the side of Alemtejo, Lord Wellington could apprehend no attack, attempts in that quarter having always proved unsuccessful: and, after what Soult had suffered during his advance to, and retreat from, Oporto, it was not at all likely that the French would make a second experiment upon Portugal from the Galician frontier at the opposite extremity of the kingdom. But an intermediate route from the province of Salamanca by Ciudad Rodrigo was more open and much easier, and would lead the invading columns into the heart of Portugal or about midway between the Galician frontier and the frontier of Alemtejo, cutting off Lisbon from Oporto. The capture of Ciudad Rodrigo would, moreover, cut off the communication between the Spanish government and the northern provinces of Spain, and, besides opening the easiest way into Portugal and bringing on the fall of Almeida, it would inevitably give the French possession of Old Castile; and Lord Wellington obtained certain information that a French council of war had recommended the immediate siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. His lordship's primary object was, and had all along been, the defence of Portugal. It was therefore clear that the line of the Guadiana was no longer the line for him; and he resolved to withdraw his troops from that frontier, to march them to Lisbon and to the right bank of the Tagus, and to extend them from thence towards Oporto and the river Douro. He would thus meet the storm where it was now sure to burst. This plan, promptly conceived—for a few days before, and until the annihilation of the armies of Areizaga and del Parque, it had been unnecessary to think of it—was carried into execution with excellent order, and with all the rapidity that was necessary. Quitting the unhospitable ground of Spain altogether, the mass of the British army moved through Alemtejo in the rainy month of December, crossed the Tagus at Abrantes, and marched on to the Mondego. At the beginning of January, 1810, Lord Wellington fixed his head quarters at Viseu, having his out-posts along the frontiers of Spain towards Ciudad Rodrigo. He had left General Hill and his division at Abrantes; and General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry also remained on the banks of the Tagus. Abrantes, which commands the passage of the Tagus (over which river a bridge of boats had been constructed), is situated on the summit of a lofty hill, is naturally a strong place, surrounded by an old wall; and its defences had been improved by English engineers. Viseu, at the distance of 134 miles N.N.E. from Lisbon, also stands on elevated ground. In both places the troops, who were now properly supplied with provisions, recovered their health, and got rid of the malaria fevers they had caught in Spain. Parliamentary oppositionists and other persons at home might represent the case as hopeless, the attempt as madness; but assuredly Lord Wellington never for one moment despaired of defending Portugal against whatever French host might be brought against him; and the gallant army under his command fully shared in this confidence. After these toilsome marches had all been completed, there was a long repose; but the time, far from being lost, was most advantageously employed in improving the commissariat, the baggage and conveyance department, and other branches and departments (without which the bravery and activity of an army may be thrown away, and the strategetical skill of its commander baulked and defeated), in training and thoroughly disciplining the reinforcements which arrived from England, and in raising the Portuguese regular army to a state of efficiency in numbers, armament, and discipline. In this last part of his many and arduous duties his lordship was most ably seconded by General Beresford, who showed, in the following campaign, what Portuguese troops were worth when trained and commanded by British officers. This result, and numerous other advantages, could only be obtained through the superior docility and modesty of the people, and the more rational and submissive temper of their provisional government. The Portuguese had the habit of depending on their old allies the British, and of looking up with respect to their superior wealth, resources, means, and endowments; the Spaniards, and especially the superb Castilians, had only the more ancient habit of considering themselves as the first people in the world, and of despising all other nations. Lisbon at this time presented the appearance of the capital of a great British colony; our embassy, our merchants, our navy, our troops seemed to hold undisturbed possession of the city. The Portuguese soldiers, commanded and disciplined by English officers, and receiving their pay in English money, looked more like partisans of their powerful ally than the military force of the country to which they belonged. Now and then the Bishop of Oporto, president of the council of regency, showed some insubordination and gave a little trouble; but, on the whole, everything was apparently subjected to the control of England, whose assistance alone could prevent the French armies from re-obtaining possession of the whole country and satisfying their revenge on the people.* If a similar control, or even an approach to it, could have been obtained in Spain, that unhappy country might have been spared some years of the most terrible and destructive war that has been known in modern Europe.

* Dispatches. His lordship adds, "I am only afraid, now, that I shall be too late to save Ciudad Rodrigo, the loss of which will secure to the French Old Castile, and will cut off all communication with the northern provinces, and leave them to their fate. I wonder whether the Spanish officers ever read the history of the American war, or of their own war in the Dutch provinces, or of their own war in Portugal."

* Col. Leith Hay, Narrative.—Col. Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

very nearly over-matched and beaten. We apprehend, however, that no excuse can be found for ministers in their strange selection of commanders for this expedition: the Earl of Chatham, to whom they gave the supreme command of the land forces, had scarcely anything to recommend him except his being an amiable man, and connected with great men;* and, as for Rear-Admiral Sir Richard John Strachan, it would be committing an injustice to the navy not to say that there were fifty officers, even among those who had the requisites of professional rank or grade, fitter than he for the command of the fleet. If the government could have got rid of the rank and routine system, and of other causes which often had much to do with these appointments, there was one officer at hand fittest of all for this particular service—Captain Lord Cochrane. Or, by recalling him from the Mediterranean, they might have employed the ambidexterous Sir Sidney Smith, who was equal, or very nearly so, to Sir Richard Strachan in rank, and who was quite equal, if not superior, even to Lord Cochrane in in-shore work, or for operations, such as the present, which required the sailor to have "one foot on land and one on sea." But, as if the appointment of inferior commanders were not sufficient to mar the business, the government, uninstructed by many examples, neglected to define the authorities of each, thus leaving the sluice-gate open to those differences of opinion and jealousies of authority which had usually broken out between generals and admirals. The objects of the expedition, as explained in the Earl of Chatham's instructions, were, "The capture or destruction of the enemy's ships, either building at Antwerp and Flushing, or afloat in the Scheldt; the destruction of the arsenals and dockyards at Antwerp, Terneuse, and Flushing; the reduction of the island of Walcheren; and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war." Nelson, in 1801, had fixed his eye upon the same point, and had considered it as a week's expedition for a small fleet and 4000 or 5000 land troops; but since that time the works of Bonaparte had rendered the enterprise much more difficult. Ministers knew that Great Britain had held possession of the island of Walcheren before now; unfortunately they had no statistical returns to show at what expense of health and life that occupation had been maintained in the days of William III. and Queen Anne; and they declared afterwards that they never contemplated a permanent, or even a long, possession of the island. The study of statistics, which had scarcely been begun in 1809, was altogether unknown a century earlier: there existed no materials in the war-office, in the army medical board, or anywhere else in England, whereby to judge of the insalubrity of those islands in the estuary of the Scheldt: nevertheless, there is truth as well as point in the assertions that "the expedition to Walcheren, planned and conducted as it was, was the fruit of statistical ignorance in every one—everywhere from the prime minister to the commander-in-chief, and from him to the surgeon's mate: and that ignorance, which every Middleburghian, any Dutchman could have enlightened or dispelled, cost us 10,000 brave men, not a little money, and not a little credit."*

On the 28th of July the Grand Armada—for such it might be called—set sail from the Downs.† In the course of the following day, it was nearly all collected on the Dutch coast; and then began the differences of opinion, and the discoveries that the fleet was not sufficiently provided with boats for landing the troops, ordnance, &c. The wiser part of the officers were for going on to Antwerp at once (Antwerp was not forty-five miles distant), to try a *coup de main* before the place should be put in a full state of defence; but the less wise were for beginning with Flushing, and this last opinion prevailed. Flushing, whose importance, as compared with Antwerp, was as ten to a thousand, was invested on the 1st or 2nd of August; but so slow were our incapable commanders that nearly a fortnight elapsed before they got their batteries all ready,‡ and began their bombardment in earnest. They began to bombard hotly on the 13th; and on the 15th, when two churches, the Stadt-house, and 250 houses had been destroyed, General Monnet, who commanded the garrison of Flushing, held up the white flag and requested a suspension of hostilities. On the following evening the articles

* Even according to a not unfriendly organ (which was occasionally played by Walter Scott, as well as by Southey) the appointment of the son of the first Earl of Chatham and brother of William Pitt, "excited considerable wonder, for Lord Chatham was a man whose habits of indolence were notoriously inveterate, insomuch that in the height of his brother's power it had been found necessary to remove him from the office of first lord of the admiralty."—*The Edinburgh Annual Register.*

In a note to the above passage it is said, "While he held the situation of first lord of the admiralty he was called the *late* Lord Chatham, because his hour of rising was usually in the afternoon." In the text there are a few other sentences which seem to denote the pen of Scott: "Lord Chatham's manners were agreeable, and in conversation he displayed talents, which, as they never appeared on other occasions, seem only to have been exerted for conversational purposes, or only equal to them. Mr. Pitt was known to have described him as a person of useless abilities. He had served on the continent during the Anti-jacobin war, and was third in command at the disgraceful capitulation of the Helder. At this present time he held the situation of master of the ordnance, and in that capacity possessed a seat in the cabinet. In the course of the expedition, and still more after its conclusion, some inconvenience was found to result from having thus invested a cabinet minister with command."

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xlix., article on Military Education.

† The Earl of Chatham was accompanied or followed in part of the expedition by the late Sir William Curtis, biscuit-baker, banker, contractor, alderman, lord mayor. According to a street song of the day,

"Great Chatham sailed safe from the Downs,
With Curtis so loyal and funny;
They both came back again safe,
But cost John Bull twelve millions of money."

There is a note in Dodsley's Annual Register to this effect:—"Among the visitors of the fleet was one who attracted much notice by the pomp of his appearance, or what may be called his equipage. This was Sir William Curtis, who was wafted to the Downs in a yacht, either of his own, or hired for the purpose, or borrowed, beautifully painted, adorned with a streamer bearing devices prognosticating victory and glory, and carrying delicate refreshments of all kinds to the military and naval commanders, and the principal officers."

‡ General the Earl of Chatham said he was waiting for Admiral Sir Richard Strachan, and the admiral said he was waiting for the Earl of Chatham. Their positions were described in a well-known quatrain—

"The Earl of Chatham, with his sword drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, eager to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

of capitulation were signed; and the garrison, amounting to about 6000 men, laid down their arms in front of the place, to be conveyed as prisoners of war to England.* The ships that were afloat had fled at the approach of the English; those that were on the stocks, or in dock, were secured. With the exception of the peaceable surrender, on the 17th, of two small islands to the north of the Eastern Scheldt, the reduction of Flushing was the virtual termination of the campaign. On the 21st, and not sooner, the *late* Lord Chatham removed his head-quarters from Flushing to Veere; and on the 23rd he went to Ter Goes, on the contiguous island of South Beveland, and talked solemnly of going on to Antwerp. But before he could get there he must reduce Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, places strong of old, and of late years made much stronger; and now he learned that each of these two forts mounted 40 pieces of heavy cannon, and had a formidable garrison; that the dykes in the neighbourhood had been cut, and the whole country laid under water; that bars had been drawn across, and all sorts of impediments thrown into the Scheldt to stop the advance of our men of war; that a particularly strong boom-chain had been drawn across the river from Lillo to Liefkenshoeck; that arrangements had been made to sink vessels in a narrow part of the channel between those forts and Antwerp; and that batteries *à fleur de l'eau* had been erected by the French wherever the river was narrowest and most difficult. A great many of these preparations had been made during the fortnight and more that he had been pottering at Flushing. And, while he paused and pondered for nearly another fortnight, Marshal Bernadotte arrived at Antwerp, and from 40,000 to 50,000 regular troops, French, Dutch, and Germans, were collected in that neighbourhood, together with hosts of militia both from Belgium and from Holland. Add to all this, that 10,000 of the British troops had been left behind to keep possession of the Island of Walcheren; that 3000 were on the sick list; that nearly all the provisions brought from England were eaten up; that the country we had seized could supply next to nothing; and we need not be surprised that a council of war called together by the Earl of Chatham, on the 27th of August, should be decidedly of opinion "that it was not advisable to undertake further operations."† Sir Richard Strachan thought that it would, and then thought that it would not, be possible to fulfil that part of the government instructions which directed him, *if possible*, to render the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war; and so did nothing at all. Seriously, the thing was an impracticability, and our ministers must have been dreaming when they thought of it. In spite of the two-third rations, and of the sickness which was spreading, it is possible that our commanders might have remained some time longer where they were, doing nothing; but, as they stopped their offensive operations, the enemy commenced theirs. On the 30th and 31st of August they opened a fire of guns and mortars from both banks of the river; and compelled our ships to retire from their advanced position. This, indeed, was of no importance now; the ships of every description departed altogether from the country as soon as the weather would permit, and by the 4th of September every part of Zealand was evacuated by the English, except the island of Walcheren.* On the 14th of September, Earl Chatham embarked for England with the greater part of the army, leaving Sir Eyre Coote to hold the command of the remainder, and to keep possession of Walcheren, for the purpose of blocking up the Scheldt, stopping the egress of the Batavo-Gallic fleet, and keeping open an inlet for the trade of Great Britain into Holland! Before the Earl of Chatham took his final departure, 8000 men on the sick list denoted either that the climate did not suit the constitution of his British Majesty's subjects, or that there was something peculiarly noxious there this year in the air and season. And he had not been gone long when all the force he had left under Sir Eyre Coote began to disappear with alarming rapidity in the hospitals or in the grave. The disease has been described as nothing but very bad fever and ague, chiefly pro-

* During the siege of Flushing the king's approbation was signified to Earl Chatham (an especial favourite at court) for the *promptitude* with which he had commenced, and the *vigour* with which he had conducted, his operations!

In all, Chatham had consumed nearly 10,000 rounds of ammunition. General Monnet was dismissed from the French army with disgrace, for surrendering while he had still 4000 men fit for duty.

† Of the practicability of doing all that the Earl of Chatham was commissioned to do (had he but had more speed and more skill), a French military writer says,—

"Blankenberg is the point of coast the most convenient for the disembarcation of a body of troops destined for the invasion of Flanders. From this spot a paved road runs straight to Antwerp. Its length is 26 leagues; it passes through Bruges and Ghent. These two cities, at this time the capitals of rich and populous departments, which indirect taxation was harassing more than the conscription, would have supplied few recruits; but, in taking up a position there, the English would give to their plans an air of importance, convert to their use the resources of this fertile country, occasion a momentary inquietude and fear, and paralyze the zeal of those Belgians who, from interest, were devoted to France. From the Downs to Blankenberg is 20 leagues; and the passage could be so managed that the fleet should arrive at the break of day. The disembarcation would be accomplished without striking a blow, and Bruges be immediately occupied. The light detachments would then advance upon Sluis, a dismantled fort, and then, by Moldegham and Caprike, upon Ghent. A division of 10,000 or 12,000 men should also march upon Courtray, with orders to push forward a party, and retain a communication with Ghent by the great road of Menin. At length the main body of the army arrives, by forced marches, at the Tête de Flandre and Liefkenshoeck, both of which it carries in a trice. Meanwhile, the English fleet appears at the mouth of the Scheldt, and is now able, with some prospect of success, to commence operations in combination with the army. Any one may convince himself, by referring to the map, that this object may be attained, as far as relates to the journey, in seventy-two hours after the disembarcation has been effected at Blankenberg."—*Victoires et Conquêtes.*

* Zealand, it will be remembered, consists of the islands of Walcheren, North Beveland, and South Beveland. South Beveland is by far the largest of the three islands; its length being twenty-five miles from east to west, and its main breadth about nine miles. Walcheren, which is separated from the two Bevelands by very narrow channels of the sea, is about thirteen miles from east to west, and nine miles from north to south. The surface of the three islands of Zealand is flat and low, being in many places beneath the level of the sea at high water. As the water percolates through the bank, and accumulates by rain, much care and labour is required to remove it. This is commonly effected by means of sluices and mills. Inundations occasionally occur, and, as the water stagnates, the grounds are frequently left covered with slime and mud. The soil is excessively fertile, and produces corn, abundance of fruit, vegetables and madder. The indigenous inhabitants of the islands are very liable to endemic fevers during summer and autumn. They have in general a very unhealthy aspect: the skin is sallow, and sometimes it pits on pressure; the muscles are soft, yielding, and inelastic; the abdomen is tumid, while the limbs are small.—*Henry Marshall, Contributions to Statistics, &c.*

duced by the French cutting the dykes and inundating the neighbourhood of Flushing in the hot season of the year; but it should appear, from the dreadful mortality on the spot, and from the appearance of many of the patients who survived only to come home and die in English hospitals, that there must have been an admixture of typhus or of some other of the more virulent class of fevers. Malaria fever and ague kill but very slowly, even in much hotter climates.* Our army physicians and surgeons appear, at the moment, to have understood little or nothing of the disease or of the causes that produced it, and it is said that the medical board, not having been consulted previously, had made no preparations and had sent out no medicines proper for the case. Some wiseacres took it into their heads that the disease originated in the quality of the water of the island, which the men were obliged to drink; and this opinion had so much weight at home that English water was sent over for the use of the troops, the requisite quantity being calculated at 500 tons per week. When the first importation of Thames water arrived it seemed to be so little wanted that Sir Eyre Coote asked the army physicians what he should do with it, and by their advice he distributed it to the fleet. The water in which the soldiers often had to stand and work or march (several thousands of them were, on one occasion, up to their middle in water during the whole night), the want of needful accommodation, and even of common comforts, for the sick, were more apparent causes of disease than the water they took inwardly. As the army had been intended for most active service—for a rush and dash upon Antwerp—it had been encumbered as little as possible with heavy baggage: hence there was a want of covering and bedding for the sick, many of whom were obliged to lie on the floor in their great coats, and with their knapsacks for pillows. In the Flushing hospitals the roofs had been broken in by the bombardment, and the patients lay exposed to the weather. Towards *the end* of October a hundred English bricklayers were sent over, with English bricks and mortar, tiles and trowels all complete, to mend the hospital roofs (as if such workmen and such materials could not have been procured in the country at the end of August, when the disease began to be dreadful); but the repairs proceeded but slowly, and the imported workmen themselves soon increased the number of the sick. In the large town of Middleburg there was better accommodation and abundance of room; but, not to disturb the townspeople, the poor sick soldiers were quartered in cold damp churches, or huddled in barns and warehouses, mostly without windows and a free circulation of air. The Dutch, who sleep between two feather beds, might have been made to spare some bedding; but such a resource seems never to have been thought of by our stultified commanders, who left two fever-stricken soldiers to toss and groan in the same bed—where beds there were. If the Earl of Chatham* and his successor Sir Eyre Coote, and the officers serving under them, had studied how to render the fever a pestilence and a plague, they could scarcely have hit upon a better course than the one they followed. When the government became seriously alarmed at ravages almost unexampled in military history, they called upon the principal officers of the army medical department to repair to Walcheren to examine into the causes of the malady, and report thereon.† To this summons the surgeon-

* Besides Flushing, the island of Walcheren contains two other towns, Middleburg and Veere, and many villages. Middleburg, the chief place, had then a population of 10,000 or 11,000 souls. Even when the dykes were not broken, and the country not *inundated*, it was not considered a very salubrious spot; but, it was probably not (to the indigenous) much more unhealthy than Romney Marsh, or the Hundreds of Essex, or the worst parts of the Lincolnshire Fens. A writer who has laudably distinguished himself by his exertions for promoting the medical statistics of the army, and the study of statistics in general, says that the ratio of mortality in Zealand is a little higher than it is in the marshy parts of some of the counties in England, and about the same as in the parish of Spalding, which is situated in the lowest part of the fens of Lincolnshire. But it appears that the influence of the climate of Zealand upon *strangers* must be far more fatal than is that of our worst Lincolnshire fen; that the old Scotch regiment in the Dutch service had been known to bury their whole number at Sluys, in Dutch Flanders, in three years; that, of the French forces employed since the war of the Revolution in those marshy regions, about 33 per cent. had been annually cut off by endemic disease, and that even Dutch troops brought thither from healthier parts of the country had scarcely suffered less than the French.—*Henry Marshall, Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals, Contributions to Statistics of the Sickness and Mortality which occurred among the troops employed on the Expedition to the Scheldt in the year* 1809. (*From the Edin. Med. and Surg. Journal, No.* 133.)

* All the blame is not to be imputed to Coote: the same lodging and treatment of the sick obtained before Chatham left for England; and, by the 8th of September, which was six days before the earl quitted Walcheren, the number of sick amounted to nearly 11,000! Many of these sick accompanied Chatham home. In the malaria fevers of the south of Europe the patient, in most cases, feels an immediate benefit from being conveyed into a healthier atmosphere. But with this Walcheren fever it was not so; and it is said that General Monnet, the commandant of Flushing, had recommended the French government never to remove the sick, it having been found that a greater number of those who were kept in the island recovered, than of those who were removed from the island. A battalion of our first regiment of foot-guards, 872 strong, returned to England with 399 sick. The battalion was landed at Chatham in September. Many of the men who had returned apparently well were attacked with the fever, so that by the 8th of March, 1810, only 117 of the original strength of the battalion had escaped the disease, and some of these 117 men were attacked with intermittent fever as late as the middle of the month of June, 1810. It appears that of the number of cases in hospitals a large ratio terminated fatally. "But," adds Mr. Marshall, "long after this date many of the men who had apparently escaped the noxious influence of the climate of Walcheren were attacked and suffered severely from the specific endemic disease. . . . . It is well known that among the regiments who had been employed in Walcheren, and who served afterwards in the peninsula, many of the men were, upon the first exposure to cold and fatigue, rendered unfit for duty, so as frequently not to leave one-third of the strength fit for service. A similar result may frequently, if not generally, be expected in all cases where troops have suffered severely from endemic fever, which commonly leaves less or more of organic disease, by which means recovery and restoration to health is often *only* partial and temporary."

† The alarming progress of the Walcheren fever is thus stated:—

On the 20th of August, the fifth day after the capitulation of Flushing, sickness began to show itself among the troops in South Beveland. The number of sick this day was 1564.

August 23. Sickness increased very much within the last twenty-four hours.

August 26. The sickness continued to increase rapidly. The number of sick amounted to 5000 rank and file.

August 28. The sickness still increased. Some of the general and many of the other officers were seized with fever.

August 31. Sickness still increasing; and, as in every case the actual numbers brought down for embarcation were much greater than stated in the returns given in to regulate the appropriation of transports, there was a deficiency of tonnage and room; and so the sick were embarked with the well, and both classes much crowded. The officers of the medical staff suffered very much from the disease.

September 1. The number of sick in South Beveland was upwards of 5000.

September 3. The number of sick amounted to 8194.

September 4. The troops in South Beveland embarked, and that island was completely evacuated.

September 7. The transports with the troops ordered to England sailed. The sick of the whole army, including those sent to England, amounted to upwards of 10,948.

September 10. Sick in Walcheren, 7396. Thus, as only 16,766 rank

general of the army replied, that the question was not surgical but medical, and that consequently the duty ought to fall to the physician-general of the forces: the physician-general of the forces, on his part, represented that he had too much to do at home to be able to go abroad, and that the duty properly and indisputably appertained to the inspector-general of army hospitals: the inspector-general of army hospitals replied, that the duty required was purely medical, and, as such, belonged to the physician-general—but, upon learning that both the physician-general and the surgeon-general had declined going, the inspector-general declared that he was ready to go upon the shortest notice. When this curiously dishonourable correspondence was laid before old Sir David Dundas, the present commander-in-chief (who was not without his share of blame in the Walcheren expedition), Sir David and the secretary-at-war, Lord Castlereagh (who had a far greater share of blame with respect to the original enterprise than the commander-in-chief), were both decidedly of opinion that Sir Lucas Pepys, the physician-general, was the most proper person to be employed on this service; and accordingly an order was forthwith issued to Sir Lucas to proceed immediately to Walcheren. Sir Lucas hereupon expressed in writing his great concern at finding that a man of nearly seventy years of age, and with his infirmities, should be thought capable of undertaking such a duty—a duty which he solemnly declared himself incapable of performing. Sir Lucas recommended two other army-physicians to go in his stead, adding that they would see the business well performed, "whereas, if he himself were able to go, it would be merely *pro formâ*, and no possible good could arise from it, *because he knew nothing of the investigation of camp and contagious diseases.*" * But good came out of this evil, honour out of this disgrace. The physician-general and the surgeon-general were both dismissed, and a new and incomparably better medical department was established.

Some able men on the spot alleviated the sufferings of the soldiers; but, in proportion to the numbers left under Sir Eyre Coote's command, the sickness and mortality continued to be very great. Nevertheless Sir Richard Strachan, who remained there with his fleet—which, strange to say, suffered nothing from the disorder †—dissuaded ministers from the thought of giving up their precious conquest. It was a post, he said, of great importance as a naval station, and also as a pivot for future military operations on the continent. Indeed, as a demonstration in favour of Austria, it became of great importance, and might probably be equal to the defensive employment of 100,000 of the enemy's men, for it must keep the Emperor of the French in a constant state of alarm or uneasiness, being so contiguous to the continent. Sir Richard even drew up a plan of defence—and not a bad one—which was submitted to the admiralty. He considered that, as the defence must be principally naval, about 12,000 land troops would be enough for duty on the island. On the other hand, Captain Cockburn (since Admiral Sir George), whose skill and judgment were highly prized, was as decidedly of opinion that no permanent possession ought to be contemplated, and that Walcheren would never prove worth the expense of defending it.* But England considered herself bound to retain possession so long as it could be of any use to our unlucky ally, and the Emperor of Austria solicited us to continue our operations in Holland down to the moment, and apparently even past the time, when, beaten again, and again losing all heart, he prostrated himself at his conqueror's feet, and purchased terms for himself by proposing, or consenting to, the marriage of his daughter with Bonaparte. Dearly as it cost us, our occupation of Walcheren cost Bonaparte many exertions as well as anxieties, much wear and tear of his troops in marching and countermarching, and a great deal of money. French writers give a different account, and state that the Belgian militia, and a few thousand conscripts and volunteers from Paris and the French frontiers, were sufficient to keep the English army in check; but even these forces could not be equipped and brought into the field without a heavy outlay; and it is well known that Bernadotte brought down, and long kept at Antwerp, and in the forts and batteries lower down the Scheldt, many French and German troops that would otherwise have been sent from Hanover and from the Rhine to the Danube. Our ministers, however, at one time really acted as if they intended to keep Walcheren for good and all: they ordered our engineer-officers to continue to improve the fortifications, and some more bricklayers and masons, with large quantities of bricks and lime, were sent out to work upon the parapets and ramparts of Flushing, and to aid in making a chain of batteries and redoubts, to extend from Veere to Rammekins, and from Rammekins to Arnemuiden. But at last, on the 13th of November, which was a month all but two days after the Emperor Francis

and file were left behind at Walcheren, nearly one-half of that force must have been in hospital, or in attendance on those that were.—*Henry Marshall, Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals, Contributions to Statistics, &c.*

* Edinburgh Annual Register, 1809.

† "So local were the causes of disease that vessels stationed only a few yards from the land continued perfectly healthy."—*Id.*

* Captain Cockburn could perceive no other advantage in our possession of Walcheren than this:—the enemy's fleet in the West Scheldt could not escape from it without hazarding an engagement with our fleet which would lie in Flushing roads. "But," he said, "the natural consequence would be that the enemy's ships would remain where they were, and where, as it had been proved, we could not get at them. If, on the contrary, Walcheren did not belong to us, and our squadron destined to oppose the Scheldt fleet were kept in the Downs, favourable circumstances might indeed enable the enemy to escape, but it would be at considerable risk;" "and I cannot but think," he added, "that a French fleet being at sea is more advantageous to us than the knowledge of its existence in a safe harbour. In the latter case it is a constant source of anxiety to us; in the former, it is impossible to describe the energy, spirit, and hope with which the chance of its destruction fills every breast, especially of those who have spent many a long and dreary night blockading them. It is also to be remembered that, owing to the confused and hurried manner in which the enemy's squadrons traverse the seas during the short periods of their escaping our vigilance, the damage they have ever done our trade has been comparatively very small; but, on the other hand, if any of our squadrons fall in with them, the result always has been, and I trust will ever be, both honourable and advantageous to our country."

had signed his degrading treaty of peace with the Emperor Napoleon in Vienna, his capital, orders were dispatched to Lieutenant-General Don, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command, to evacuate Flushing, and take such measures as he might judge most effective for the destruction of the basin and of the naval defences of the island. General Don was to occasion as little injury as possible to the inhabitants; but he was to leave the whole island in such a state as would render its ports and arsenals unserviceable. Yet even now our ministers seemed to entertain some vague notion that Austria would fly to arms and renew the struggle rather than submit to the saddest extremity of humiliation; and Lord Liverpool, who had succeeded Lord Castlereagh as secretary-at-war, in his very orders to Don to destroy the works, told that general that it was now determined to evacuate the island of Walcheren, *unless some new circumstances should occur in the progress of the operation, which might render expedient an alteration in this decision.* When secretaries of state and secretaries-at-war send such orders as these, generals and admirals may be expected to make blunders. General Don was an excellent man, and a sensible and good officer, but Lord Liverpool's riddle perplexed him in the extreme, and so he destroyed with one hand, and continued building up with the other—for, although the work of destruction was commenced on the 26th of November upon the parapet of the sea lines, at that very time, and for many days afterwards, six or seven hundred labourers were employed in carrying on the line of redoubt between Veere and Arnemuiden. At length, however, the labour of construction was suspended, and the labour of destruction prosecuted with more vigour. Possibly the noble secretary-at-war had been informed of the dilemma in which he had placed the general. The piers of the flood-gates of the basin at Flushing were blown up with gunpowder; the strong and costly pile-work on the east side was destroyed, that on the west side being left, as it could not be destroyed without risking the destruction of a part of the town; the arsenal and magazines in Bonaparte's new dockyard were burned; but very little was done to damage the land fortifications of the place, lest the houses and property of the townspeople should be injured by the explosion. The 6000 prisoners who surrendered in Flushing had been shipped off for England long ago. The ships on the stocks were destroyed; but one fine new frigate was brought away, as were also the timbers of a seventy-four, which, being put together at Woolwich, produced in 1812 a good ship, which was called the 'Chatham,' to preserve, we suppose, the memory of that earl's Walcheren exploits. These things and the fever were about all we brought back from an expedition which cost us several thousands of lives, and many millions of money.*

* The St. Giles' songster, or laureat of the expedition, to keep his verse in measure, greatly diminished the amount of the money: instead of 12,000,000*l.*, the Walcheren expedition is said to have cost 20,000,000*l.*, and thus to have imposed on the nation a perpetual burthen of 1,000,000*l.* of annual taxes. If one-half of this enormous sum had been sent into Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, the Tyrol, and Italy, the chances are that the Emperor Francis would not have been crushed; and it is quite certain that, if the other half of the money had been spent on our own navy, we might have built with it ten times as many line-of-battle ships as we could have seized or destroyed by getting into our hands all that were in the Scheldt.

Murat.

Our diversion on the side of Italy cost no such enormous sacrifices, and yet it too was attended with some advantages to our allies, for it tended to deprive Bonaparte of the services on the Danube of his most brilliant and best cavalry general, his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, by virtue of Bayonne decrees, now King of Naples. Our movements, moreover, along the whole extent of the Neapolitan coasts obliged Murat to reinforce his army in Calabria, to wear it out with long marches hither and thither, as the danger seemed more imminent on this point or on that, and to keep on the shores of the Mediterranean and Adriatic both French and Italian troops which would otherwise have been employed against the Austrians in Upper Italy, and in the Tyrol or the Illyrian provinces. It is true that with all these stoppages Bonaparte contrived to beat the Emperor Francis, but his work would have been much easier and more speedy if even this our Italian diversion had not been made. It was not for even a wiser ministry than our own to calculate that Austria, after beginning the struggle so energetically, would end it so feebly, and that, after gaining so many successes, and putting her assailant within an inch of ruin, she would allow herself to be trampled upon, and give up all for lost.

The crowned dragooner had signalized his accession to the Neapolitan Bourbon throne, or his arrival at Naples, by recovering from the English possession of the isle of Capri. His unwarlike predecessor and brother-in-law, Joseph, after ordering two attempts, which turned out deplorable failures, contented himself with sitting down quietly, and seeing every day, whether in his palace at

Naples or in his palace at Portici, the white Bourbon flag of Ferdinand IV.*—the sovereign he had dispossessed,—waving over an island which is not more than twenty-four miles from the city of Naples, and which, with our ships and gun-boats that took shelter under it, very completely blockaded the whole Neapolitan gulf or bay. But this did not suit the bravery and the martial habits of his successor. Murat collected an imposing force on the beautiful promontory which juts out beyond Sorrento, and approaches to within two and a half English miles of the eastern extremity of the island; and, choosing a moment when our ships-of-war were absent, he carried over a force which might almost be called an army, and with it a frigate, a corvette, and a swarm of gun-boats. The place, which had been gallantly won by a few of our sailors and marines in 1806, was lost by some land forces in the autumn of 1808. The garrison was very weak, consisting of the Corsican Rangers in British pay, and two weak regiments of Maltese fencibles, which, contrary to their own intreaties and the judgment of Governor Sir Alexander Ball, had been turned into one regiment of the line. There was not an English regiment, there was not so much as an English company, on the island: all the British soldiers there amounted to one corporal and eight men of our Royal Artillery. But the Maltese regiment was officered partly by Maltese and partly by English officers, and some of the officers of the Corsican Rangers (besides Lieutenant-colonel Hudson Lowe, the commanding officer of the regiment and governor of the island) were Englishmen. But the natural strength of the place was great, and the defence, though protracted only for a few days longer than it was, would have allowed the English cruisers time to come up, and sweep away the Neapolitan army. It might have happened that the whole French and Neapolitan force should have been cut off, and captured on the island, or in their attempt to escape from it. It should appear that Murat was not without this apprehension, for, bold and adventurous as he was, he did not venture his own person in the expedition, but remained at Capo delle Campanelle, at the extremity of the Sorrentine promontory. As it was, his flotilla was ready to fly at the appearance of almost every sail in the distance, and once or twice they really fled to seek refuge behind the land batteries in the bay of Naples. Capri had got the name of the "little Gibraltar;" but, except in its rocks and precipices, it bore but a slight resemblance to the most celebrated of our fortresses, the fortifications and artificial defences being altogether contemptible. The French general, Lamarque, who commanded the expedition, attacked in three places at one and the same time. The first party that got on shore suffered considerable loss from the fire of the Maltese, who were posted on the heights of Anacapri, which command the island; but they contrived to hold their ground. Colonel Hudson Lowe, though having but a small disposable force, and being threatened with another attack on Capri, the lower town, reinforced the Maltese; but the French and Neapolitans had effected their landing and ascended the commanding heights of Anacapri, and had thus overcome the only real difficulty that the position presented. When the moon rose, Lamarque's people, who appear to have been reinforced, made a rush upon Anacapri, where the Maltese, after seeing their English colonel shot through the head, laid down their arms almost without resistance, or fled to the town of Capri by a flight of 538 steps, which is carried down the face of a precipice in a very curious manner. Other troops then came up from the western end of the island; artillery was brought over the rocks to Anacapri, and turned upon the lower town and its miserable little fort. An effort of no great magnitude, the landing of a few hundred English sailors and marines, would of a certainty have thrown the Neapolitan part of the forces into a complete panic; but a flotilla that sailed into the bay from the island of Ponza (where, also, the Sicilian flag was flying) was too weak to make the attempt, and it had no effect in prolonging the defence made by the single Corsican regiment and the nine English artillerymen. The siege was, however, prolonged from the 4th till the 18th of October. General Lamarque proposed a surrender of the garrison by a "capitulation" as prisoners of war. This was rejected by Sir Hudson Lowe, who, although the walls had been breached, would agree to no other terms than that of evacuating the island by a "convention," which should stipulate for a free departure of the whole of the garrison with their arms and baggage, and also for protection to the inhabitants of the island. And to these conditions, highly honourable to the defenders, the French general finally consented. Lamarque apprehended that an English fleet might soon arrive and coop him up in the island, without provisions and without other necessary supplies. The flag of Murat was scarcely hoisted over the little town of Capri ere a strong English squadron, with troops on board, came in sight; but it was now too late.*

Murat also recovered almost immediately several

* As we had taken possession of Capri in the name of the old King of Naples and Sicily, his flag had been immediately hoisted there.

* In this brief account of the loss of Capri we have been assisted by private information and by a local examination. There is abundant evidence, official and unofficial, to show what was the real force in British pay which held possession of the island for King Ferdinand. Yet General Colletta and other historians of his school and party represent the triumph of Murat as if obtained over a most formidable English garrison—a real English army. They talk of English troops surrendering in heaps. Not satisfied with gross exaggeration, they have recourse to invention and downright lying. They falsify the conditions on which Sir Hudson Lowe agreed to evacuate the place, by saying that he and his garrison bound themselves not to serve against the French or the allies of the French for a year and a day! Within half a year Colonel Lowe was engaged in the capture of the island of *Ischia*. Poor Murat, with all his bravery and all his great exploits, was absurdly vain, and given to make a great deal of very petty exploits. Medals were struck and great bad pictures were painted to commemorate his conquest of Capri and his triumph over the English at Capri, where he never set his foot, and where there were no English troops to triumph over. Not only the French and Italian, but also all the English accounts we have seen of these affairs are very incorrect. We have repeatedly visited the island, and all its positions. Capri, or the lower town, is altogether indefensible with Anacapri in the hands of an enemy.

The Rock of Scylla.

places in Calabria, and among them the rock, town, and castle of Scylla, which, in the course of two years, had changed masters three or four times.

But it was easier to take old castles and irregularly fortified towns than to subdue the fierce spirit of the Calabrian people. Bands of insurgents—all called by the French brigands or banditti—still kept the field, or lurked in the mountains and among the forests. As soon as one redoubtable chief was captured or killed, another sprung to supply his place and avenge his fall. The Guerilla warfare in Spain was not more ferocious than this; the same inhumanity prevailed on both sides. "When we take the Calabrians we hang and shoot them; when they take us they roast us alive," says a witty Frenchman, who could laugh in the midst of all these horrors.* But the hanging and shooting was conducted by the French on a frightfully extensive scale, and with scarcely the shadow of a trial, so that very frequently men were executed who had never been in arms at all, or who had long since abandoned the cause of Ferdinand IV. as hopeless. It was a blind and furious martial law that prevailed; and the executions were conducted solely by the military. Nor did the French spare their tortures: they frequently set fire to houses, huts, and villages, and burned all within them; and, even when they hanged their captives, they would allow no preparation, no friend to soothe them, no priest to assist and console them; and, when the poor wretches were strung up by the necks, they were fired at by their savage executioner, not to shorten their suffering, but out of mere spite or wantonness, for aim was taken, not at a vital part, but at the legs, &c. In every considerable town there was a prison always crowded with Calabrian insurgents or *suspects*, who were treated with nearly every refinement of barbarity. Fresh captives were continually brought in; but the daily executions made lodging-room for them in the foul pestilential prisons. Every town had its gallows *en permanence* (like the guillotine at Paris during the reign of terror), and no gallows was ever seen without two or three or more peasants swinging from it. It was usual to execute the prisoners early in the morning, and to leave them suspended *in terrorem* until the following morning, when they were taken down to make room for others. All the dead when taken down were thrown into immense pits, where they lay stark naked, or in their ragged clothes, one upon the other, a horrible promiscuous heap of human bodies. At times these uncultured men showed a high spirit, and bravely resented the imputation of being brigands. One of them said to the French military tribunal at Monteleon,—"The robbers are yourselves! what business have you here and with us? I carried my gun and my knife for King Ferdinand, whom may God restore! but I am no robber!" To these wholesale executions and torturings were added the intolerable grievances of the conscription; young men of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, were seized and sent out of their native country to fight for the French, whom they abhorred, in

* Paul-Louis Courier, Mémoires, Correspondence, &c.

Upper Italy, in Germany, in Spain, or wherever it might suit Bonaparte to employ them; and, in order to prevent their desertion or escape, these proud and fierce Calabrians were chained together in parties of twenties or fifties and marched through the country under strong escorts of *gens d'armes*. Nor were the prisons and the gallows reserved solely for the untameable peasantry; many individuals of respectable station in society—women and children, as well as men—were thrown into those most filthy and horrible of gaols, and many of the men of the best name and reputation in those provinces were hanged or shot, or hanged and shot at one and the same time. As in Spain, this system of terrorism only gave a keener edge to revenge and cruelty on the other side.* When Murat endeavoured to introduce a more moderate system he found it impossible to do so, and the mere attempt caused the French and their Neapolitan partisans to complain loudly that he was favouring the Calabrians to their own cost and prejudice. The Calabrians, on the other hand, considered every attempt at conciliation as a plot to betray them. When the new war in Germany became known, and when intelligence reached the southern extremity of the peninsula, that the Austrians had beaten Eugene Beauharnais in the north of Italy, and had compelled the French to retire behind the Adige, the Calabrians were highly excited, and assumed a tone towards the French which proved they believed that the moment of their deliverance was at hand. This excitement mounted still higher when it was reported that the Austrians had entered Milan, and that the English were fitting out a great armament in Sicily. And a few days later a climax was put to the Calabrian fury by intelligence that the pope, "by the authority of God Almighty, and of St. Paul and St. Peter," had excommunicated Bonaparte.

On the 11th of June Sir John Stuart, the hero of Maida, and now commander-in-chief of our forces in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 British troops. On the 13th his appearance induced the enemy to abandon the greater part of their posts along the shore of Calabria Ulteriore; and the posts and works upon the line opposite to Messina, from which the French had long been threatening Sicily with invasion, were seized and destroyed by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith. Arms and ammunition were landed and sent up the country for the use of the insurgents, who took possession of some of the mountain passes, where they did great mischief to Murat's army, and who recovered several towns in the interior of the country, where they took sanguinary vengeance on the French, and their partisans and abettors. Two smaller expeditions, issuing from the port of Messina, landed 400 or 500 Sicilian soldiers and Calabrian refugees in the Gulf of Gioia, and 2000 or 3000 soldiers, regular and irregular, between Reggio and Palmi. A portion of these forces, assisted by a few of our troops, undertook the siege of Scylla; the rest carried on a loose guerilla warfare, which cost Murat rather dear. At the same time flotillas of English and Sicilian gun-boats and other armed vessels ran along and scoured all the coasts of Calabria from the promontory of Scylla to the edge of the Gulf of Salerno, and from Reggio to the head of the Gulf of Taranto, operating simultaneously in the Tyrrhenian and in the Ionian seas, threatening a dozen places in one day, capturing or destroying many of these places, making the French generals hurry now hither now thither, and spreading consternation in every town and station on both sea-boards, for, though here to-day, no one could tell where the flotillas might be to-morrow. And, while these two flotillas swept all the coasts of Calabria, Commodore William Hoste scoured the whole coast of Apulia, the richest province of the Neapolitan kingdom, from Otranto to Manfredonia, capturing every vessel that showed itself at sea, cutting out fleets of corn-ships in the ports and bays, and knocking to pieces or capturing many of the sea-forts which the French had erected, and which the Neapolitan troops and militia could very seldom maintain.

But in the meanwhile Sir John Stuart, having been joined by some Sicilian forces which embarked at Palermo, nominally under the command of King Ferdinand's second son, Don Leopold, Prince of Salerno, had made straight for the bay of Naples, to menace the capital and seize some of the islands in its immediate neighbourhood. On the 24th of June the advanced division of the British and Sicilian troops, which contained the British troops, anchored off Cape Miseno, close to Baia and Pozzuoli, and, by water, not more than ten or fourteen English miles from the city of Naples, which was thrown into a state of excessive alarm, and almost into a state of insurrection. The English general was kept waiting some time by Don Leopold, whose presence it was expected would produce a great effect among his father's old subjects, and when the prince arrived he was a drag and an impediment all operations. Though coming to fight for his father's crown Don Leopold could not live or move without his iced water, his fresh fruit, and his other luxuries.; and part of the fleet was kept stationary while *speranaras* brought from Sicily the congealed snow of mount Etna, for this very luxurious and unwarlike Bourbon.* Nothing would have been more easy than to bombard Naples and batter it to pieces; nor would it have been a work of great difficulty with 15,000 British troops to have landed and driven Murat out of that city, for he had only some 11,000 or 12,000 regular troops collected there, and of these the greater part were Neapolitans, whose discipline was incomplete, and whose fidelity and courage were both exceedingly doubtful. But to destroy the city under the eye of the son of the old king would have been a parti-

* Lieutenant P. J. Elmhirst, R. N., Occurrences during a six Months' Residence in the Province of Calabria Ulteriore, in the years 1809, 1810, &c.,—Lettres sur les Calabres, par un Officier Français.

* Private information received from an English officer who was in the expedition.

cularly revolting act; and, though 15,000 British troops might have taken, they could not have kept Naples in the case of the French beating the Austrians in Upper Italy; and several weeks before the arrival of our armament at Cape Miseno, the Archduke John, though not beaten by the French, had been compelled, by the reverses of the Austrian armies in other quarters, to abandon Upper Italy altogether. Besides, Sir John Stuart's plan was merely to create and keep up an alarm, and "to make such a movement, as, although it should produce no issue of achievement to ourselves, might still operate a diversion in favour of our Austrian allies."* And a considerable body of troops, which Murat had recently detached from Naples as a reinforcement to Eugene Beauharnais, as well as almost the whole of a corps of 6000 men which he had sent into the Roman States to complete the seizure of the papal dominions, which his brother-in-law Napoleon had ordered, were precipitately recalled on the first appearance of our armament on the coast. On the 25th of June 2300 men, including some Sicilian light infantry, a regiment of Corsican rangers, and a detachment of Calabrian Free Corps, were landed under the command of Major-general MacFarlane, in the island of Ischia, distant only four or five miles from Cape Miseno. A chain of batteries, which the French had erected to fortify every accessible part of the shore, was easily turned; and then the batteries were successively abandoned. Two or three hundred prisoners were taken. With the remainder of his very insufficient force General Colonna retired into the castle, which is situated on the summit of a steep detached rock. Colonna rejected a summons from MacFarlane; but, on the 30th, when a breaching battery was erected, he surrendered upon terms of capitulation. The small but thickly peopled island of Procida lies between Capri, Cape Miseno, and Ischia, being separated from the latter island by a deep but narrow channel of the sea: it has an old castle, and then had some other batteries and defences; but the Neapolitan commandant surrendered at the first summons, and this event fortunately contributed to the almost entire capture or destruction of a large flotilla of about forty heavy gun-boats, which attempted during the night to run from Gaeta to Naples, and expected to find protection, as well as co-operation, from the fortress and artillery of Procida, in its passage through the narrow strait that separates the island from the main. In the two islands 100 pieces of ordnance of all calibres and about 1500 regular troops were captured. Captain T. Staines, on the morning of the 25th, being at the east of Procida, discovered a frigate, a corvette, and several gun-boats coming out of Pozzuoli bay, and he drove them back again to the shelter of their land batteries. On the next day Captain Staines took a land battery near Cape Miseno, and then with the 'Cyane' frigate, the 'Espoir' corvette, and twenty-three Sicilian gun-boats, stood in to Pozzuoli bay, in the hope of bringing Murat's frigate, corvette, and gun-boats to action. The 'Cyane,' Staines's own ship, got becalmed so near to the shore that a battery of four 36-pounders opened upon him. He embarked in one of the Sicilian gun-boats, soon silenced the battery, and, landing with a party of men, spiked the guns, destroyed the carriages, hove a 10-inch mortar into the sea, and returned to his frigate without a single casualty. On the afternoon of the 27th the Neapolitan commodore came again out from Pozzuoli, not to fight, but to try to run round the point of Posilippo to Naples. Besides his frigate and corvette he had now twenty gun-boats; and he was encouraged to hope that his short trip would be fortunate, if not altogether uninterrupted, for Staines's Sicilian gun-boats were at a considerable distance in the bight of the bay, and his corvette the 'Espoir' was becalmed astern. But Staines rushed after him, making the 'Cyane' man her sweeps, and thus, pulling the English frigate, rounded the point of Posilippo, and entered into the inner bay of Naples alone, in pursuit of the enemy. At half-past seven in the evening, when the Neapolitan frigate the 'Cerere' was within three miles of the mole of Naples, the 'Cyane' succeeded in getting alongside of her, and Staines commenced the action within half pistol shot distance; the Neapolitan corvette 'Fama,' and the twenty gun-boats tacked and took part in the fight, and, as the whole flotilla kept edging in to the shore, the land batteries opened their fire upon the 'Cyane,' which at one time was within gun-shot of the mole-head. The 'Cerere' got a reinforcement of fresh men from Naples, but notwithstanding this advantage she hauled down her colours, seeing that the gun-boats and her consort, the 'Fama,' were panic-stricken and were using their sweeps to escape into the harbour. But a second reinforcement of men was sent off from the mole the next minute, and the 'Cerere' re-hoisted her flag. But by half-past eight the Neapolitans, whose fire had been for some minutes very slack, ceased firing altogether, and uttered shrieks that were heard both on shore and at sea:—their over-crowded decks were literally strewed with killed and wounded. But by this time the gallant Staines had had his left arm knocked out of the socket at the shoulder and had been wounded in the side; his first lieutenant (James Hall) had been dangerously wounded, and his second and only remaining lieutenant had also received a serious hurt; the frigate that had sustained the fire of so many land and floating batteries was crippled in her masts and rigging, and all her sails were completely riddled by grape and langridge: thus she was neither in a condition to take possession of the silenced Neapolitan frigate nor even to haul off from the land batteries, which kept up an incessant fire. But, fortunately, by this time the 'Espoir' and some of the Sicilian gun-boats came to her assistance; and, while the 'Cerere,' in a frightful state, slided round the mole-head into

* Sir John Stuart's dispatch to Lord Castlereagh.

the harbour, the 'Cyane' was towed out of the bay by the Sicilian gun-boats.*

Captain Bausan, the native Neapolitan officer who commanded the 'Cerere,' was a brave man and good sailor; some of his officers and crew, though unaccustomed to such close and murderous firing, did their duty well and were entitled to praise. They never had the remotest chance of victory; but the dreadful slaughter which befel the frigate might have been in good part avoided if it had not been for the rashness, folly, and ignorance of Murat. Bonaparte had made his brother-in-law grand admiral of the empire; but, though the best of cavalry officers and most quick-sighted of dragoons, Murat knew absolutely nothing of naval matters. Since the arrival of Sir John Stuart's armament he had been galloping along the coast from place to place, issuing a series of orders that were altogether absurd, except in as far as they related to the manning of the land batteries, which were very numerous: it was he that had uselessly ordered the flotilla of gun-boats to come from Gaeta, where it was safe; and it was he that had positively enjoined Bausan to push round from Pozzuoli. On that day he put on his splendid and fantastic uniform of grand admiral; and on horseback, and surrounded by an immense staff of Frenchmen and Italians—all landsmen like himself—he posted himself on the shore near Pozzuoli, then at the point of Posilippo, then at the mole-head of Naples, to cheer and encourage the Neapolitan combatants, making signals, gesticulating, shouting, and finally tearing his mustachios in rage and useless spite. And when the 'Cerere' was striking her flag so near to the spot where he stood, it was he that sent off the reinforcements in gun-boats and other craft, crowding and cramming them, not with sailors, but with land troops—a mixture of French, Neapolitans, and Swiss,—who were of no use when they got on board, and who served only to confuse and confound Bausan, and swell the number of killed and wounded in the 'Cerere.' From that day King Joachim never again put on his uniform of grand admiral.

The two islands which Sir John Stuart had captured with hardly any loss are among the most healthy, and Ischia is the most beautiful and productive, of all the islands that lie close in to the coast of Italy; they afforded an excellent footing for our troops, who could move thence with facility and promptitude to ulterior objects; while the enemy, collected to observe their movements on the opposite shore of the main and in the unhealthy neighbourhood of Baia, Miniscola, the lake of Patria, and the Pantani, or marshes, must suffer greatly from malaria fevers. But no permanent occupation had ever been contemplated; and, as it became evident that no diversion of ours could save Austria from her fate, Sir John Stuart dismantled the castles of Ischia and Procida, destroyed the batteries and all the other works, reimbarked his troops, and returned to Sicily, which was soon after threatened with invasion by Murat, and which, in the absence of the British, might at any time have been over-run and taken by 5000 veteran French troops.

The siege of Scylla had not prospered. The French general Partonneaux advanced in force to the relief of that changeable old fortress; and the English, with their Sicilian and Calabrian allies, retreated with so much precipitancy that they left their train of artillery, their siege-tools, and most of their stores behind them. But the old castle on the rock which stands over the roaring caverns of Scylla and faces the resounding vortexes of Charybdis—neither of them quite so formidable now as in Homer's days—seemed destined to belong to no party in this protracted war. Not long after Partonneaux had succeeded in raising the siege, the French garrison abandoned the place in some sudden panic, leaving behind them not only the artillery and other materials they had captured, but all their own guns and stores, which were seized and secured and carried over to Sicily by a detachment of Sicilian and British troops. Of the Calabrian partisans who had been landed, some were cut off by the French, some returned to Sicily, and others maintained themselves in the mountains, in the forest of Sant-Eufemia near Maida, and in other wild and almost inaccessible places, whence they issued forth at opportune moments to carry havoc among the weak detachments of Murat's army. The service in Calabria became so unpalatable that all the French officers who were there exerted themselves to the utmost to get removed, and hardly any officers of that nation could be found willing to supply the places of such as were recalled. Many resignations took place; the table of Murat's war-minister was almost constantly covered with letters from French officers who begged to be employed in the Tyrol, in Germany, *in Spain*, anywhere rather than in Calabria, and who frequently put the alternative of an immediate removal or a permission to resign their commissions.* The more extensive struggle going on in

* Sir John Stuart, Dispatches; James, Naval History; private information collected on the spot; Colletta, Storia di Napoli.

General Colletta mystifies, and absolutely falsifies his account of this (on the part of Captain T. Staines and his men) most adventurous and gallant action. With a bold defiance of the hundreds of thousands of eyes that saw the affair from the shore, this French partisan represents the Neapolitan frigate and corvette as being assailed by ten times their own force (dieci contra uno), and speaks as if a whole British fleet had followed the Neapolitan commodore from Pozzuoli into the bay of Naples, and had there fallen upon his single frigate! Perhaps General Colletta was not at Naples at the time, but employed in Calabria. But when he wrote his history tens of thousands of his countrymen were living—and many thousands of them are still living—who saw Staines's frigate alone pursuing the 'Cerere,' the 'Fama' and the twenty gun-boats round the point of Posilippo, and engage the 'Cerere' almost yard-arm to yard-arm, getting between her and the land batteries in order to prevent her escaping into the harbour, and braving at the same time the fire of the 'Fama,' and that of the gun-boats. The 'Cyane's' consort, the 'Espoir,' did not come up until the Neapolitan frigate had struck her flag once, if not twice, and had entirely ceased firing. Colletta's misrepresentations could not have been involuntary, and could hardly have proceeded from ignorance of the facts. Seven years after they occurred there was no subject more frequently spoken of by his countrymen who had been spectators of the fight, and who still remained in their astonishment at the daring of Staines, and in horror at the scene the 'Cerere' presented when towed into the harbour.

* Paul Louis Courier tells us that, when, simply out of an eager desire to explore Magna Grecia and the whole of that beautiful country which had once stood so high in civilization, literature, and art,

the Spanish peninsula kept the attention of Europe away from the irregular war at the end of the Italian peninsula; but, we repeat, Calabria cost the French enormous sacrifices, and continued, almost to the last day of the war, to be a fatal drain upon the armies and resources of Bonaparte. It was chiefly, we presume, on account of the countenance and open aid and assistance which our government, the generals commanding our forces in Sicily, and the admirals of our fleets gave to the insurgents, and guerilla-like partisans, that the French persisted in styling all those Calabrians and Sicilians brigands, and in treating them as such whenever they fell into their hands. It sounded well to represent the King of Great Britain as the ally of banditti, and his generals, admirals, ambassadors, and envoys as being leagued with robbers and cut-purses. The French, who united in their own minds the extremes of incredulity and of credulity, must have had a very large belief in the credulousness of mankind when they asserted and maintained that the entire population of whole provinces were nothing but brigands. For robbery to be a profitable calling there must be somebody to be robbed. Wild as was the country, Calabria had never been a land of brigandism. That system had only obtained in the frontier-provinces of the kingdom—in the Abruzzi and on the edge of the Terra di Lavoro. In those provinces there were high roads, frequented by rich travellers and foreigners; but in Calabria there was nothing of the sort, that region, at the end of the peninsula, forming a sort of *Finis Terræ*, leading to nowhere. There were no bands of robbers either in Calabria Citra or in Calabria Ulteriore when the French first arrived; but the mass of that brave, active, and fierce population flew to arms, and crowned the hill-tops, and blocked up the roads, or lurked by the road-sides, to repel and despoil the invaders of their country, the enemies of their king and church, and—as they conceived—of their God. These men were insurgents, not robbers; their patriotism was as pure and as indisputable as that of the Spanish peasantry, and, cruel and vindictive as they were, they were not more so than the Spaniards. Their leaders, for the most part, however lowly their original condition (and there were French marshals, dukes, and princes who had begun life in a condition quite as obscure as that of any of them), held regular commissions from their old king, Ferdinand IV., who had all the rights of a belligerent, and who by the law of war was justified in making every effort for recovering by the sword dominions which had been taken from him by the sword and by foul treachery. His commission was entitled to as much weight and respect as any of the commissions granted by Bonaparte or by his brother Joseph, or by his brother-in-law Murat; but, as the French read the law, Ferdinand's commissions were null, his commissioned officers were brigand chiefs and rebels forsooth to King Joseph or King Joachim, and, as such, were, whenever captured, hanged. If the unhappy man wore a red coat the execution had an additional grace and gust; and it was proclaimed to the world that an infamous robber and cut-throat, with an English uniform on his back, and with English money in his pocket, had been seized and put to that ignominious death which his lawless life and crimes had merited. It signified nothing to these French reporters that the uniform of King Ferdinand's guards was scarlet like our own; King Ferdinand and his guards were out of sight of Europe, shut up in Sicily, and all the world knew that red was the English colour; and thus it was deemed advantageous to attempt to cast dirt upon it. It is only by subscribing to a new and dangerous theory that we can deprive the poor Calabrians of the honour of a bold and a persevering resistance; and by subscribing to that theory we must equally dishonour the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Tyrolese, and, in fact, every people that either in modern or in ancient times have risen in masses against the invaders of their country, and persevered in their resistance after their armies, regular or irregular, had been defeated in the field. By this fatal theory the William Tell of Switzerland, the Wallace and the Bruce of Scotland, must be taken down from their glorious and time-honoured pedestals to be classed with lawless insurgents or brigand chiefs. If, as this new theory imports, regular armies are to be considered as the only belligerents, and the inhabitants of a country invaded are to be regarded only as neutrals, and as such excluded from any participation in the struggle,* then all such inspiriting risings as those of the Swiss and the Scots in the olden time, or as those of the Calabrians, the Spaniards, and the Tyrolese in our own days, must have the stamp and opprobrium of illegality put upon them. If, because an overwhelming invading force (following upon a series of the most treacherous deeds, which have enabled the invader to penetrate into the heart of the country and to obtain previous possession of most of its strongholds) defeats and scatters a weak and ill if not treacherously commanded regular army, and establishes a line of posts along a particular river (say the Ebro), the spirited population, the body of the people living within those lines and knowing that they have been betrayed by the invader, and suspecting that they may have been betrayed by some of the officers of their own army, may not rise and arm and do their best to rescue their country from thraldom, then is patriotism made a crime and offered up as a sacrifice to professionalities and arbitrary technicalities.† If everything is to be made dependent upon regular armies, and if the people, of whom the army is but a part and an instrument, are not

he volunteered to go into Calabria, all the rest of the French officers were petitioning and imploring to be employed somewhere else.

* Dr. Thomas Arnold, Regius Professor of History in the University of Oxford, Introductory Lectures on Modern History.

† Colonel Napier advances the opinion we condemn with his usual earnestness and force of language. See many passages in his History of the War in the Peninsula.

to step forward into the field, then a few injudicious movements of a general and two or three defeats must decide the fate and independence of a country! And these reasoners seem to forget that the people incapable of rising against an invader and oppressor must be a people incapable of furnishing brave soldiers, or materials proper to make that regular army upon which everything dear to the nation must wholly and solely depend. If such convictions had been entertained by the invaded and oppressed peoples of Europe there would have been no loss of 300,000 French regulars in Italy and in Spain, there would have been no dismal retreat from Moscow, no glorious *rèveil* of the great Germanic family; but Bonaparte would have established his universal dominion; the characteristics of nations, which give variety and interest and beauty to the world, would have been rudely obliterated, and French manners, French morals, and French taste would have been enthroned, in a tyrannical intolerant domination, in all parts of the civilized world. But theorists are weak when they grapple with the real feelings and passions of human nature; no people that are not absolutely degraded will ever subscribe to this new doctrine; their instinct will revolt at it; they will continue to do as their ancestors have done; they will not place their loyality, their patriotism, their religion, their homes and hearths, as a deposit in the hands of the regular army they raise and pay, to be risked in a throw of the dice, or to be utterly lost in a few battles; and it is only inasmuch as the theory may influence future governments, when called upon to estimate the nature and probable results of such national insurrections, that the theory itself calls for any criticism.

While the French were alarmed, and fully occupied in the south of Italy, Admiral Lord Collingwood, who still retained the command in chief of our Mediterranean fleet—wearing out in hard service the last days of an honourable and most valuable life—recommended General Sir John Stuart to send an expedition against the islands of Zante, Corfu, and Cephalonia, which lie opposite to the Neapolitan coast, at the mouth of the Adriatic, and which, partly by force, and partly by an amicable understanding with the Czar Alexander, had been seized and occupied by the French, who were also looking forward to conquests or occupations in the Morea, and in other parts of continental Greece. The general, at first, seemed rather adverse to the plan, doubting whether he could safely spare a sufficient number of troops from Sicily, and being much perplexed by the arguments and entreaties of Queen Caroline, who took upon herself all that share of public business which ought to have been transacted by her fishing, shooting, pleasure-hunting husband, and who strongly deprecated the removal of any English troops from the island of Sicily, unless they were employed against the French in the continental dominions of Ferdinand. Sir John Stuart, however, after a very little hesitation, warmly embraced Lord Collingwood's project. The expedition was undertaken with such secrecy, that none of the people knew whither they were going; and neither at Sicily, nor even in our own possession, Malta, was there the slightest suspicion of such a thing being in contemplation until the affair was all finished.* The naval part of the expedition was commanded by Captain Spranger of the 'Warrior,' who was accompanied by a sloop of war and transports, and who was joined, near the mouth of the Adriatic, by two ships of the line, some frigates, and smaller vessels: the military part was entrusted to Brigadier General Oswald, who had under his orders 1600 troops, of whom about one half were Corsican rangers, Sicilians, Calabrians, and other foreigners in British pay. There was known to exist in those

* Lord Collingwood's Correspondence.

MALTA.

Ionian islands, among the Veneto-Greek population, a very strong party inimical to the French, and to communicate with this party, and rouse it into action, a Signor Foresti and an Ionian Greek count were brought over from Malta, where they had taken refuge from the French and their countrymen of that faction. The expedition sailed from Messina on the 23rd of September, and arrived off Cephalonia on the 28th. By the 1st of October all the expected ships and some gun-boats arrived; on the evening of that day, the whole fleet came to anchor in the Bay of Zante, just out of reach of the nearest batteries; and at daylight, on the following morning, the troops began to land under cover of the fire of some of our ships and gun-boats, which soon silenced the land batteries. As our troops landed and formed, the French retired from every direction into the castle, which was invested forthwith. A proclamation was issued to the inhabitants, many of whom immediately offered to assist in expelling their late masters. The castle being a place of no very great strength, though advantageously situated on a commanding elevation, the French commandant thought proper to capitulate; and before the day was over, he surrendered to the English commanders not only the whole of the island of Zante, but also the islands of Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo. And thus was the British flag hoisted over Homeric islands, and the narrow kingdom of the cunning Ulysses. The government of the Septinsular Republic was restored under British protection. Two of the seven islands, however, were left in the occupation of the French; but one of these—the island of Santa Maura—was reduced in the month of April, 1810, by General Oswald and Lieutenant-Colonel Hudson Lowe.* Corfu, the most important island of the whole group, was too strong to be attacked by a small force; it remained a very useless possession in the hands of the French, who could carry on no trade, and whose communications with France, and even with the near coast of Italy, were almost constantly cut off, until the downfal of Bonaparte; and it was given up by Louis XVIII. at the peace of Paris in 1814. The seven islands were then more completely restored to their independence, and formed into a state under the protection of the King of Great Britain, represented by a lord high commissioner, who resides at Corfu, and convokes once a year the parliament or legislative assembly. During the war a British military establishment was necessary to preserve the islands from the enemy, and since the peace it has only been the presence of the British forces that has kept the islanders from revolution, invasion, intestine war, and anarchy.

On January the 5th a treaty of peace was signed between the Ottoman Porte and England, having been negotiated by Mr. Elliot. Sultan Selim, with whom we had gone to war, had been for some months in his grave when this peace was signed, and so had been his cousin Mustapha, who had succeeded to Selim's authority in the month of May, 1807. Mustapha Bairactar, Pasha of Rudchuck, animated by affection for the deposed Selim, by jealousy and hatred of the vulgar Cabakchy Oglu and the mufti who had brought about the revolution of 1807, and by the desire to restore his master to the throne and carry out his plans for disciplining the Turkish armies, collected a great force on the Danube and marched to Constantinople, where he deposed all the new ministers of Sultan Mustapha, putting to death the agha of the janissaries and other enemies of Selim and reform; and on the 28th of July he proclaimed the dethroned Selim as the only true and legitimate sultan, and rushed to the seraglio to liberate him from his prison. The bairactar's movement was sudden and rapid; but Sultan Mustapha, who had been feasting at one of the imperial kiosks on the Bosporus, got into the seraglio before him, and sent his black eunuchs to strangle his cousin Selim in his cell or chamber. When the foul deed was done, Mustapha retired into his harem, saying, "Now open the gate, and deliver Sultan Selim to the bairactar, since he demands it!" The slaves went and threw open the massive inner gate of the seraglio; the terrible bairactar, who had been threatening to force the gate open with artillery, rushed into the court, and there saw the blackened and disfigured corse of his master and benefactor whom he had come to serve and save. The pasha was at first petrified with horror; and then he and his rough soldiers knelt and wept over the body of Selim. The bairactar was at last roused into action by the capitan pasha. "Seize me the murderous Mustapha!" roared the bairactar: "proclaim his younger brother Mahmoud Sultan! Cut me off the heads of the vile slaves that have murdered the good Selim!" At the words courtiers, pages, and eunuchs mingled with the bairactar's soldiers and ran with them through the numerous and intricate apartments of the seraglio in search of Mustapha and Mahmoud. Sultan Mustapha was easily found and seized, and thrown into the very prison where his frightful black eunuchs had only a few minutes before strangled his cousin Selim. But the young Mahmoud was not found so soon. His brother Mustapha had tried to discover him and put him to death while the bairactar was weeping in the court below, for

* The capture of Santa Maura was attended with some hard fighting. It was altogether a brilliant little episode in the war, highly honourable to the British troops, to various foreign corps in our service, and to Oswald, Hudson Lowe, Major Church (since General Church, in the service of Ferdinand, King of Naples, and of Otho, King of Greece), to Majors Clarke and de Bosset, and to Captains Eyre and Stevens of the royal navy. The two last-named officers were among the most animated in the combat, and were both wounded. It was Colonel Lowe that moved first and took the town. It was Major Church that gallantly carried the first French redoubt, with four companies of the Greek light infantry, a regiment which he had assisted in raising and disciplining at Malta. The French general, Camus, had above 1000 men, and a fortress of considerable strength, with strong field-works connected with it. He was, however, soon driven from his field-works, our Royal Marines breaking through the abattis, and charging into the entrenchments. The French fled at all points, pursued with the bayonet from work to work, and abandoning the camp and cannon of the attacked line. They threw themselves into the fortress; but nine days after they surrendered, and became prisoners of war. Greeks, Corsicans, Calabrians, all the foreign corps that were employed in the expedition, behaved remarkably well.

he well knew the ancient and universal superstition of the Turks, who believed that the empire must fall and finish with the extinction of the reigning dynasty, with the last descendant of the venerable house of Osman, and, as of that race there now existed only Mustapha and Mahmoud, he knew that, if he could but strangle his brother as he had strangled his cousin, both his life and his throne would be safe. But young Mahmoud was saved by some faithful and fond servants, who hastily carried him to a remote and dingy corner of the seraglio, and concealed him under a heap of mats and carpets: and there he was found by some of the bairactar's people, who hailed him as sultan, and conveyed him to their chief. Before the bairactar's arrival at the capital, a party acting in concert with him had surprised Cabakchy Oglu in his country house on the Bosporus, and, regardless of the sanctity of the harem, they had murdered that Yamack chief in the midst of his women, and had sent his head as an acceptable present to the bairactar. That terrible Pasha of Rudchuck, who by virtue of the revolution he had effected now became grand vizier to Sultan Mahmoud, began his ministry with bloody deeds of vengeance and retaliation. On the first day of his installation thirty-three heads fell under the sharp yataghans of the executioners, and were exposed to the gaze of the public at the outer gate of the seraglio. These were the assassins of Sultan Selim, or the particular favourites of Sultan Mustapha. On account of the elevated dignity of his office the hideous Nubian head of the Kislar Agha, or chief of the black eunuchs, or governor of the women, was put upon a bright silver dish. These decapitations were followed by drowning and strangling. A number of the women of Mustapha's harem, who were said to have manifested great joy on learning the death of Selim, were sewn up in sacks, and were thrown into the deep sea, hard by the Maiden's Tower, where the waters of the Bosporus sweep with a strong current round the Asiatic point of Scutari into the Propontis. All the officers of the Yamacks that could be caught were strangled and then thrown into the Bosporus. About one hundred individuals were sacrificed by the bairactar to the manes of Sultan Selim. As soon as his vengeance was satisfied, or as soon as he had destroyed all those he had dared destroy (for the mufti and the oulemas, who had done greater injury to Selim and his reforms than the rude Yamacks had done, were placed by the sanctity of their offices above the reach of his yataghans, sacks, and bow-strings), the new grand vizier started on the work of reform both civil and military. He had some just and enlightened views which might possibly have tended to prop up a decrepid and tottering empire, which in no way will be able to support itself, by itself, for any great length of time, in Europe; the heart and head of the young Sultan Mahmoud went with him and his schemes, for, during the period which had intervened between the dethronement of that prince in the spring of 1807 and his murder in the summer of 1808, Selim, the most accomplished Turk of the time, had acted as instructor or tutor to his young cousin, a caged prince, a captive like himself; but the bairactar was hot, impetuous, impatient of any delay, furious as a tiger at any remonstrance, and, by attempting to reform too much at once, he ended by reforming nothing, and by sacrificing his own life and the lives of hundreds or of thousands of his friends or partisans. The personal habits and vices of the man contributed to his hasty ruin: like nearly all Turkish pashas he had an insatiable appetite for gold; he drank wine copiously, and not in private, as many well-reputed Mussulmans did, but in public, and with indecent bravado; and, whether in his cups or sober, he had the pernicious habit of beating the Turks with sticks. All this enabled the mufti and the oulemas to arm the people against him. On the 14th of November, during the Ramazan, or Mahommedan Lent, when the Turks fast all day and feast all night, the janissaries, animated by the oulemas, and headed by their new agha, collected in the dusk of the evening, set fire to some houses close to the palace of the grand vizier, and fell furiously upon some of the bairactar's regular European disciplined troops. The bairactar had been drinking deep of the forbidden wine, and had retired to his harem, where no man dared to disturb him on a trivial occasion. Fires were frequent, and so were quarrels and skirmishes between the regular troops and the irregular and most turbulent janissaries. Thus the grand vizier was not roused to a terrible waking until the conflagration had nearly reached his own abode, and until his palace was entirely surrounded by the janissaries and the mob of the city, who were all shouting death to him, and anticipating the pleasure of seeing him burnt alive in his house, or fall at their feet under the strokes of their yataghans in some hopeless attempt to escape from the fire. Yet this last attempt, if boldly and promptly made, might possibly have saved the bairactar even now, for he had many brave and faithful men about him, and the janissaries had a superstitious awe and dread of his own personal courage and prowess: but, instead of making a rush out into the street, at the worst to die like a soldier, the infatuated pasha began to collect his diamonds and his jewels and his sacks of gold, like a miserable miser; and, when he had got these things together, he fled to a strong tower of his palace, which was not built of wood like the rest, but of solid stone, and there he shut himself up with the best beloved of his wives or concubines, and with a black eunuch. The new capitan-pasha, who had owed his promotion to the bairactar, and Cadi Pasha, who was commanding some of the disciplined troops stationed in the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, made vigorous efforts to relieve the grand vizier and save the reform system from perishing. They carried the regular troops into the city; they reinforced the sultan's guards in the seraglio; they spread the report that the bairactar

had escaped from the tower; they ordered a tremendous fire to be opened upon the insurgents from the battlements of the imperial palace; and they charged the janissaries with the bayonet in the streets; while some of the capitan-pasha's ships, anchored in the deep port of the Golden Horn, and close in shore, kept up an incessant cannonade on the palace of the agha of the janissaries, and upon every group of insurgents who ventured to show themselves near the side of the port. Thus passed the whole of the day of the 15th of November, during which the mufti and all the great oulemas fled and concealed themselves, leaving some fanatic dervishes and inferior imams to keep up the courage or the fury of the janissaries and the rest of the populace. On the morning of the 16th, Cadi Pasha, at the head of a disciplined column 4000 strong, and with some artillery, made a sortie from the seraglio, drove the janissaries before him, took one of their strong barracks near the mosque of Santa Sophia, reached the Hippodrome where Cabakchy Oglu had sat in state to receive the heads of Sultan Selim's ministers and the friends of reform, and broke the beleaguering lines which had been drawn round the vast and still-burning palace of the grand vizier. But the intolerable heat of the flames did not permit him to approach the incombustible stone tower; and, whether the bairactar had been roasted alive, or had been so fortunate as to escape from flame and steel and bullet, he could not ascertain. From this moment Cadi Pasha began to conduct himself like a stupid, ferocious maniac: he split his column into numerous detachments, which rushed through different quarters of the city, pillaging and murdering, sparing neither age nor sex, and setting fire to the houses. This united all classes of the population in one cause, and filled every heart with unmitigable rage: a fire was opened from every house, and from both sides of the narrow tortuous streets, on his advancing detachments; even women and children got to the house-tops to hurl stones and tiles and sheets of lead at the heads of the regular troops, and to pour boiling oil upon them. The detachments were stopped in their murderous march, and fell back upon the Hippodrome, followed by mingled masses of mob, janissaries, dervishes, and imams. In the captured barracks, by Santa Sophia, Cadi Pasha had left no more than 300 of his regulars. A countless mass of janissaries rushed to the building, determined to recover it. The incalculable advantage of the European discipline was fully displayed; and, as the regulars could expect no quarter, they fought as vigorously as men could fight. Five times, ten times, twenty times and more, they beat back those tens of thousands of undisciplined, disorderly janissaries. At last some of the janissaries, or some of the mob, set fire to those vast and magnificent barracks, which, being mainly constructed of wood, soon blazed in every part, and threw out flames and sparks, which carried the conflagration to all the buildings in the neighbourhood, except the ancient and fire-proof temple of Santa Sophia. The 300 regulars kept firing upon the janissaries from the midst of flames and smoke, until the roof and the walls fell in, and buried them to a man in one huge burning grave. But by this time a fourth part of the city of Constantinople, including the most densely peopled quarters, was in a blaze; hundreds of the inhabitants, unable to escape out of the narrow streets, were burning to death; agonizing shrieks were heard on all sides; and Sultan Mahmoud was gazing on these scenes of the infernal regions from one of the towers of the seraglio. The heart of the young sultan was not so hard then as it was found to be when he had reigned twelve or fifteen years longer. He ordered Cadi Pasha to cease hostilities, and he sent a khattisherif, or the most solemn of imperial decrees, to the janissary agha, enjoining him to employ all the means in his power to check that horrible conflagration. Cadi Pasha, with all the men that remained of his column, returned into the seraglio; and the janissary agha, not daring to disobey so solemn an order, attended to the conflagration, which was threatening destruction to every part of the immense city except the stone mosques, the seraglio, and the stupendous lines of walls which were built by the Greek emperors. But, emboldened by Cadi Pasha's retreat, and by the cessation of the firing from the seraglio, the mob and some of the janissaries went close up to the gates of that palace, threatening Mahmoud and his ministers, and shouting that Mustapha was their true sultan, and must be restored to the throne. This served as Mustapha's death-warrant. Hitherto Mahmoud had rejected the advice of all his friends and servants, who told him that the only way to put down this insurrection and preserve himself was to put his brother and prisoner to death; but now he made a sign to Cadi Pasha, who left the presence, attended by the chief executioners, to return presently with the intelligence that Mustapha was strangled, and that Mahmoud had a charmed life, being now the sole representative of the House of Osman. The news was soon carried throughout the city: it paralysed the janissaries, the mob, the men of the law and gospel, and all men; for the most furious Turk among them would not fight in the teeth of a prophecy, or plunge the empire into the abyss by proceeding to extremities against that single life on which the preservation of the name, glory, and very existence, as a nation, of the Osmanlys, was believed to depend. The now-ascertained fate of the bairactar also contributed to calm the popular rage and make the janissaries put their yataghans into their girdles. On the evening of the 16th, when the flames of the grand vizier's palace were extinguished by the absence of any more materials to nourish them, some Turks of the lowest or poorest order approached the s one tower, which remained entire, but all scorched and blackened; and, after removing the ashes and hot rubbish which blocked up the entrance, they forced open an

iron door and rushed into the tower, in the expectation of finding the pasha's treasures. Their progress was stopped by a second iron door at the head of a narrow staircase, which ran within the thick stone walls; but, upon forcing open this second door, they entered a small dark chamber, and there they found, extended on the floor, the bairactar, his favourite wife or slave, and his black eunuch. The three had been asphyxiated, or smothered and choked, by the heat and smoke and the vapour from the wood, burnt into charcoal. And close by the side of the dead pasha-and-vizier they found his bags of gold and his diamonds and jewels. The original discoverers ran away with the treasure-trove; but they took care to tell some janissaries that they had no longer anything to fear from their terrible enemy—that the bairactar was most assuredly dead. The janissary agha, who believed that his foe had escaped disguised as a woman, and who was agitated by apprehensions that he would soon return at the head of a great army, ran to the stone tower, and rejoiced his eyes and heart by gazing upon the extinct friend of reform. The janissaries lifted up the body and carried it to the seraglio gate, in order that Cadi Pasha and the regular troops within might behold the fate of the unclean and untrue Mussulman. They then dragged it through the filthy streets to the Hippodrome, impaled it, and left it there for three days to gratify the eyes of the people. The regular troops now declared that they would no longer fight against the janissaries, their brothers and the defenders of their faith. Sultan Mahmoud, who had now nothing to fear, negotiated with the chiefs of the janissaries, who agreed to allow the regulars to quit Constantinople and return to their several homes without molestation.* But the young sultan was compelled to declare that he renounced for ever the reforms and the military institutions of the Christian nations, which had caused so much woe to the faithful. Anathemas were launched against every man that should venture again to speak of such abominable innovations; and the janissaries burned to the ground the magnificent barracks which had been erected for the accommodation of the regulars, in order, as they said, to destroy the last trace of the Nizam-Gedittes. The sleek and demure mufti then put on his green satin robe and his measureless turban, and went with the principal oulemas to congratulate his sovereign on this new triumph of religion and the ancient laws. Everything soon returned to its accustomed order: the people built up new combustible wooden houses to supply the places of those which had been consumed; the janissaries and the oulemas resumed all their ancient rights, privileges, and influence, and never foresaw, until it was too late, the merciless destruction which Sultan Mahmoud was gradually and slowly, but most cunningly and incessantly, preparing for them, and which at last overtook them and extinguished the janissaries in 1825.*

It was against the young and inexperienced Mahmoud, when weakened by the dissolution of his regular disciplined army, when abandoned by France, at war with England, and surrounded by difficulties of all kinds, that the magnanimous Alexander of Russia declared war, being encouraged thereunto by the conferences and treaties of Tilsit and Erfurt. At the beginning of the present year (1809) the Russian negotiators at the Congress of Yassi demanded from the sultan's ministers, as a preliminary to any peace, the cession of the Turkish provinces on the left bank of the Danube. Upon the indignant refusal of the Turks the congress broke up, and then the czar declared war, upon the sole pretext of the injury done to him and his ally the Emperor of the French by the peace concluded with England by the sultan. The Russians kept their ground in Moldavia and Wallachia, being assisted by the Greeks and the rest of the Christian population of those provinces; but, when they crossed the Danube and pushed forward into Bulgaria, as if with the intention of forcing the passes of the Balkan or Mount Hæmus, and advancing upon Constantinople, they began to suffer severely from the sword and spear of the Osmanlys, from malaria fevers, and other distempers, and from that want and almost famine which their corrupt, thievish commissariat usually contrived to create. Undisciplined as they were, the Turks had lost little of their dogged courage, and, though generally beaten when they risked a battle in the open field, their flying light cavalry often struck terrible blows. On the 22nd of October, while the Russians under Prince Bagration were investing Silistria, they were suddenly attacked by a Turkish army under the command of the grand vizier, who was aided and guided by a Polish refugee, the brave Gleyzer, who had fought under Kosciuszko for the independence of his country against the Russians. The fierce battle lasted from morning till night, when the arrival of a fresh corps of Albanians gave the victory to the grand vizier. The Russians with

* These merciful terms would not have been granted to the capitan pasha, to Cadi Pasha, or to several other officers of high rank; but the sultan contrived to smuggle them out of the seraglio and to get them into a row-boat, with which they escaped down the Propontis. Eventually nearly all of them were murdered. The capitan pasha, after flying to Russia, where he met with a hospitable reception from the Emperor Alexander, was cajoled by the new grand vizier, who induced him to return to Constantinople, and then caused him to be strangled. Ali Effendi and some others returned to the capital on the faith of a general amnesty, and were immediately seized, and treated like the capitan pasha. Cadi Pasha ran a bolder course than any of them, but it equally led him to the fatal bow-string. Though an admirer of the tactics and discipline of the Europeans, he was a true Turk, a sincere Mahomedan; his pride and his faith would not permit him to demand the hospitality of infidels, and he soon re-appeared in Constantinople under the disguising and protecting habit of a dervish. Quitting the capital, he went over to Asia with the intention of repairing to Caramania, and there collecting and organizing an army of bold adventurers, with which to scour Asia Minor and carry on a cruel war against the janissaries. He got as far as the neighbourhood of Kutaya, when he was recognised, and where he was seized and strangled in virtue of a circular order from the Porte, which enjoined the agent's government to put him to immediate death wherever he might be found. The head of Cadi Pasha was carried to Constantinople, and was exposed for a whole month at the gate of the seraglio. A few of the reformers lay concealed in poverty and obscurity for many years, and until Sultan Mahmoud was enabled to carry out his reforms in a sea of blood and treachery, when they re-appeared in honour and in power in the capital, and aided in destroying the janissaries.

* Juchereau de Saint-Denis, Révolutions de Constantinople.—Private information collected in the country.

difficulty effected their retreat to an entrenched camp; but a second action took place, and, being again defeated with terrible loss, they withdrew from Bulgaria, re-crossed the Danube, and went into winter-quarters in Moldavia and Wallachia. It is cited as an example of Bonaparte's habitual duplicity, and as a proof that, whatever promises he had made at Erfurt to Alexander, he was not desirous of seeing the Russian empire aggrandized on the side of European Turkey, that the Turkish artillery in all these actions was well served under the direction of French officers, who acted with the secret permission of their own government. The treaty we had concluded with the sultan led to sundry and very extended advantages to British commerce, which the Emperor of the French had resolved to exclude from Europe. The great trading ports of Smyrna and Constantinople were again open to our flag; and through the Gulf of Salonica, and the port and town of that name, our manufactures and colonial produce found their way into the heart of the European continent, to the shores of the Baltic sea, into Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, into the parts of Germany the most entirely subjected to the will of the conqueror; and, continuing their circuitous and contraband route, many of these bales ultimately got introduced into Holland, Belgium, and the north of France itself.

Our government had not even yet recovered from its delusion about the value of countless sugar islands and West Indian colonies, nor opened its eyes to the sacrifice of capital and of human life contingent on these conquests and occupations.*

In 1807 we had taken the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix; in 1808 we had captured the French West India islands of Mariegalante and Deseada; and in the course of the present year we took possession of the French West India colonies of Cayenne and Martinique, as well as of a part of Spanish San Domingo, of which the French had gained possession. These petty, insecure, and costly conquests were also extended to the African coast, where we took Senegal from the French.

During the year there were several smart actions at sea besides the brilliant affair in the Bay of Naples. The necessity of conveying supplies to their armies employed on the Spanish coast made the French navy bolder than it had been for some time. All blockading ships are liable to be driven from their stations, and during the whole season ours were frequently removed to go upon other services, to Sicily, to the coast of Calabria, to Dalmatia, and Istria, and to the conquest of the Ionian islands. Detachments both from the Brest and the Toulon fleets got out to sea to convey fleets of French transports and store-ships. Their object never being to fight, but to make a run to the Spanish coast or to some other appointed place, nearly all the affairs that happened were running fights. On the 22nd of October, Lord Collingwood, who had been blown away from Toulon to Minorca by a gale of wind, and who had sailed from Minorca to the coast of Catalonia, received intelligence that the enemy had come out and was fast approaching him. This was an event for which he and his officers and crews had been longing for more than three years. "Every soul," says his lordship, "was in raptures: I expected their whole fleet, and that we should have had a dashing business. The next morning, between eight and nine o'clock, they came in sight; but they were few—only one rear-admiral, with three sail of the line, two frigates, some other armed things, and a convoy of about twenty vessels. They were going to supply the French army at Barcelona with provisions, &c. As soon as they discovered us they made off. Night came on and I thought that we had lost them; but, as the fleet separated in different parties, by good luck Admiral Martin's division fell in with them, near their own coast, in the Gulf of Lyons, where he chased them on shore." The French rear-admiral (Baudin), giving up his attempt to reach Barcelona, tried to run into the harbour of Cette, near the mouths of the Rhone. Two of his ships of the line, failing in this, ran themselves on shore within pistol-shot of each other, at a spot about six miles to the north-east of Cette. The other French ship

* Neither the country nor the government was sufficiently enlightened upon this important subject until the publication of Major Alexander M. Tulloch's 'Statistical Report on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among the Troops in the West Indies. Prepared from the Records of the Army Medical Department, and War Office Returns; and presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty in the Year 1838.'

The admirable tables in this report, the inductions made therefrom, and the medical details which accompany them, render the whole subject clear to any capacity; and convey an amount of information which must be the means of saving many thousands of British lives, and which cannot be overlooked or neglected by any English ministry, present or future. The honour of opening the way to this invaluable result seems to be chiefly, if not exclusively, due to Sir James M'Grigor, the director-general, who, in the year 1816, first established an Historical Record of the Medical Transactions in the British Army; to Henry Marshall, Esq., of Edinburgh (known to the world by other literary and scientific efforts, all tending to better the condition of mankind), formerly a surgeon in the army, and now deputy inspector-general of hospitals; and to Major (then Lieutenant) A. M. Tulloch, who has a rare talent for statistical investigations and arrangements. Long before the government took up the matter in a serious and effective manner, Mr. Marshall, assisted in some cases by Lieutenant Tulloch, published at his own expense, or in the pages of the United Service Magazine, statistical papers and essays on the health of our troops in various parts of the world, on enlisting, invaliding, &c. These publications gradually attracted notice, and elicited other papers and observations from other quarters.

At length, in October, 1835, the secretary-at-war (Lord Howick) deemed it requisite that an inquiry should be instituted into the extent and causes of the sickness and mortality among the troops in the West Indies, with the view of founding thereon such measures as might appear likely to diminish the great loss of life annually experienced in those colonies. For this duty Messrs. Henry Marshall and A. M. Tulloch were nominated by the secretary-at-war, on the recommendation of the director-general, Sir James M'Grigor. On the first report being submitted to the secretary-at-war, he was so much struck with the value of the document that he directed the investigation to be extended to all our numerous colonies and foreign stations whatsoever. In consequence of this order, statistical reports of the same kind have been drawn up and presented to parliament, in the years 1839-40-41, on the sickness, mortality, &c., among our troops serving in the United Kingdom, in Gibraltar, Malta, Corfu, and other places in the Mediterranean; in Western Africa, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius; in Ceylon, the Tenasserim provinces of India, and the Burmese empire. A special department, under the management of Major Tulloch, has been established in the war-office; the most assiduous attention is paid to the returns of the regimental surgeons serving abroad, and which are now made in a far more accurate, distinct, and scientific manner than in former times; and thus the government and country may soon hope to be in possession of a most valuable and perfectly complete series of army-medical statistical reports, which must have the effect of preventing the recurrence of many lamentable errors in our war-office.

of the line and a frigate, though closely pressed by two English ships, succeeded in reaching Cette harbour, which scarcely contained water enough to float them. Finding it impossible to save the two stranded line-of-battle ships (a fine new 80-gun ship and a fine new 74), Baudin began dismantling them and landing the crews. This was on the evening of the 25th of October. As it grew dark the English ships tacked with the intention of being close in to the two wrecks on the morning of the 26th; but the wind fell, and they did not regain sight of them until the evening, when they were set on fire by their own crews. At eight P.M. the 'Robuste,' Baudin's flag-ship, and her consort the 74, were blazing fore and aft, and at about ten o'clock at night they blew up with a tremendous explosion, Martin's squadron then lying nearly becalmed about seven miles from the spot. One of our frigates had succeeded in capturing five of the French store-ships. The two ships which had run into the shallow harbour of Cette (the one a new 74, the other a fine large 40-gun frigate*) were left in great jeopardy. Seven French transports, or store-ships, in charge of an armed store-ship, two armed bombards, and another armed vessel, put into the Bay of Rosas, on the coast of Catalonia, and anchored under the protection of the castle of Rosas, of Fort Trinidad, and of other strong land-batteries. Lord Collingwood determined that they should not escape him, and he detached Captains Hallowell, B. W. Taylor, H. Hope, and others, to board them with their ships' boats, and either cut them out or burn them at their moorings. And this was done on the evening and night of the 31st of October, in the most gallant style, in spite of the boarding-nettings and the other precautions which the French had adopted, and in the teeth of a terrible fire of the castle, Fort Trinidad, and the other batteries, and of repeated volleys of musketry from troops assembled on the beach. M. Baudin had sailed from Toulon on the 21st of October, the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar. It was a long time before any part of the Toulon fleet ventured to sea again.† The directing of these operations and the conquest of the Ionian islands, which was entirely his own project, were the last important services rendered to his country by Admiral Lord Collingwood. This good and great man, this illustrious model for naval commanders, whose life and letters ought to be found in every cabin and with every ship's company, had long been in a declining state of health. He had several times entreated the admiralty to relieve him, but the government had constantly entreated him to remain. During nearly three years he had hardly ever set foot on shore. During the whole of his command in the Mediterranean his toil and anxiety were immense, his occupations most various; he was involved in difficult political transactions; he had to maintain a correspondence with many foreign princes and ministers on the European side of that sea, and with pashas, deys, and sultans on the African side of it; and the letters and dispatches of this thorough English sailor, who had been at sea from his childhood, are admirable even in point of style. His constant service abroad made him often lament that he was hardly known to his own children. On the 22nd of February, 1810, he wrote to Lord Mulgrave, regretting that he had been under the necessity of writing to the secretary of the admiralty, and requesting their lordships' permission to return to England. "This," he says, "I have not done until I am *past service*. I am at present totally incapable of applying to the duties of my office. My complaint is of a nature to which I apprehend it is difficult to apply a remedy, for I have hitherto received no benefit from medical advice. Since November it has been daily increasing, so that I am now almost past walking across my cabin; and, as it is attributed to my long service in a ship, I have little hope of amendment until I can land." Three days after writing this letter he moored in the harbour of Port Mahon, in a state of great suffering and debility. As government after government seemed determined not to relieve him, his friends in the fleet had repeatedly urged him to surrender his command, and to seek in England, with his affectionate wife and daughters, that rest and comfort which had long been so necessary to his declining health; but he had always replied that he thought it his duty not to quit the post which had been assigned to him, until he should be duly relieved by orders from the admiralty—that his life was his country's in whatever way it might be required of him. Now, however, on the 3rd of March, he surrendered his command to Rear-Admiral Martin, who had given so good an account of M. Baudin's squadron; and orders were given for instantly preparing his old ship, the 'Ville de Paris,' for the voyage home. There was no time to lose, for his life was ebbing fast away. Two days were spent in unsuccessful attempts to warp the ship out of Port Mahon; but on the 6th the wind came round to a favourable quarter, and at sunset, the 'Ville de Paris' cleared the harbour, and made sail for England, the sailors wondering whether "good old Col" would live to get there. When he found that he was again at sea, he rallied for a moment, and said, "Then I may yet live to meet the French once more." The next morning there was a considerable swell, and Captain Thomas, on entering his cabin, said that

* The Duke of Clarence (since William IV.) in a most friendly and characteristic letter to Collingwood says, "It is extraordinary that the French should build such fine ships and handle them so ill."

† In the sailor-like letter to which we have alluded, the Duke of Clarence says, "It is odd that the enemy should have selected the 21st of October for sailing!..... I have only to lament that the enemy did not give your lordship and the British fleet an opportunity of doing more; and trust from the bottom of my heart that the next letter which you will have occasion to write will bring the news of the Toulon fleet being in your lordship's power." After praising the gallantry of the officers employed in the hazardous services, his royal highness adds: "I am clearly of opinion that the lieutenants deserve and ought to be promoted. I am for liberal rewards!" But more than one ministry had checked the generous impulse of Lord Collingwood, and, while they prevented his bestowing liberal rewards in the shape of promotion, they had displayed little liberality themselves. Collingwood's repeated lamentations over the neglect even of the brave men who had fought at Trafalgar excite grief, astonishment, and anger.

he feared that the motion of the vessel disturbed him. "No, Thomas," replied the veteran, "I am now in a state in which nothing in this world can disturb me more—I am dying." He expired that evening without a struggle, having attained the age of fifty-nine years and six months.* The death of Nelson was not more honourable, and scarcely more truly glorious.

Monument to Lord Collingwood.

Long before the sortie from Toulon, great efforts had been made by the French to get their Brest fleet in order, and to expedite squadrons from La Rochelle. In the month of March, nine or ten sail of the line and other vessels—a portion of the Brest fleet—were discovered in Basque Roads, lying between l'Ile d'Aix and the town of Rochelle. Admiral Lord Gambier appears to have been the first officer on the station to propose making an attack on these ships by means of fire-ships. In a letter to the admiralty, dated the 11th of March, the admiral says,—"The enemy's ships lie very much exposed to the operation of fire-ships: it is a horrible mode of warfare, and the attempt very hazardous, if not desperate; but we should have plenty of volunteers for the service."† The admiralty, however, had anticipated Lord Gambier, and, guided by a report by Captain R. G. Keats, nearly two years ago, that board had ordered a number of fire-ships to be prepared, and had directed Mr. Congreve to get ready to proceed in a transport with a supply of his famous rockets, and of men skilled in the management of them. On the very day on which the board issued these orders, Lord Gambier's letter of the 11th of March reached the admiralty, and Captain Lord Cochrane, with his frigate from the Mediterranean, reached Plymouth. About an hour after Cochrane's frigate had dropped anchor, her captain, by telegraph from the admiralty, was ordered to attend the board, as Lord Cochrane was well acquainted with the Basque Roads and that part of the French coast. Cochrane was decidedly of opinion that the attempt by fire-ships would succeed. Lord Mulgrave, the first lord of the admiralty, then asked him if he would undertake to execute the plan? At first Cochrane declined, pleading the jealousy which his sudden appointment might excite in his brother officers serving on that station; but upon a subsequent interview he yielded to Lord Mulgrave's representations. On the 19th of March, before Cochrane had been consulted, or before he had consented to take the command of the fire-ships, the admiralty wrote to Lord Gambier acquainting him with their preparations of rockets, fire-ships, &c., and telling him that all these preparations were making with a view to enable his lordship to make the attack: but they left it discretional with Lord Gambier to make the attack either conjointly with his line-of-battle ships, frigates, and small craft, fire-ships, bombs, rockets, or separately by any of the above means. On the 25th the admiralty addressed another letter to Lord Gambier, acquainting him that they had thought fit to select Lord Cochrane to conduct the fire-ships, but under his (Lord G.'s) directions. Cochrane, who took this letter, and who sailed with his frigate forthwith, reached the Basque Roads and presented himself and the admiralty letter to

† Minutes of a court martial on the Rt. Hon. James Lord Gambier, Admiral of the Blue, &c.

* A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood: interspersed with Memoirs of his Life, by G. L. Newnham Collingwood, Esq., F.R.S.

This admirable book, like Southey's Life of Nelson, and Sir John Barrow's Lives of Lord Anson and Lord Howe, ought to be put into the hands of all young sailors. The admiralty ought to cause cheap copies of these works to be printed and distributed throughout the navy. A good progress has been recently made, and is now making, in establishing libraries for our non-commissioned officers and soldiers. We trust that the warrant officers and sailors of the royal navy will neither be forgotten nor left behind.

Gambier on the 3rd of April. As there was a delay in the arrival of some of the fire-ships from England, Lord Gambier ordered eight large transports that were with him to be fitted up as explosion vessels. Three or four other fire-ships were also equipped on the spot under the immediate inspection of Lord Cochrane. By the 10th of April thirteen or fourteen of the fire-ships, and the ship with the congreve-rockets and the inventor of those missiles, had joined the fleet. On the 11th, *early in the morning*, Lord Gambier's frigates and small vessels moved forward to cover and support the attack; and the ships of the line approached as near as they safely could with proper reference to the rocks and shoals, which would prevent their manœuvring. The attack was not to be made until dark night; but there were probably good reasons for making this demonstration and approach by daylight, for the navigation was difficult. But we can discover no excuse for the ignorance of the whole fleet (not excepting Lord Cochrane, who ought to have discovered the existence of that bar, or who ought at least to have conjectured its existence, seeing that Nelson had encountered the same impediment in his attack on the flotilla at Boulogne, and that such a means of defence had often been employed before, and was of very ancient origin) as to the existence of a strong boom in front of the French ships. These ships were disposed in a treble line, in a narrow passage; and they were protected by some tremendous land batteries, mounting long 36-pounders. The boom was no ordinary boom: it was half a mile long, extending along the whole front of the foremost line, or right across the channel which leads from Basque to Aix Road: it was composed of enormous cables secured by the heaviest anchors that had yet been made, and floated by buoys. The island of Aix, which in a manner commanded the approach, had 2000 land troops, mostly conscripts, and a number of French gun-boats and other row-boats were collected at Aix and La Rochelle to run in front of or behind the boom. When the hour arrived Lord Cochrane embarked in one of the fire-ships; and at about nine o'clock, in an uncommonly dark night, these explosion vessels moved towards the enemy, propelled by a wind which was favourable, but too fresh to allow of the fire-ships being chained together in divisions of three or four each, as had been intended. Each fire-ship was therefore left to act an independent part. The commanders of some of them set fire to their fusees a great deal too soon, and they exploded at too great a distance to do any mischief. Two or three others of the fire-ships were stopped by the floating boom, the existence of which it should appear that not one of them suspected; and, as the foremost of the French ships were 300 or 400 feet within the boom, these explosions did them no harm. But the 'Mediator,' the largest and most efficient of these combustible craft, commanded by Captain Woolridge, who best understood this sort of service, broke the boom, and thus afforded a clear passage not only to herself but to the other fire-ships behind her. As these floating "machines infernales" advanced in a blaze, all the French ships, a little sooner or a little later, cut their cables, and most of them ran ashore. Though two or three of them were grappled, not one of them was blown up by our fire-ships, whose explosions resembled an eruption of Etna or Hecla. In one single fire-ship 1500 barrels of gunpowder were ignited, and confined and crammed on the top of all this gunpowder were 300 or 400 shells charged with fusees, and 3000 or 4000 hand-grenades. Yet the noise and blaze and the panic-terror they raised were infinitely greater than the destruction they immediately caused. When the blaze was over, and the darkness of night restored, Lord Cochrane (he had exploded his own fire-ship too soon) remained at a distance from the rocks and shoals, scarcely knowing what had been done or what was best to do next. The return of day showed seven French ships aground, and little able to make any resistance. He thought they might all be destroyed as they lay, and he signalised Lord Gambier accordingly. But the wind was blowing hard upon the coast, and Gambier, a cautious man, dreading that lee-shore, and those shallow fortress-bound waters, declined sending in any more vessels. Perhaps the admiral did not like the way in which Cochrane was making his signals to him, and was calling upon him to do this thing or that as though he (Cochrane) had been commander-in-chief; and it is certain that Cochrane's most unexpected appointment had created a deal of jealousy among the captains in the fleet. At about six o'clock on the morning of the 12th Cochrane signalised that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore and might be destroyed. Shortly after, when he could see more clearly, he made signal that all their ships were on shore except two, and might be destroyed by only a part of Lord Gambier's ships. But Lord Gambier made no signal to weigh until three hours later; and then he suspended that signal by making another calling all captains on board his flag-ship. Other delays occurred which Lord Gambier explained to the satisfaction of his friends and of the court of admirals who afterwards examined his conduct, but not to the satisfaction of Lord Cochrane or to that of the generality of the English public. In the meanwhile the tide began to rise, and some of the French ships, getting afloat, made for the Charante river. The end of the affair, the result of various operations which cannot possibly be explained without long details for the most part of a very technical nature, was, that, entirely through the exertions of Cochrane, four of the French ships which could not get afloat struck, and were set fire to and destroyed; and the rest escaped up the Charante, though all very much injured and with crews completely disheartened. The French officers themselves confessed that this had been a most unfortunate affair; that the greater part of their

crews were completely dispirited; that every day they were lamenting their situation and speaking in praise of the enemy; and that this was the greatest injury the English had done.

Lord Cochrane on his return to England received the honour of the red riband of the Bath. After, and not before, receiving this distinction he told the first lord of the admiralty, that he should in his place in parliament oppose any vote of thanks to Lord Gambier. Upon hearing this and other and much louder expressions of dissatisfaction, Gambier demanded a court-martial. This court, composed of admirals Sir Roger Curtiss and William Young; vice-admirals Sir John T. Duckworth, Sir Henry E. Stanhope, Billy Douglas, and George Campbell; rear-admiral John Sutton, and four post captains, gave sentence, that Admiral Lord Gambier had acted with zeal, judgment, ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of his majesty's service, and that he was most honourably acquitted of all charges. Cochrane's friends alleged that there were strong prejudices against him and strong partialities for his superior officer: the opposition party, with their newspapers and other organs, warmly espoused the cause of Cochrane, who, inclined to the party before, now became a hot partisan, a radical reformer, and a systematic or constant opponent of the government.*

When Bonaparte returned so hastily from the mountains of Galicia to the good city of Paris, in alarm at the demonstrations making by Austria, he set on foot negotiations with the court of Vienna rather in order to gain two or three months' time for his own military preparations than with the hope or the wish of averting the storm. He fancied that the ill success of Sir John Moore would prevent the English government from sending any other army into Spain;—of the Spanish armies left to themselves he could entertain no apprehension;—and, while his marshals were finishing the war in that country, he confidently expected to be able to crush the Emperor Francis, who had no assistance to expect from Russia, or from Prussia, or from any of the German states, or from any of the powers of the North. He would make no concession, he would not even enter into explanations; and therefore, at the end of March, Francis declared war, and issued a manifesto recapitulating the various provocations which Austria had endured since the peace of Presburg. Austria had made astonishing exertions to recruit her armies to the number of nearly 300,000 men; but the mass of these troops had not had time to attain to any perfection of discipline, and again the armies were too much divided and subdivided, the Emperor Francis aiming not merely at a defensive war and the recovery of the Tyrol, which Bonaparte had given to the king of Bavaria, but also at the recovery of Lombardy, and all those rich transalpine states which now constituted the Gallic-Italian kingdom, and at conquests in Poland to be made at the expense of the grand duchy of Warsaw which Bonaparte had set up. While one great army under the Archduke Charles marched towards the river Inn and the fatal fortress of Ulm, another large army under the Archduke John (who intended to co-operate at a favourable moment with his brother Charles through the passes of the Tyrol) was set in motion towards Upper Italy, and a third army under the Archduke Ferdinand was sent into Poland. Each of these three armies began admirably well; but only to end lamentably. On the 9th of April the Archduke Charles crossed the Inn, and presently occupied Bavaria and communicated with the Tyrol, in which latter country the brave, loyal, and patriotic inhabitants—chiefly mountaineers and peasants—had risen upon the French and Bavarian troops and had driven them out. On the 10th of April the Archduke John, with his army full of spirit and of hope, descended from the Alps into Italy, driving the French and Italian troops of the viceroy Eugene Beauharnais before him, and steadily advancing to the Tagliamento, capturing all the open towns and laying siege to the fortresses of Osopo and Palmanova. In Poland the Archduke Ferdinand defeated Bonaparte's satellite, Poniatowski, and marched as a conqueror into the city of Warsaw. In the meanwhile, Bonaparte had collected an immense but compact army on the Rhine, consisting of French, Italians, Poles, Bavarians, Wurtemburgers, Saxons, and of all the contingents of the Rhenish confederation. He counted with confidence on the rapidity of his movements, and on the very imperfect condition of discipline among the majority of the troops in the ranks of his old opponent the Archduke Charles. "Six thousand of our people," said he, "ought to attack and beat 12,000 or 15,000 of that mob, *cette canaille-là*."* On the 20th of April he defeated the archduke's advanced guard at Abensberg; on the 23rd he escaladed the walls and took the city of Ratisbon, on which occasion he was slightly wounded in the foot by a spent musket-ball. He then advanced still more rapidly, separating the Austrian divisions from one another, and, by one of his most skilful or quickest manœuvres (which the Austrians ought to have understood by this time, and so have been provided against), he completely dislocated and broke the Archduke's line. Risking a battle at Eckmuhl under very disadvantageous circumstances, Charles was thoroughly defeated, lost a great part of his artillery, ammunition, and baggage, and is said to have owed his own escape to the speed of his horse. The archduke retired into Bohemia, leaving the road to Vienna open to the French, who entered it in triumph on the morning of the 13th of May, after a mere show of resistance which lasted only three or four days. The garrison, 15,000 strong, the court, the nobility, had all fled

* For the affair of the Basque Roads, the court-martial on Lord Gambier, &c., the reader may consult the naval histories of Captain Brenton and Mr. James, and the Edinburgh Annual Register for 1809, which contains a very full account written, or revised, by Southey.

* Bonaparte's Letter to Marshal Massena.

from the place before it capitulated; but there remained there one princess of the house of Austria, the Archduchess Maria Louisa, whom sickness had retained in the palace of her fathers. [A notion, however, prevailed at the time and afterwards, that the archduchess's malady was in good part a fiction.] The conqueror caused the archduchess to be treated with all respect and reverence; but at the same time he acted as sovereign and master in her father's capital. In conformity with the system which we have ventured to condemn, when recommended and upheld by English writers, but which was certainly well suited to his purposes and modes of making war, he declared not only that no popular insurgents, but also that no militia, had any right to take any part in the hostilities, or to make any effort against the invaders of their country. On the 14th of May he issued a decree commanding the immediate dissolution of the Landwehr, and threatening with the severest punishments all such men as should not lay by their arms and return quietly to their homes within a fortnight.

The Archduke Charles now collected his army on the left bank of the Danube, only a few miles below Vienna. Having constructed some bridges, Bonaparte crossed the river and attacked the archduke. The great battle of Aspern, which was begun on the 21st of May, was one of the most memorable that took place in the whole course of these long or often-renewed wars. When night closed on the field of carnage the combat was undecided; but the loss of Bonaparte was far greater than that of the archduke, who had been reinforced by some Austrian and Hungarian veterans, and who displayed throughout the day both an unflinching courage and excellent generalship. The battle was renewed early on the following day, and was raging with fury on both sides, when Bonaparte was informed that the bridges in his rear, which he had constructed to keep up his communications with the right bank of the Danube, had been carried away by a flood. Upon this he ordered a retreat, and withdrew, not without some confusion, into the island of Lobau, in the middle of the Danube, and cut away the bridge which joined the island to the left bank of the river. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was very great: Marshal Lannes, duke of Montebello, finished his earthly career at Aspern; Generals Espagne and Saint-Hilaire were also among the slain; and an immense number of field-officers perished on the field or died of their wounds on the isle of Lobau. The visible discouragement of the men was good evidence that Aspern had in fact been a defeat to the French. It is true that at this juncture the Emperor Alexander had declared war against the Emperor Francis, and had raised his army in Russian Poland to 50,000 men; but these Russians seemed to satisfy themselves with merely observing the Austrian army under Archduke John, and the Polish army (of which the czar was much more apprehensive) under Prince Poniatowski; and they certainly abstained from taking any active part whatever in this campaign. But, on the other side, while Bonaparte and the mass of his Grand Army were cooped up and miserably huddled together on an island in the Danube, popular patriotic insurrections of a formidable character were breaking out in his rear, and even in regions contiguous to the Rhine and the frontiers of France: the gallant Major Schill, the best of partisan leaders, had raised the standard of liberty and independence in the North of Germany; the inept Jerome Bonaparte, king of Westphalia, was compelled to fly from his capital; the chivalrous Duke of Brunswick, the avenger of his old father, threw himself into Bohemia with his Black Hussars; and one of the princes of Hesse, and other men of ancient and honoured names, followed these examples, and propagated and most bravely fought for the reviving Germanic feeling. All Germany learned for the first time these ten years that Bonaparte had been vanquished and compelled to fall back. The news gave heart and hope to all that were enemies to the French and friends to their own country: the fermentation of the Germanic populations became general; and those governments and princes that had attached themselves to the fortunes of the Corsican Emperor of the French must have been broken up and swept out of the country if this true Germanic feeling in the people had been allowed a little more time, and had received proper encouragement from bold and decisive operations on the part of the armies of the Emperor of Austria. It was with difficulty that Bonaparte's submissive ally, the King of Saxony and Grand Duke of Warsaw, could restrain the sympathies of his German subjects; and in Prussia, notwithstanding the fear and awe of the government, the people seemed almost everywhere on tiptoe, inflamed with the desire of avenging the disgraces of Jena, the humiliations of their king, and the wrongs of their graceful, high-spirited, and broken-hearted queen. Major Schill himself was a subject of his Prussian majesty, and he had marched off from Berlin with his regiment of hussars and a few hundred Prussian infantry,—brave men, who would risk the death of soldiers on the field of battle, or the hanging and fusilading of the French, who chose to consider and to treat them and all such patriot bands as banditti and brigands, rather than witness any longer the slavery of their country and the opprobrium of the whole Teutonic family. The retreat from Bavaria of the Archduke Charles had not damped the spirit of the resolute Tyrolese, who were in arms almost to a man, making a noble stand against another united army of French and Bavarians. At the beginning of June bands, more or less considerable, issued from the mountains of Bohemia, and penetrated into Saxony, Franconia, Hesse, Hanover, and others of the circles of the old empire, exciting the populations to rise, launching proclamations, and gathering many partisans: their cry was, "Arm to defend your liberties! Arm for the deliverance and the liberties of

Europe!" It was hard for French generals to get native German troops (and they had few but German corps under their command) to fight against the German patriots.* The King of Wurtemburg was reduced to almost as sad straits as his brother-in-law Jerome, King of Westphalia. This popular enthusiasm and insurrection might not have sufficed in itself to break the iron sceptre of Bonaparte; but, with a little time and encouragement, the partisan bands might have been well organised and disciplined, the regular armies of the confederation of the Rhine and the other veteran German troops that were unwillingly following the standard of the Emperor of the French would have deserted from him as they did a few years later, and an ocean of blood might have been spared humanity. But, after his exploits on the field of Aspern, a torpor or a stupefaction appears to have fallen upon the Archduke Charles. In part, this might be accounted for by the reverses which were following the first successes of the Archduke John in Italy, and of the Archduke Ferdinand in Poland; but there certainly must have been some other cause, or causes, more secret and more powerful to produce this long inaction. Treachery and treason of the darkest kind have been suspected, not in the Archduke Charles, who was one of the most honourable of men, but in inferior generals, and among the members of the government and the Aulic Council, which always directed the war, whether near or distant, and which never, since the beginning of the French Revolution, had directed it aright. For six whole weeks Bonaparte's army was allowed to remain undisturbed in the isle of Lobau. During this long interval it was reinforced by the arrival of the corps of Marshal Davoust; strong redoubts and batteries were raised on the island; new bridges were prepared; every possible advantage was taken of the abundant resources offered by the city of Vienna; and Eugene Beauharnais with the army of Italy, and Marmont with the army of Dalmatia, after the retreat of the Archduke John, and by a succession of rapid and brilliant marches, gave the hand to their emperor and his Grand Army. When all these advantages had been procured, Bonaparte, with a great superiority of force, determined to try his fortune again on the left bank of the Danube. The Archduke Charles had fortified that bank, had erected batteries to prevent the passage of the French from the isle of Lobau, and had thrown up other batteries and redoubts at Aspern, Essling, and other points: but the Archduke John, who had effected his retreat from Italy into Hungary, was not brought up to the scene of action, nor did the Archduke Ferdinand quit Poland and march to the succour of his brother, until it was all too late. The Austrians, too, appear to have conceived that the French could only effect their passage at the identical point where they had made it before, so that all their works were made merely to face the isle of Lobau. On the night of the 4th of July Bonaparte opened a tremendous fire from his batteries on Lobau; and, while the dull Austrians were replying to it, the French went silently over to another islet a little lower down the river, established six bridges, and began to glide over to the left bank. By the morning of the 5th Bonaparte and the mass of his army were well established on that bank, and on the flank of all the archduke's positions, which were thus in a manner rendered useless. It should appear that the Austrian army knew nothing of this manœuvre until it was all but completed. The Archduke Charles retired obliquely upon Wagram, a few miles behind Aspern, fighting hard as he went at Enzersdorf, at Essling, and at one or two other points, and removing his artillery from his now useless works. Towards evening Bonaparte attempted to finish the affair by attacking the Austrian centre. He began by a concentrated murderous fire of artillery, the number of his guns being now increased to a greater disproportion than ever, and nearly every gun being loaded with grape-shot. But the Austrian veterans were not to be broken; the centre stood like a wall, replying with a less numerous but well-served artillery; in some charges made on the wings of the archduke's army and on other parts of his line the French were repulsed with great loss; the Saxons and other German troops commanded by Bernadotte showed symptoms of uneasiness and insubordination—a feather thrown into the scale of the indecision of these Germans would have made them march over to the archduke as they marched over to the grand allied army on the field of Leipsic in the year 1813;—finally, some of the *élite* of the native French troops fell into confusion, which was increased by the darkness of night. About an hour before midnight the firing of the artillery ceased, and Bonaparte was again compelled to confess inwardly that he had been worsted. When he complained to Bernadotte, with whom he was perpetually quarrelling, of the conduct of the Saxons and of the general ill success of the day, the marshal replied, "Sire, we have no longer such troops as those we brought from the camp of Boulogne in 1806!" The best of the French army had in fact been already sacrificed. On the morrow, however—the memorable 6th of July—when the Archduke Charles drew up his army in the form of a crescent on the plain of Wagram, and, resuming the offensive, attacked the French with the hope of driving them back into the Danube, the Austrians were defeated, but rather by superiority of number and by the immensity of the enemy's artillery than by any superiority either in bravery or generalship. The battle of Wagram was—or at least the decisive part of it was—a battle of cannons and howitzers. For some hours victory seemed to sit upon the crest of the brave Austrian

* The brave Duke of Brunswick said, in one of his proclamations, "Germans! would you shed your blood for foreigners, for Frenchmen? Your brothers, against whom they are making you march, are coming only to break your chains. Rise, Hessians! Rise, Prussians, Brunswickers, Hanoverians! Unite together to wipe out the shame of Germany, and to punish her oppressors! The moment of deliverance is at hand!"

prince. Bernadotte was driven from his position; Massena recovered that position, but could not hold it; Eugene Beauharnais with his army of Italy was driven in and almost routed; columns of Austrians seemed gaining ground in every direction, and at one moment the French left wing was completely turned, and dismay reigned in the *état-major*, or grand staff, of the Grand Army. But Marshal Davoust, with an immense corps composed entirely of Frenchmen, made an impression on the left wing of the Austrians; and at the critical moment Bonaparte, who kept his attention entirely fixed on Davoust, deployed the batteries of his imperial guards, ranging sixty or more pieces of cannon in the first line like infantry, and opening an awful fire on the heads of some advancing columns.* These attacking columns halted; their weak artillery was soon silenced; Davoust's corps shouted victory; and then Bonaparte, saying "The battle is won," formed his entire centre into column, and with twenty-one battalions of infantry under Macdonald, the two divisions of Eugene Beauharnais, the cuirassiers and the light cavalry of the guard, with the old and the new guard, and the noted *grenadiers à cheval*, he drove across the plain with his condensed mass, broke through the archduke's centre, and reached Wagram. Now, indeed, the battle was gained, but tremendous was the price he had paid for it: three of his generals were killed, twenty-one of his generals were wounded, and according even to French accounts 6500 men were killed and 15,000 were wounded. The lying bulletins, which could no longer deceive anybody, stated his total loss at 1500 killed and a few thousands wounded; but it now appears from documents found in the French war-office and in other depositories that Bonaparte had altogether about 33,000 men put *hors de combat* in the two battles which he fought near Wagram. The Austrian loss was certainly inferior to this; on the 5th they had a decided advantage; on the 6th they were for a long time victorious; and even when their centre was broken their retreat was effected in good order, and there was no pursuit, the French halting in a state of doubt or exhaustion on the ground they had gained. It is a hot pursuit that swells the number of killed, wounded, and prisoners. They abandoned some of their artillery, but the Austrians carried away with them more prisoners than they had themselves lost. In their own official accounts the Austrians estimated their loss in the field at 20,000 killed and wounded, and it appears that their loss in reality did not exceed 26,000 or 27,000. Thirteen Austrian generals were killed or wounded, and the Archduke Charles himself received a slight hurt in repelling a charge. But the most lamentable part of the story seems to be this:—during the two days' fight the Archduke John, with 10,000 or 12,000 choice troops which he had brought back from Italy, was lying at Presburg on the Hungarian frontier, on the same side of the Danube as his brother Charles and Bonaparte, and only six or seven leagues from them. A good forced march might have brought the Archduke John to the field, at latest on the second and decisive day of the fighting; and it is allowed by most of the French themselves that his appearance, at any moment before Bonaparte's last tremendous charge, would have thrown the French into irremediable confusion. It is said that pressing orders and earnest entreaties were sent by Charles to his younger brother to hasten his march; but there the Archduke John remained, to leave an historical doubt to posterity as to the motives of his conduct or the causes or accidents which delayed his advance. He was as brave as his brother, and unquestionably quite as loyal: we cannot credit the insinuations of the French that he was actuated by a mean jealousy; but we incline rather to believe that there was treachery as well as stupidity among some of the men who surrounded him; that there was an opposition and conflict between the orders given him by the Aulic Council and the orders sent him by the Archduke Charles, or that the orders were badly given by his brother and badly understood by himself.

JOHN, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA.

Still, however, the army of the Archduke Charles was neither destroyed nor discouraged and dispersed; men and officers were ready to fight again, and the archduke was eager to continue the war. By skirmishing and manœuvring he might have gained time sufficient to allow not only the Archduke John but also the Archduke Ferdinand and other generals of separate corps to form their junction with him; the partisan warfare continued in Germany, the Tyrolese were as yet standing as conquerors on their own proud mountains, and the warlike population of Hungary might have furnished immediately swarms of squadrons of excellent light cavalry, while Bohemia would have

* "The Austrian centre," cried Bonaparte, "must be battered by artillery like a fortress!" When the horrible struggle seemed going against him he exclaimed to Drouot, the general of his artillery, "Drouot, bring up all the batteries of the guard! We must sustain Davoust's column at any price! *Allons*, Drouot, throw me ten thousand cannon-balls! Crush me those masses before you!"

Thus, the less he relied on his troops, the more he relied on his cannon; and thus he kept increasing his artillery out of all proportion.

poured forth her yagers or tirailleurs, among the best light infantry and riflemen in the world. Alarming news arrived from Murat at Naples, who was watching the storm then gathering in Sicily and in Calabria; and in the course of a few days the spirit of Bonaparte became disquieted by the storm which had then burst upon Holland,—by the capture of Walcheren, which was a far more serious source of uneasiness than has been generally allowed,—and by the news of the defeat of his brother Joseph and his marshals at Talavera. So far was the Archduke Charles from thinking of a dishonourable, dastardly peace that he was actually fighting the French on the 11th of July, and was even preparing for another general battle, when certain diplomatists drove into his camp and told him that the Emperor Francis had agreed to a truce, and that an armistice had just been concluded at Znaym. This led to the opprobrious peace of Schönbrunn, which was not signed, however, till the 14th of October. During this, to him, most opportune and profitable suspension of hostilities, Bonaparte chiefly resided in the imperial palace of Schönbrunn, leading nearly the same course of life to which he was accustomed at the Tuileries, and ruling in Vienna like a lord and master.* From this ancient residence of the house of Hapsburg he issued his decrees to all parts of the continent, and endeavoured also to open a correspondence with some disaffected states or subjects of Francis, in order to terrify him into greater submission and vaster sacrifices even than those which the Austrian cabinet seemed ready to make, and to sow germs of discord, rivalry, and confusion which might keep that empire for ever in a weak and prostrate condition. But, though he had assuredly found on this as on former occasions some traitors that served him for money, he could not find on the whole surface of the Austrian empire any such thing as a body of disaffected or disloyal men, and, now that Italy was gone, he could not discover in the curious composite which made up that empire, in the different kingdoms, in the provinces and adjoints, in many of which the people differed in origin, in language, in habits, and in several instances in religion, a single *foyer* of discontent and rebellion, or any one class willing to throw themselves under French protection and assert an independence of the house of Hapsburg. Except in their lost Italian provinces the sway of the Austrians had been mild and popular, and the government of Francis II. was, and ever had been, considered as a paternal government. In Hungary, where the people differ as much from Austrians as our old highland clans differed from the lowland Scotch or from the English, and where a proud and spirited nobility had maintained an oligarchic constitution—where jars occasionally took place between the imperial authorities and the aristocracy, and where the great magnates had often been known to defy the Aulic Council, the French fancied that something might be done; but, when Bonaparte addressed an invitation to the Hungarians to separate themselves from Austria, to form an independent kingdom under a native ruler, and to give to the crown of the Magyars the lustre which once belonged to it, they turned from the invitation with contempt and disgust. These men had no sympathy with the French; their liberties and privileges had been well preserved under the house of Austria, and they knew but too well the fate of democracies, oligarchies, and all other governments that had claimed the protection of Bonaparte.

A few words must be said on the campaigns in Poland and Italy. The grand duchy of Warsaw did not capitulate with its capital. The Archduke Ferdinand laid siege to Thorn. While a strong garrison detained him there, Poniatowski, having doubled his army, fell upon the Austrians with 40,000 men, drove them out of the city of Warsaw, beat the archduke in two battles fought at the end of April and beginning of May, invaded Austrian Poland, penetrated into Gallicia, and forced the archduke to evacuate entirely the territories of the grand duchy of Warsaw by the beginning of July.

Eugene Beauharnais.

When the Archduke John first descended into Italy to contend with the French viceroy, his progress was favoured by many circumstances: the spirit of the Austrian armies had never been higher than then, and the common people of the country were heartily sick of the French dominion, and irritated, exasperated in the extreme by the harsh, lawless, and, in their eyes, impious conduct of Bonaparte towards Pius VII., a pontiff whose personal

* It was at Schönbrunn that Bonaparte narrowly escaped the dagger of an enthusiastic young man, a member of the *Tugenbund*, or of some other of those secret societies which had now and at a later period so great an effect in exciting the Germanic feeling. Stabbs, the son of a respectable Protestant clergyman of Erfurt, went to a grand review of the imperial guard, and rushed upon the emperor in the midst of his staff. Berthier and Rapp seized him and disarmed him when his knife was but a few inches from Bonaparte's heart. "What injury have I ever done to you?" said the conqueror. "To me personally none," replied the youth; "but you are the oppressor of my country, the tyrant of the world!" Bonaparte, who had already fusiladed more than twenty burghers of Vienna *pour faire peur*, caused the youth to be shot on the very next morning. The boy, for he was scarcely eighteen years old, died like a hero.

virtues, and imposing and touching demeanour, greatly increased the reverence felt for the sanctity of his office. A large portion of the Italian nobility were, and a considerable portion of the *bourgeoisie* had become, free-thinkers—converts and disciples to the doctrines of Voltaire and the French *philosophes*,—and as such disposed to regard with joy or with indifference any humiliation offered to the tiara, or any blow struck at the Roman priesthood; but these classes of men were acutely sensible to the injuries offered to themselves personally, to the enormous stride of taxation which was going *pari passu* with retreating trade and the rapid fall of the value of the rich productions of the country, to the intolerable war contributions, and to the still more intolerable military conscription, which spared no rank or condition of men. And even many of those nobles and citizens of Lombardy who had most favoured the French, and who had most profited by Bonaparte's government, apprehended that the end of his system was coming, and that the best thing they could do under present circumstances would be either to remain neutral and indifferent, or to win a reconciliation from their old masters the Austrians by lending them assistance, or by affecting to feel infinite joy at their successes and happy return to a country which they had so long possessed. This was the common logic of self-interest; but there were higher and nobler natures—enthusiastic, generous minds, that had outlived their early dream of liberty and pure republicanism and the union of all Italy,—that were weary and disgusted with these bloody struggles, which, end which way they would, were sure to leave the Italians the slaves of a foreign master. As the Archduke John advanced as a conqueror across the rich Lombard plain, all the villages and small towns, and not a few of the larger cities, hailed his approach by shouting "Long live our old good master the Emperor Francis!" Eugene Beauharnais attempted to stop him near Sacile, and, risking a general action, was completely defeated. But the archduke, instead of vigorously pursuing the viceroy's beaten and, in good part, demoralised army, marched slowly on and lost many good opportunities on the banks of the Adige. Marshal Macdonald arrived to advise and direct Eugene; and reinforcements began to pour into Lombardy from Tuscany and from parts of Lower Italy. The archduke, however, passed the Piave and the Brenta, the people of Padua received him as a deliverer, and when he seemed to threaten Venice there was a popular party in that city impatient to rise and join him. At this moment the victorious Tyrolese insurgents came down the valley of Trent and showed a bold front within the Italian frontiers and on both banks of the Adige, erecting the double-necked eagle, the standard of Austria, wherever they advanced. But anon came the news of the Archduke Charles's defeat at Eckmuhl and his retreat beyond Vienna and the Danube: the brave Tyrolese were obliged to retire to their own country, the passes into which, on the side of Bavaria, were now left open; and the Archduke John was ordered by the Aulic Council to retire from Italy and join the Archduke Charles as quickly as he could. The retreat began; the poor Italians who had committed themselves were left to the tender mercies of the French; Beauharnais followed the Archduke John with forces numerically superior; a bloody battle was fought near Conegliano; but the archduke, though worsted, continued his retreat in good order, effecting the difficult passage of the Tagliamento under the eye of Beauharnais. Macdonald, pursuing too incautiously, was well beaten in one or two affairs in the mountains of Carniola; but, waiting at Gratz until he was joined by Marmont and the French army of Dalmatia, who with great difficulty and not without terrible loss had fought their way through Croatia and other mountainous regions where the populations were all in arms, Macdonald and Beauharnais descended through the valley of Raab to the banks of the Danube and the vicinity of Vienna, where they gave the hand to Bonaparte and the Grand Army. Eugene, however, had not been allowed to get through the valley of Raab without some hard fighting. On the 14th of June, the anniversary of the victory of Marengo, Bonaparte's step-son found himself opposed near the town of Raab by the Archduke John, whose army, even after so long and hurried a retreat and much suffering, and in spite of the discouraging news which reached it from all quarters, formed in admirable order, and fought with so much spirit that twice in the course of the battle the enemy was nearly defeated. The Archduke John and Eugene Beauharnais were young men nearly of the same age; they were at least equal in valour; and, if Macdonald had not been at hand to give his advice, we may doubt whether there would have been any inequality in the military skill displayed by the two young commanders-in-chief. Although defeated in the end, the archduke retired in such perfect order that Eugene did not venture to attack even his rear-guard. The Austrian prince reached the valley of the Danube, crossed that river, and ascended the left bank as far as Presburg; but then came the slowness, the indecision, the blunder, or the treachery, or some other mysterious cause, of which we have complained. By the line he took the archduke had only a few miles' longer march than the viceroy. Eugene joined Bonaparte several days before the battle of Wagram, which was not fought till twenty-two days after the battle of Raab; the Archduke John, with the loyal population of Hungary on both flanks and on his rear, appears to have reached Presburg two or three days before the decisive, but, for a long time, doubtful, battle of Wagram—but there he staid. After reconsidering every hypothesis, we are the more confirmed in the opinion that in this campaign, as in all the preceding campaigns of the Austrians, treachery was at work, and that the emperor was grossly betrayed. We know that the French general Seras attempted to corrupt with money the

commandant of one of the emperor's fortresses; we know that this honourable officer scorned the bribe and those who insulted him by offering it, and died fighting gallantly in the breach; but we do not know how often the golden napoleons succeeded in the objects for which in all these wars they were profusely distributed. After this campaign, even as after Mack's campaign of Ulm, numbers of Austrian officers and civil employés were known to start suddenly into opulence and luxury, without any visible source for their increased fortunes.

It was from the palace of Schönbrunn that Bonaparte aimed his last thunderbolt at the head of the pope. In May, 1808, he had annexed, *for ever*, the best part of the papal dominions to the mock kingdom of Italy; and his generals and the Roman revolutionary party—about the most savage, atheistical, and intolerant of all the reformers of that day—had constituted Pius VII. a prisoner in the Vatican. All the cardinals that offered the slightest resistance or remonstrance were expelled from Rome. Gabrielli, the cardinal secretary of state, or prime minister, was sent away to his bishopric at Sinigaglia. The pope appointed Cardinal Pacca to fill the place: Miollis, the French general, immediately ordered off Pacca to Benevento; and, upon this cardinal's refusing obedience, he was seized by French gendarmes and forcibly carried across the Neapolitan frontier. Another cardinal, the decanus of the sacred college, was treated in the same manner. Pius, after again reminding the Emperor of the French of the services he had rendered him, and of the long winter journey he had made to crown him in Notre Dame, threatened Bonaparte and his agents with the thunders of the church; but he held his hand. On the 17th of May, 1809, four days after entering Vienna, Bonaparte issued a decree, in which he united the remainder of the Roman States, not to the mock kingdom of Italy, but to the French empire, leaving to the present pope, in case of his quietly submitting, his palaces, which had been robbed already of the treasures of art they contained, and an annual allowance of about 80,000*l.* sterling. Upon this Pius VII. held his hand no longer. On the 10th of June printed copies of a bull of excommunication against all the perpetrators and abettors of the invasion of Rome and of the territories of the Holy See were affixed to the gates of the principal churches of the city, and were rapidly distributed by devout people in every part of Italy, and in all ultramontane Catholic countries. *Philosophes* and unbelieving soldiers sneered at this thunderbolt; but it was a real thunderbolt nevertheless, that scorched and withered some of Bonaparte's best interests. A few days after it was launched the armament of Sir John Stuart made its appearance in the Bay of Naples, and the French were getting beaten or bewildered by the Calabrian insurgents. Murat was greatly alarmed; and it is said that it was he who, without any previous instructions from his brother-in-law and master in the palace of Schönbrunn, concerted with Miollis, who was equally afraid of a popular insurrection at Rome, measures for seizing the old pope and sending him a state prisoner into France, where his predecessor, Pius VI., had died in a miserable captivity. But we know from better authority than that of Las Cases that Murat consulted previously with Bonaparte, and that an express order to get the pope out of Italy came from Schönbrunn. Miollis, who was governor and a sort of viceroy in Rome, chose a proper instrument for the deed of violence in a rough low-born soldier of fortune, Radet, who had served for many years in the gendarmerie, and who was now one of Bonaparte's barons, legionaries of honour, and a general of French gendarmes. The pope had shut himself up in his palace on the Quirinal. At midnight the palace was surrounded; and between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July some of Radet's French gendarmes, and a few Roman reformers who knew the building well, and who would have had no reluctance to cut the old pope's throat, scaled the walls of the palace, broke open several doors, and, throwing open the great gates, let in their comrades from without. The Swiss guards, whom the pope had collected within the walls of the palace, offered no resistance, having received his own solemn order to that effect. General Baron Radet penetrated to the apartment in which Pius was, and found him in full pontifical dress, surrounded by priestly attendants. The leader of gendarmes told the pontiff that he had orders to remove him from Rome, unless he recalled the bull of excommunication, and consented to sign an entire abdication of his temporal authority. Pius replied that this he could not do. Radet then told him that he must depart immediately. "I then yield to force," replied the helpless and truly venerable pontiff; and, taking his breviary under his arm, he meekly followed the French general to the gate, where a carriage was found ready, and whence he was instantly driven off under a strong escort of French gendarmerie. Only Radet went with him in the coach, which flew as rapidly through the country as relays of six horses could make it fly. Not a soul was permitted to accompany him, or to follow him; and it was all in vain that he represented his great physical suffering from this rapid, break-neck, never-resting way of travelling. Radet was in an agony of alarm all along the road lest the pope should be recognised. When he was well advanced on his journey he was transferred to the custody of some other gendarme officer; and so he was carried on from one military post to another, there being no lack of gendarmerie in any part of Italy. When they reached the Riviera di Levante, or eastern coast of Genoa, the French dreaded the mountain passes and the devout peasantry. They therefore huddled the poor old pope on board a frail and dirty bark that was bound for Genoa, and that was creeping along the coast, as all vessels were then obliged to creep, in order to avoid the

British cruisers. Pius asked whether they intended to drown him. The gendarmes answered No. As soon as they landed him in Genoa, they smuggled him into another carriage, which was driven off at full gallop. They whirled the pontiff over the rough and mountainous road of the Bocchetta, and never made a halt till they came to the fortified town of Alessandria, near the field of Marengo. From Alessandria they carried him with the same speed across the plains of Piedmont, then scorched by the July sun, to Sant' Ambrogio di Susa, at the foot of the Alps. Completely exhausted by fatigue and suffering, the old pope asked whether Napoleon wanted to have him dead or alive. They answered, Certainly alive. "Then," said Pius, "let us rest here this night." They were forced to consent, for it seemed evident that he would die that night on the lofty, cold Alps, if they continued their journey. On the following day they hurried him over the road of Mount Cenis and through the deep valley of Savoy. From Savoy they turned aside to the old French province of Dauphiny. They imprisoned him for a time in the city of Grenoble; but orders came from Bonaparte to remove him to the fortress of Savona, in the western Riviera of Genoa. There was a much nearer road from Grenoble: but these Frenchmen were ingenious tormentors; and so they carried the pope by Valence, where his predecessor had died, by Avignon, which until the French revolution had belonged to the see of Rome, and by Aix and Nice. Pius VII. was left in his captivity at Savona for nearly three years, when he was removed to Fontainebleau.

This treatment of the pontiff, although it made a deep impression on the Austrian people, produced no visible effect on the negotiations for peace. Several times, indeed, but not upon spiritual grounds, the Emperor Francis seemed all but determined to declare the armistice at an end, and to try again the fortune of the sword. Failing in his endeavours to cajole the Hungarians into a revolution under his auspices, Bonaparte saw that, after all, it would be no such easy matter to dismember the Austrian empire, or (bating Italy) to keep permanent possession of any of the kingdoms or provinces which had been united under the dominion of the Hapsburgs—that old house of Austria which, as he was accustomed to say, was always falling, but never dying! He evidently stood dismayed at its mighty *vis inertiæ*. The news, too, of the defeat of so many of his renowned generals at Talavera disturbed his *prestige*, and induced him to believe that England would not so soon recall Sir Arthur Wellesley from the Spanish peninsula, and that the subjugation of Portugal and Spain would demand a more exclusive attention, and the constant employment of a much greater force than he had anticipated. It is also believed—and upon what appears to be a very reasonable foundation—that he had already decided upon divorcing Josephine, and taking to himself a young wife likely to bear children and heirs; that his pride was inflamed with the notion of allying himself with one of the most ancient, and what was considered generally, although perhaps incorrectly, the proudest sovereign house in Europe; that during his long residence at Schönbrunn he had made indirect overtures, and had found a certain party among the Vienna noblesse, courtiers, and even ministers, who encouraged his aspiring to the hand of Maria Louisa, the young and fair archduchess, who had been left behind at the capital when all the rest of the family fled from it. Another suggestive of moderation may have proceeded from the formidable attitude of the army of the Archduke Charles, who was well known to be as averse to the peace as ever, and who threw up his command as soon as it was concluded.

Comparatively moderate as were the conditions granted to Austria by the treaty of Schönbrunn, signed on the 14th of October, the Emperor Francis, even without putting into the account the bestowal of his daughter's hand, or without believing that a secret promise was extorted from him to consent to that strange and unseemly matrimonial alliance, which must be preceded by a measure abhorrent to the Catholic church and to all delicate consciences, had many and most painful sacrifices to make. He was obliged to abandon the faithful Tyrolese, who had flown to arms at his call; and he was compelled to cede Trieste, Carniola, and part of Croatia, Saltzburg, Cracow in Poland, and Western Gallicia, and several other districts, containing in all about two millions and a half of population. In nearly every direction this treaty injured and weakened the frontier of the Austrian empire; while from the rest of Germany, which had hoped so much at the commencement of the war, it brought down distrust, astonishment, and contempt on the cabinet of Vienna. In addition to all this, and to the exhausting task of having had to support for so many months the whole of Bonaparte's grand army, the Austrians were bound to pay into the French exchequer, as expenses of war, seventy-five millions of francs, or about 3,000,000*l.* sterling.

Bonaparte, cheered by the intelligence that the British had entirely evacuated Walcheren, returned triumphantly to Paris; and there, on the 3rd of December, opened the session of the submissive and admiring *Corps Législatif*, telling them that now, Spain and Portugal only excepted, the continent of Europe was in a happy peace.

Hard was the fate of the patriot insurgents in the north of Germany: when taken, some of them were fusiladed as traitors and brigands, even like the Calabrians and the Spaniards; while others were thrown into prisons, or forced and tormented until they enlisted and enrolled themselves either in the French army or in those contingent German armies which continued for four years longer to follow the eagles of Bonaparte. The French displayed no magnanimity, no mercy; and they seem hardly ever to have troubled themselves with the thought that these Germans, whom they treated

as rebels and traitors, had never owed any allegiance to Napoleon, but were all the subjects of this or that German king or prince, to whom, and to the laws of their own country, alone they were amenable. Yet, while he issued his decrees and commands as to the mode of dealing with these insurgents, and while French military commissions passed drum-head sentences of death upon these German patriots, the French emperor affected to be injured and insulted by any assertion that the Confederation of the Rhine was not a free confederacy of independent sovereign states, or that the other principalities and powers of Germany did not enjoy a perfect independence under his protection.

Major Schill, that gallant and romantic partisan leader, was fortunate enough to die in battle—in a most unequal strife—with his sword in his hand, wet with the blood of one of Bonaparte's Dutch generals, whom he slew before he fell himself. But the French emperor had proclaimed Schill as a "*brigand et homme sans aveu;*" and, if the hero had been taken alive, some remorseless military tribunal would have treated him as such. The blood of Schill was better inspiration to the young poets of Germany than any water from the Pierian spring: out of the blood of all these heroes the Teutonic liberty arose, as in the olden time the stupendous fabric of the church had been cemented by the blood of saints and martyrs. The Duke of Brunswick, brother of Caroline, our Princess of Wales, performed prodigies with a mere handful of men (Bonaparte called his serene highness a brigand too): he made up for the deficiency of his numbers by the rapidity of his movements, and seemed almost gifted with ubiquity; he perplexed the French generals and corps detached in pursuit of him, making them believe he must have many thousands of men, when, in fact, he had only a few hundreds. It was the Duke of Brunswick, who had come over from England before the commencement of this Austrian war, and who had called round his standard some of the old soldiers of his father, that led the best of the bands that issued from Bohemia at the beginning of June or a few days after the battle of Aspern. His black hussars, who wore skulls and cross-bones on their breasts and caps, in memory of the fate of their late aged sovereign and of the avenging vow of his son, their present leader, swore neither to give nor to receive quarter. Their appearance was everyway lugubrious: their red flags were surmounted with black crape; but a more martial and braver set of horsemen never put foot in stirrup or followed a more fearless chief. From the mountains and forests of Bohemia, where they had been lying for a considerable time in order to recruit their force and collect some free corps to co-operate with them, the Brunswick hussars dashed into Lusatia, and, capturing châteaux and towns, they pushed forward into the heart of Saxony, the king and government of which country were entirely devoted to French interests. On the evening of the 11th of June, when the French were in apparent jeopardy in the Isle of Lobau, the duke and his black hussars rode into Dresden, the capital of Saxony. On the 23rd they were at Leipsic, where the students of the University showed how they sympathised with them and the Teutonic cause. On the 14th of July, eight days after the battle of Wagram, they returned to Dresden, and re-entered that capital without opposition. The armistice of Znaym was nothing to the Duke of Brunswick: the Emperor of Austria might despair and dishonour himself and his country, but Brunswick would not. He was now surrounded by enemies, disavowed by Austria as well as by Prussia, and far away from that open sea by which he might escape to England. "But I will die rather than surrender to the murderers of my father and usurpers and tyrants of my dominions! Soldiers, will you follow me?" And away went the Brunswickers with their chief, rapid and dark, like a stormy midnight wave. They rolled into Westphalia and towards Cassel, the now strangely Frenchified capital of Jerome Bonaparte, whose ephemeral kingdom included the duke's hereditary states. Masses of men were now gradually enclosing them; there was the *corps d'armée* of the Saxon general Thielmann, and the corps of the French generals Gratien and Reubell; but, changing the direction of their march, and throwing themselves into the forests and wilds of the country, with which they were better acquainted than were their pursuers, they reached Halle, the seat of another Teutonic university, where his blood-red standard and black crape excited all who had German hearts within them. It appears to have been some enthusiastic students who told the Brunswickers there was lying at Halberstadt a regiment composed of young Westphalian nobles and renegades, who took pride in wearing the uniform of Jerome. Quick! boot and saddle! and away went the black hussars, gliding through the dark intervening woods. The gilded Westphalians, though taken by surprise, must have shown some fight, for the duke had two horses killed under him; but in the end Jerome's choice regiment was sabred or put to flight, and the Brunswickers captured all their camp equipage. From Halberstadt the duke, with his daring troopers, rode to the city of Brunswick, and entered that ancient capital of his forefathers. The affectionate and best part of the citizens would have given him a fête, or a good German banquet, but this was no time for feasting or for piping and dancing: the representative of their old dukes and margraves was still but a poor fugitive, an adventurer engaged in the most perilous of adventures; and he considerately implored the good burghers not to commit themselves, or draw down the vengeance of Jerome and the French, by showing respect and love for him. This advice was scarcely given when the cavalry of the French general Reubell rode up in pursuit. The trumpet of Brunswick sounded the charge, and, shouting Teutonia! Germany!

the black hussars cut their way through their foes; and then trotted along the road that leads to Hanover, cutting down most of the bridges in their rear, and carrying dismay among all the weak garrisons or posts of King Jerome. Their course was now so rapid and so eccentric that their numerous pursuers knew not where to seek them; and, after traversing nearly the whole of Franconia and the electorate of Hanover, they reached the small port of Elsfleth on the left bank of the Weser, where they found some British transports, which conveyed the duke, with twenty-two of his officers and a good many of his men, safely to England.

But the most doleful story connected with the war of 1809 remains to be told. The Austrian diplomatists had delicately inserted a clause in the treaty of Schönbrunn importing that the Tyrolese, whose country was to be restored to the King of Bavaria, should lay down their arms and receive from Bonaparte and his Bavarian majesty an amnesty or pardon for all past offences—or, for having bravely and most successfully fought for their country, their homes, their church, and their sovereign. But the Tyrolese, who had gained so many victories among their native mountains and valleys, would not lay down their arms, nor submit to be transferred, like slaves with a plantation, to a detested master; and they persevered in this resolution even when they knew that strong bodies of the French army in Germany, and of Beauharnais's army in Italy, were marching against them. Their recent exploits may have encouraged some hope; and they had little or no confidence in any amnesty from governments on which they had inflicted such serious losses, or in forgiveness and oblivion from troops exasperated by defeat and—be it admitted—by the fierce mode in which some of the wild and fanatic mountaineers had carried on the war.

As soon as the Archdukes Charles and John had begun to move in the spring, the Tyrolese, rising, as we have said, almost to a man, chose for their generalissimo, or chief of chiefs, Andrew Hofer, a man of about forty-two years of age, who was living in his native village in the deep valley of Passeyer, and in the little inn his father had left him. Hofer, who had been one of the first to resent the injuries inflicted by the French and their allies or servants the Bavarians on the ancient rights, privileges, and usages of his country (which had all been scrupulously respected by the Austrian sovereigns), inflamed with his patriotism and excited by his example Speckbacher, who had led rather a Robin Hood kind of life in his youth, but who had now married a woman with some little property and had become overseer of the salt-mines at Hall, as his father had been before him, and Haspinger, a Capuchin friar, and two or three monks, or village priests, who possessed an amazing influence over that devout and superstitious peasantry. Andrew Hofer—bating some little failing which may be excused by his profession and by the occasional rigidity of the climate in which he lived—was a man of irreproachable morals and of more talent and education than were commonly to be found among his countrymen of the same rank. He was gifted with a ready rustic kind of eloquence, and his well-known strength, bravery, and hardihood, and his commanding personal appearance, all combined to make him the chief of an essentially popular insurrection. Having always lived in the solitudes of the Tyrolean mountains, he was ignorant of the vices and temptations of civilization. Gold could not tempt him, nor could promotions and honours. While people of the highest quality in Italy and in Germany, as well as in France, were deluded by the flattering promises or by the brilliant prospects opened by Napoleon, this poor mountain innkeeper persevered in his innocent mode of life, and saw and appreciated things more correctly. "In men of this stamp," says the historian of revolutionised Italy, "there are generally two sentiments most deeply rooted—the love of God and the love of their country. Both these qualities shone conspicuously in Andrew Hofer, and for these the Tyrolese had a singular love and veneration for him."* His attachment to the superstitions of the Catholic church, and occasionally to the bottle, only rendered him the dearer to a people who were all superstitious and generally rather fond of wine. It is reported of him that he at times led the peasants to victory with a crucifix and rosary on his breast, a musket or sabre in one hand, and a bottle in the other. It was the religious feeling which gave vehemence and support and durability to the patriotic feeling; and here, as in Spain and in Calabria, the people were incensed by insults offered to their priests and monks, and by impious hands laid upon their churches and shrines. "This," says Botta, "was a singular and a terrible warfare. To the rumour of arms was added the continual tolling of all the church bells, with the shouting of the peasants, who exclaimed incessantly, 'In the name of God! In the name of the Most Holy Trinity!' All these noises united, and repeated by the echoes of the Alps, produced a confusion full of novelty, horror, terror, and religion."† But, excited and fierce in combat as they were, the Tyrolese were guilty of no savage and unnecessary cruelty. For this honourable fact we have many authorities, and among them that of a Frenchman, an amiable and accomplished traveller, who says, "They only killed those who resisted. 'Cut me down those fellows as long as they stand up against you,' cried Hofer; 'but once down, give them quarter! Only a coward strikes a man that is on the ground, because he is afraid he should get up again.' This was the Spanish insurrection, with its monks, its peasants, and its guerillas; but it was the Spanish insurrection without its crimes and its horrors, and

* Carlo Botta.

† Three means were resorted to in order to advise the mountaineers of the proper moment of rising in mass: saw-dust was thrown on the rivers Inn and Eisach, which carried the signal along in their rapid course; fires were lit on the tops of mountains and on the ruins of the old castles; and women and children ran from rock to rock, from glen to glen, from cottage to cottage, saying, "It is time!"

if there was inhumanity on one side, it was certainly not on that of the Tyroleans. They at least did not murder their prisoners after the battle: Hofer, when a conqueror, spared the lives of his opponents, but, when conquered, his own life was not spared."* When the peasantry first took the field under the command of two or three priests, a friar, an overseer of salt-works, and an innkeeper, the entire population of the country did not much exceed 600,000 souls; but nearly every able-bodied male took up arms, or co-operated with means of destruction more terrible than martial weapons, and in this last species of warfare the women and the children took their part. Keeping possession of the perpendicular rocks, which rise like walls on either side of their strong passes, they collected there immense stones, fragments of rocks, trunks and arms of trees, dragged them to the very edges of the precipices, kept them suspended there in large masses by means of hay-bands and strong ropes, until the enemy was engaged in the narrow gorge and fairly beneath them. Then a guttural voice would be heard crying, "Hans, is all ready?" "Yes!" was shouted among the rocks; on which the word of command was given, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, let go your ropes!" and, at the word, down went the mighty masses, a hundred fathoms deep, upon the heads of some Bavarian or French column. They were admirable marksmen, being accustomed to depend upon their fowling-pieces and rifles for a good part of their subsistence, and to follow the ibex and chamois among the summits and glaciers of the Alps; but it is said that their rifles scarcely killed so many of the invaders of their country as did these tremendous avalanches.

The first great blow struck in the field was by Andrew Hofer. He signally defeated the Bavarian troops at the end of April, in the valley of the Eisach, and killed, wounded, or took about 900 men. On the same or on the following day, his friend Speckbacher, the salt-mine overseer, drove the Bavarians out of the important town of Hall, and, shortly afterwards, 20,000 bold peasants took Innspruck, the old and picturesque capital of the Tyrol, in spite of the obstinate defence of General Kinkel and Colonel Dittfurt. The Bavarian colonel, when dying of his wounds, asked what distinguished officer had led them on so well. "No one," said the Tyrolese; "but we fought for our religion, our emperor, and father-land." In the course of a very few days from 4000 to 5000 disciplined troops, including some French as well as Bavarians, were surrounded on various points and compelled to surrender to the peasants they had affected to despise. On a smaller scale the French general Bisson underwent the same fate which Dupont had undergone at Baylen. But the successful Spanish generals had a good many thousand regular disciplined troops, while our poor innkeeper, overseer, and monk had nothing of that sort. Another army of 3000 or 4000 Bavarians met with no better success, and all the battalions and squadrons that followed these were beaten in succession by the insurgents. In no place and at no hour were the French or Bavarian troops safe from attack; for, by night as well as by day, and from every side, the Tyrolese, sallying out from their hiding-places and travelling by strange moun-

* M. F. Mercey, Voyages en Tyrol, &c.

Halle, in the Tyrol.

tain-paths, chose their own time for attack, always attacking unexpectedly, and generally crushing the incautious soldiery. Some weak battalions from the regular army of Francis II., sent to co-operate with Hofer, appear to have done quite as much harm as good; and the Marquis Chasteller, their general, soon beat a retreat. Nor did Colonel Jellacitch, a strategist of some note, perform any much better service; for, though he had been accustomed to mountain warfare, he had not been accustomed to carry it on with wholly irregular forces, and he pedantically blundered in trying to make the Tyrolese peasantry act according to line and rule, like an Austrian army.*

When the retreat of the two archdukes Charles and John, and the capture of Vienna, allowed the Bonapartists to act with more vigour in this quarter, Marshal Lefevre, Duke of Dantzic, with the Würtemburg general Wrede under him, entered the Tyrol, on the German side, by the valley of the Inn, with a strong French and Bavarian corps, and Generals Rusca and Baraguay d'Hilliers began to penetrate on the Italian side by Trent and the valley of the Adige, with a portion of Beauharnais's army of Italy. Lefevre and Wrede regained temporary possession of Innspruck; but vain were all the efforts they made to penetrate into the Lower Tyrol; and as for Rusca and d'Hilliers, they halted in despair at the mouth of the valley, a little above Trent. The progress of the Bavaro-French, or Gallico-Bavarians, was marked with every circumstance of cruelty and horror. In the neighbourhood of the Isel mountain, or Berg-Isel, Speckbacher and Haspinger had gained one great victory at the end of May: the auspicious spot was chosen for another action, and there, on the 12th of August, the invaders were again defeated. Lefevre retreated across the Inn, Innspruck was recovered, and Hofer entered the city and acted as viceroy.† When the emperor signed the treaty of Schönbrunn, the Tyrolese were absolute masters of their country from end to end, from side to side. Unhappily the clause in the treaty which we have mentioned was followed by an imperial manifesto, in which Francis II. enjoined the patriots to lay down their arms and submit quietly to the King of Bavaria. Although this manifesto had little or no influence over the majority, some of the chiefs and many of the simple peasants considered that the commands of their Kaiser were entitled to their obedience even in this hateful and extreme case. It appears that Hofer himself, about equally loyal and superstitious, inclined to this opinion, and to the belief —since the bloody affair of Wagram and the submission of Francis—that it was the will of Heaven that all opposition to Bonaparte should prove fruitless. [Europe would have fared better if a discouraging conviction, nearly amounting to the belief of this poor innkeeper, had not been prevalent and predominant among princes and statesmen of high degree, politicians in parliament and out of parliament, and generals in the field.] At least for a time, Hofer remained irresolute and doubtful. But the sight of the returning French and Bavarian columns, and of the vengeance they were taking on his countrymen, roused him from his inaction. The enraged peasants again cried, "It is time!" and again Hofer, who felt that he must fight or die like a thief—that the mercy promised to all would not be extended to him or to any man like him—once more put himself at their head. He had now to contend with Saxons as well as with French and Bavarians, for that Napoleonic satellite the King of Saxony and Grand Duke of Warsaw had sent a *corps d'armée* to co-operate in the detestable work going on in the Tyrol. At the same time, the Emperor Francis, on the one hand, conjured them to submit, and Beauharnais, the French viceroy of Italy, on the other, proclaimed that such as continued the war should no longer be treated as soldiers, but as rebels and brigands. In the vale of the Passeyer, his own native and once happy valley, Hofer gained one signal victory more, killing, wounding, or taking

* Although always ready to arm and march when called upon so to do by the emperor, the Tyrolese had always shown a dislike to regular military service. Before this insurrectionary war, as since their re-annexation to Austria, they had seldom been employed except as jagers or sharpshooters. As a loose, a light, and what may be called the irregular part of a regular army—where everything depends on activity, keen-sightedness, and quickness in marching and in firing, —they are admirable. They prided themselves on their ignorance of those established rules of military manœuvres which they had seen fail so miserably with Mack and other Austrian tacticians and strategists. They had an expressive epigram on the subject, which Southey has thus translated, almost verbally:—

"You say 't is luck alone when those
Unskilled in tactics beat their foes;
But better 't is without to win
Than with those tactics to give in."—

*Quarterly Review*, vol. xvii., *Hist. of Hofer and Transactions in the Tyrol.*

† A Saxon officer has left the following record of the campaign of Marshal Lefevre in the Tyrol. It conveys a striking impression of those artificial avalanches which we have described in our text:—

"We had penetrated to Innspruck without great resistance; and, although much was everywhere talked of the Tyrolese stationed upon and round the Brenner, we gave little credit to it, thinking the rebels to have been dispersed by a short cannonade, and already considering ourselves as conquerors. Our entrance into the passes of the Brenner was only opposed by small corps, which continued falling back, after an obstinate though short resistance. Among others, I perceived a man, full eighty years of age, posted against the side of a rock and sending death amongst our ranks with every shot. Upon the Bavarians descending from behind to make him prisoner, he shouted aloud, 'Hurrah!' struck the first man to the ground with a ball, seized hold of the second, and with the ejaculation, 'In God's name!' precipitated himself with him into the abyss below. Marching onwards, we heard resound from the summit of a high rock, 'Stephen! shall I chop it off yet?' to which a loud 'Nay' reverberated from the opposite side. This was told to the Duke of Dantzic, who, notwithstanding, ordered us to advance; at the same time he prudently withdrew from the centre to the rear. The van, consisting of 4000 Bavarians, had just stormed a deep ravine, when we again heard hallooed over our heads, 'Hans! for the Most Holy Trinity!' Our terror was completed by the reply that immediately followed: 'In the name of the Holy Trinity! cut all loose above!' and ere a minute had elapsed, were thousands of my comrades in arms crushed, buried, and overwhelmed by an incredible heap of broken rocks, stones, and trees, hurled down upon us. All of us were petrified. Every one fled that could; but a shower of balls from the Tyrolese, who now rushed from the surrounding mountains in immense numbers, and among them boys and girls of ten and twelve years of age, killed or wounded a great many of us. It was not till we had got these fatal mountains six leagues behind us, that we were reassembled by the duke, and formed into six columns. Soon after, the Tyrolese appeared, headed by Hofer, the innkeeper. After a short address from him, they gave a general fire, flung their rifles aside, and rushed upon our bayonets with only their clenched fists. Nothing could withstand their impetuosity. They darted at our feet, threw or pulled us down, strangled us, wrenched the arms from our hands, and, like enraged lions, killed all—French, Bavarians, and Saxons—that did not cry for quarter. By doing so, I, with 300 men, was spared and set at liberty. When all lay dead around, and the victory was completed, the Tyrolese, as if moved by one impulse, fell upon their knees, and poured forth the emotions of their hearts in prayer under the canopy of Heaven; a scene so awfully solemn, that it will ever be present to my remembrance. I joined in the devotion, and never in my life did I pray more fervently."

prisoners upwards of 2000 of the enemy. Speckbacher and other chiefs gained several more advantages: but the contest was now too unequal; ammunition began to fail; the French, Bavarians, and Saxons, by getting possession of the towns and larger villages, and by driving in or destroying their flocks and herds, reduced the insurgents to the brink of starvation; and their councils became contradictory, bewildered, and at last timorous. When the game was fairly up; when some had laid down their arms, and claimed the amnesty; when some had escaped into Austria; when more had been taken prisoners and mercilessly shot or hanged like robbers; when the remnant were driven from post to post, from rock to rock, being hunted down like wild beasts, or driven to hide and starve in the depths of the forests, or in caverns in the rocks, on the summits of the eternally snow-clad Alps, Andrew Hofer, taking his wife and children with him, betook himself to his Patmos—a wretched Alpine hut, about four long German miles from his own dwelling, and at times altogether inaccessible from the deep snow which surrounded it. It is said that every facility of escape from his hiding-place was offered by the Austrian government, as well as by the Viceroy Beauharnais, a young man who had not been altogether spoilt by a bad school, but who had generous qualities in him, and no proneness to bloodshed; that both, directly or indirectly, testified their desire to promote him; but that no persuasion could induce him to think of abandoning his country and family and faithful friends, or even to cut off the long beard which he wore, and by which he could easily be recognised anywhere. Some of those faithful friends secretly carried such provisions to him as were necessary to support life: and thus he lived among rocks and snow, from the end of November, 1809, to the end of January, 1810. A considerable price was now set upon his head; but, though many must have known his hiding-place, none would reveal it, or grow rich by becoming infamous. It has been mentioned to the honour of the simple race, that there was no instance of any Tyrolese being induced to turn traitor for a bribe; and that even their women knew how to be silent. But at last, even in the Tyrol, a traitor was found. This villain too was a priest; his name (may it be for ever execrated!) was Doney. For the Judas price he revealed the secret, and pointed out the Alpine hut, hid in a crevice, and with a deep cover of snow, in which Hofer, with his family, lay concealed, to some 2000 men who were sent to seize him, or to prevent the possibility of an escape by entirely surrounding that mountain. It was dark night when the soldiery first approached. There was a bare possibility, a desperate chance, that Hofer himself, by plunging through the snow and down the, to him, well-known precipices, might escape, but there was none that his wife and children could follow him. He therefore stayed where he was, with his Samson-like beard in his hand, and, when he found that the Philistines were fairly upon him, he came forth from the hut, and saying, "Frenchmen! I am Andrew Hofer! Fire! kill me if you will, but spare my wife and children!" he quietly submitted to be bound. Chains were then brought the better to secure the strong and long-dreaded man; and he was marched, with his wife, his daughter, and little son of twelve years old, to the town of Botzen, or Bolzano, which lies on the Adige, above Trent and the Italian frontier. On this hard journey he was taunted by Bonaparte's soldiery, but honoured by the tears of his countrymen and countrywomen; and, having a whole heart within him, and a long-tried fortitude, and a hope that looked beyond this world, he bore his cross without a moan. His was the most happy or most serene countenance seen along the road or in the towns and villages where his powerful escort halted. The French general Baraguay d'Hilliers, who was now at Botzen, behaved to the prisoners with much humanity; he gave orders that Hofer should be less rigorously confined, and that a stop should be put to the excesses of the soldiery, who had been plundering and destroying his little property in the Passeyer valley. Several French officers too commiserated the patriot's fate, and, by such attentions as they could and durst bestow, made a return for the humanity and kindness with which he had invariably treated his prisoners. Had it depended on d'Hilliers, on these officers, or on Eugene Beauharnais, Hofer had not died; but his fate had been already decided by sterner minds and harder hearts. His wife and children were set at liberty by an express order from some high quarter; but they were not permitted to follow him, and so he kissed them for the last time, and parted from them for ever. From Botzen he was carried down into Italy, by that rough and rugged descent which passes by

> .....quella ruina, che nel fianco
> Di quà da Trento l'Adice percosse,
> O per tremuoto, o per sostegno manco;*

and there he was thrown into the fortress of Mantua. If there was any right in the case, he was amenable not to the laws of France or to the kingdom of Italy, but to the laws of Bavaria; the King of Bavaria, by a forcible transfer, to which Hofer and his countrymen had never consented, and by the prepotency of arms, had been, since the treaty of Presburg, sovereign of the Tyrol; but to Napoleon Bonaparte or to Eugene Beauharnais Andrew Hofer had never owed any allegiance whatever. Nevertheless, on his arrival at Mantua one of Bonaparte's bloody military tribunals or courts-martial was immediately assembled, and the French general Bisson, who had been beaten near Inns-

* *Dante.—L'Inferno.* Canto xii.

> ..... the cliff, which, or by earthquake riven
> Or wanting prop, on this side Trento fell,
> Down into Adice with ruin driven.—
> *The Rev. Ichabod Wright's translation.*

The Slavini di Marco, as this dismal spot is called, is a vast wild tract in the valley of the Adige, or Adice, between Roveredo and Ala, covered with fragments of enormous rocks, torn or washed from the sides of the mountains. It spreads across the whole valley of Trent, only leaving room for a very narrow road; here and there a few dark pines, looking like funeral yews or cypresses, are scattered on the surface.

pruck by the peasant host, who had signed a capitulation with the magnanimous innkeeper, and who was still inwardly festering with the sting of that disgrace, was chosen president of the court. But all the members of this tribunal at Mantua had not been trained and matured in the school of Savary; some of them voted for an unlimited and some for a limited confinement in a safe and remote state prison, and two of them had even the courage to vote for a full acquittal. But orders, which none of them could disobey, were transmitted from Paris to Milan, and then by telegraph to Mantua, to finish proceedings and shoot the Tyrolese within four-and-twenty hours. Although, from what had passed at Botzen with Baraguay d'Hilliers and his officers, and from what he had seen and heard of the tribunal at Mantua, he did not expect death, when his doom was announced to him he received the intelligence with perfect firmness and composure, merely asking for a priest to shrive him. This favour, often denied to others besides the Duke d'Enghien, who perished in the castle ditch at Vincennes, was granted to Hofer. At the dawn of day, as he was conveyed from his prison to his place of execution—a broad bastion near the Porta Ceresa—he passed by the barracks at the Porta Molina, where a number of Tyrolese patriots (call not such men rabble insurgents and vulgar outlaws!) were closely confined; all therein fell on their faces, put up their prayers for him, and wept aloud. Such of his countrymen as were at large in the fortress gathered on the road by which he was conducted, and threw themselves on the ground and implored his blessing. He blessed them, he implored their forgiveness for the share which he might have had in leading them into their present captivity and trouble, expressing at the same time his assurance that they and his country would one day be restored to the emperor; and as he mentioned the name of Francis II. he followed it up with a hearty and heart-stirring "*Vivat!*" the loudest and the last that he ever uttered. He delivered to the priest, that attended him even to the place of execution, everything he had:—his money, 500 florins in depreciated Austrian notes, was to be distributed among his poor countrymen prisoners in the fortress; his silver snuff-box and his beautiful rosary were to be given to particular friends; his small silver crucifix he bequeathed to the priest and confessor himself: and, save the clothes he wore, this was all the worldly gear he possessed on quitting the world. On the broad bastion the company of grenadiers formed a square open to the rear, and twelve of the privates and a corporal stepped forward,—Hofer standing erect in the middle. The drummer handed him a white handkerchief to bind his eyes, and reminded him that it was necessary he should bend on one knee. He threw away the handkerchief, and refused to kneel: "I was used to stand upright before my Creator, and in that posture will I deliver up my spirit to him!" He then cautioned the corporal to take good aim, and gave the word "Fire" in a loud and articulate voice. His death, like that of Palm the bookseller, was not instantaneous, for the grenadiers, at first, performed their office imperfectly; but a merciful, well-aimed shot at last dispatched him, and he fell. And that spot on the broad bastion of Mantua is still visited and held as sacred by his countrymen.*

The French, as if to compensate by honours to the dead for the wrongs done to the living, testified their respect for Hofer's remains by going through all the pomps and ceremonies of a public funeral. His body, instead of being allowed to remain exposed some time on the place of execution, as was usual in such cases, was immediately borne by the grenadiers, on a sable bier, to the church of St. Michael. There it was laid out in state, a guard of honour was appointed to watch over it, and all the populace of Mantua and the neighbourhood were admitted to see that the much-dreaded *Barbone*, or 'Great Beard,' was really no more.

Speckbacher, the overseer, who was next to Hofer in the estimation of his countrymen, had many and almost miraculous escapes. A thousand ducats were offered for his head; but, although it was known to more than thirty peasants that he was for eight days working with them, disguised as a common labourer, in Rattenberg (an expedient which he adopted not simply for the sake of concealment, but also in order to acquire a knowledge of the defences of that town), no one seemed to notice him until his departure, and then they only spoke of his appearance among them in secrecy and by means of signs. When at last he reached Vienna, the Austrian government offered him lands in Hungary, and provided for him. To the family of Hofer the emperor, who could scarcely do less, assigned a pension. He also sent a sum of money to enable them to go and settle in Austria, which they were invited to do; but the widow preferred returning with her children to her old dwelling in the valley of Passeyer. There, it is said, she was visited by Francis II., when he was returning from Paris and from witnessing the overthrow of Bonaparte, in 1814. A plain and substantial monument was now erected by command of the emperor in honour of Hofer's memory, on a lofty part of the Brenner mountain, which overlooks the patriot's habitation. And in 1823 Francis II. ordered that the remains of Hofer should be brought from Mantua to Innspruck, and there interred in the cathedral church of the Holy Cross, near to the tomb or mausoleum of the emperor Maximilian I. On the 22nd of February of that year, six of the patriot's old companions in arms entered the metropolitan church of the Tyrol bearing the coffin, upon the lid and pall of which lay the broad-brimmed peasant's hat and the sword of the hero.

* Carlo Botta.—Baron Bertholdy, Account of the War in the Tyrol.—Southey, in Quarterly Review, vol. xvii. (the foundation of this article is laid on two authentic and almost official German works, the one published at Berlin, in 1816, the other at Leipsic, in 1817).—Capefigue, Le Consulat et l'Empire.—M. Mercey.—Ann. Regist.

The untoward course of events on the Continent, the disastrous issue of the Austrian war, together with sundry other causes, produced violent dissensions in the British ministry, in a part of which there had never been much harmony. It is a capital defect in the construction of our cabinets, which confides the direction of war not to one, but to two ministers, the secretary of state for foreign affairs having nearly as much authority over generals in the field as the secretary-at-war. Indeed, the foreign secretary often corresponds directly with admirals of fleets, commodores of squadrons, &c., and has thus often interfered with the Admiralty and issued orders contradictory to those of that important board. An extension of this principle would have made a sort of Aulic Council of the English cabinet. When there is one master mind and ruling spirit at the head of administration—a mind capable of grasping all the important business of the state, and of imposing its will and its unity of plan and operation upon all the departments—the mischief is obviated; but the Duke of Portland was only nominally the head of the present administration, and more than one of the ministers thought himself equal in all things to any one of his colleagues. There had long been a jealousy and a divergency of opinion between Mr. Canning (the secretary of state for foreign affairs) and Lord Castlereagh (the secretary-at-war). What one proposed in the cabinet the other almost invariably condemned, and each was constantly complaining of an invasion of his official authority by the other. On the 21st of September, when the country was resounding with outcries against the Walcheren expedition, the management of which was said to be disapproved of by the secretary for foreign affairs, a duel was fought between him and Lord Castlereagh. The parties met on Putney Heath, at an early hour in the morning, Lord Castlereagh being attended by his cousin the Earl of Yarmouth (the late Marquess of Hertford), and Mr. Canning by Mr. Charles Ellis. Their first discharge took no effect. They fired a second time; and Mr. Canning seemed prepared for a third fire, when Lord Castlereagh, who appears to have been cooler at this moment than either of the seconds, said, "I believe the right honourable gentleman is wounded." His lordship's last bullet had indeed taken effect; Mr. Canning was wounded below the thigh-bone, and his blood was trickling to the ground. But the wound was not dangerous; and Lord Castlereagh had had a narrow escape, for a button on the right lappel of his buttoned coat had been shot away. The two ministers had sent in their resignations before they went to Putney Heath. The Duke of Portland also resigned, and died a few days thereafter.

The country generally at the time entertained a very different opinion, taking part with Mr. Canning, and regretting his retirement; but it should appear, upon a calm reviewal of the whole matter, that some blame attached to both parties, that some blame was due to the premier and to the president of the council, and that the greatest blame of all attached to the system and present construction of the cabinet. Much was known before through paragraphs in newspapers and hints dropped in clubs and political circles;* but now statements and counter-statements of the cause of the quarrel were published by the principals. Lord Castlereagh asserted that a proposition had been agitated by Mr. Canning, without any communication with him, for his removal from the war department; that Mr. Canning, towards the close of the preceding session of parliament, had urged a decision upon this question, with the alternative of his seceding himself from the government, and so had procured a positive promise from the Duke of Portland (the execution of which he afterwards considered himself entitled to enforce), that he, Lord Castlereagh, should be removed; that, notwithstanding this promise obtained from the Duke of Portland, by which his lordship considered that Mr. Canning had pronounced it unfit that he should remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which his situation as a minister of the crown was made dependent upon his will and pleasure, Mr. Canning had continued to sit in the same cabinet with him, and to leave him not only in the persuasion that he possessed his confidence and support as a colleague, but also allowed him, in breach of every principle of good faith, both public and private, though thus virtually superseded, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprise (the Walcheren expedition) of the most ardent and important nature, with his apparent concurrence and ostensible approbation. "You were fully aware," added his lordship, in a letter representing these facts, which he had addressed to Canning on the 19th of September, "that, if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain one moment in office, without the entire abandonment of my private honour and public duty. You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me. I am aware it might be said, which I am ready to acknowledge, that, when you pressed for a decision for my removal, you also pressed for its disclosure; and that it was resisted by the Duke of Portland and some members of the government, supposed to be my friends. But I never can admit that you have a right to make use of such a plea in justification of an act affecting my honour, nor that the sentiments of others could justify an acquiescence in such a delusion on your part, who had yourself felt and stated its unfairness. Nor can I admit that the head of any administration, or any sup-

* As early as the 14th of June, Walter Scott, who had recently been in London, and in almost daily intercourse with Messrs. Canning, G. and C. Ellis, Croker, and other persons who best knew what was passing, writes to his friend Southey—"Mr. Canning's opportunities to serve you will soon be numerous, or they will soon be gone altogether; for he is of a different mould from some of his colleagues, and a decided foe to those half-measures which I know you detest as much as I do. It is not his fault that the cause of Spain is not at this moment triumphant. This I know, and the time will come when the world will know it too."—*Life, by Lockhart.*

posed friend (whatever may be their motives), can authorise or sanction any man in such a course of long and persevering deception."* The answer to this first letter of the correspondence (which, of course, was not published till after the duel) was delivered by pistol-shot on Putney Heath. In a cooler statement made after the duel, but published at the same time with the preceding letter, Lord Castlereagh affirmed that it was undoubtedly true that Mr. Canning, during the Easter recess, did make a representation in a letter to the Duke of Portland with respect to the war department, founded upon differences between him and Lord Castlereagh; but that it was not true that this letter was shown to the cabinet, or that the subject was even stated to the cabinet, however it might have been secretly communicated to some of its members:—that it was also true that a suggestion was made for appointing the Marquess Wellesley to succeed Lord Castlereagh as secretary-at-war:—that it was likewise undeniable that a decision upon this point was postponed till near the close of the session, when Mr. Canning called upon the Duke of Portland and enforced the decision by declaring to his grace that he would resign unless Lord Castlereagh was removed and the Marquess Wellesley appointed his successor:—that, the Duke of Portland having then given Mr. Canning the specific and positive promise he desired, Mr. Canning pressed that it should be immediately acted upon, and that Lord Castlereagh should be made acquainted with it:—that Lord Castlereagh, however, was not acquainted with it, and Mr. Canning acquiesced in its being concealed from him:—that undoubtedly Lord Camden was acquainted with the whole transaction; but that it was not true that his lordship ever undertook to make the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh, that he never did make it, and that Mr. Canning was thoroughly apprised that what had taken place was not made known to Lord Castlereagh:—that, in this state of profound ignorance, Lord Castlereagh was permitted, though virtually no longer a minister, and in a state of delusion, to continue to conduct the campaign, and to engage in a new expedition of the most extensive, complicated, and important nature, under the full persuasion not that Mr. Canning had supplanted him in office and possessed in his pocket a promise for his dismissal, but that he really enjoyed Mr. Canning's sincere, liberal, and *bonâ fide* support as a co-operating and approving colleague:—that, further, Mr. Canning, having thus in his pocket Lord Castlereagh's dismissal, and having arranged with the Duke of Portland that it should be carried into execution at the termination of the Walcheren expedition, did, on the 3rd of September (the day that the account arrived from Lord Chatham that he could not proceed up the Scheldt to Antwerp), write to the Duke of Portland, demanding the immediate execution of the promise made to him:—that Mr. Canning never contended for Lord Castlereagh's removal from the government, but only from the particular office he held, and into which he wished to introduce Marquess Wellesley:—that it appeared that the demand of the fulfilment of the promise led to the immediate resignation of the Duke of Portland, and subsequently to that of Mr. Canning:—and, finally, that, as soon as the whole of this unparalleled conduct was, at this late period, disclosed to Lord Castlereagh, he immediately placed his resignation in his majesty's hands, and called upon Mr. Canning for satisfaction.

In his counter-statement Mr. Canning admitted that so long ago as Easter he had represented to the premier the insufficiency of the government as then constituted; and had requested permission to resign his office, unless some change should be effected; and that it was equally true that it was then proposed to Mr. Canning, and accepted by him as the condition of his consenting to retain the seals of the foreign office, that a change should be made in the war department. But Mr. Canning denied that the time at which that change was ultimately proposed to be made was of his choice; or that he was a party or consenting to the concealment of that intended change from Lord Castlereagh. Mr. Canning further affirmed, that, as for secrecy and concealment, he had offered to show his correspondence with the Duke of Portland to one of Lord Castlereagh's most intimate friends, to be communicated to his lordship whenever he might think proper; that he had shown that intimate friend the copy of a letter addressed to the Duke of Portland in the month of July, in which he (Mr. C.) requests, "in justice to himself, that it may be remembered, whenever hereafter this concealment shall be alleged (as he doubts not that it will) against him as an act of injustice towards Lord Castlereagh, that it did not originate in his suggestion,—that, so far from desiring it, he conceived, however erroneously, Lord Camden to be the sure channel of communication to Lord Castlereagh,—and that up to a very late period he believed such communication to have been actually made;" and that the copy of this letter and of the Duke of Portland's answer to it "acknowledging Mr. Canning's repeated remonstances against the concealment," were still in the possession of Lord Castlereagh's friend:—that the first communication to Lord Camden was made on the 28th of April, at Mr. C.'s particular desire;

* Lord Castlereagh added—"For, were I to admit such a principle, my honour and character would be from that moment in the discretion of persons wholly unauthorised, and known to you to be unauthorised, to act for me in such a case. It was therefore your act and your conduct which deceived me; and it is impossible for me to acquiesce in being placed in a situation by you, which no man of honour could knowingly submit to, nor patiently suffer himself to be betrayed into, without forfeiting that character.

"I have no right, as a public man, to resent your demanding, upon public grounds, my removal from the particular office I have held, or even from the administration, as a condition of your continuing a member of the government. But I have a distinct right to expect that a proposition, justifiable in itself, shall not be executed in an unjustifiable manner, and at the expense of my honour and reputation. And I consider that you were bound, at least, to avail yourself of the same alternative, namely, your own resignation, to take yourself out of the predicament of practising such a deceit towards me, which you did exercise in demanding a decision for my removal.

"Under these circumstances I must require that satisfaction from you to which I feel myself entitled to lay claim."

and that, Lord Camden being the near connection and most confidential friend of Lord Castlereagh, it never occurred to Mr. Canning that his lordship could have kept back such a communication from Lord Castlereagh. As to the period at which the change in the war department was to take place, Canning said he was induced, in the first instance, to consent to its postponement till the rising of parliament, partly by the representations made to him of the inconveniences attending any ministerial change in the middle of a session, but principally from a consideration of the particular circumstances under which Lord Castlereagh stood in the House of Commons after Easter; circumstances which would have given to his lordship's removal at that period of the session a character which it was certainly no part of Mr. Canning's wish that it should bear.* Mr. Canning went on to declare that he certainly received the most positive promise that a change in the war department should take place immediately upon the close of the session; but that, when the session closed, the earnest and repeated entreaties of most of Lord Castlereagh's friends in the cabinet were employed to prevail upon him (Canning) to consent to the postponement of the arrangement; in compliance with which, at last, and most reluctantly, he did give his consent to its being postponed to the period proposed by Lord Castlereagh's friends, namely, the termination of the Walcheren expedition then in preparation; doing so, however, upon the most distinct and solemn assurances that, whatever might be the issue of that expedition, the change should take place at that period; that the seals of the war department should then be offered to Marquess Wellesley (the person for whose accession to the cabinet Mr. Canning was known to be most anxious), and that the interval should be diligently employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing Lord Castlereagh's mind to acquiesce in such an arrangement. He added, that it was matter of astonishment to him, when, on the issue of the expedition, he reminded the Duke of Portland that the time was now come for his grace to write to Marquess Wellesley, to find that, so far from the interval having been employed by Lord Castlereagh's friends in preparing his lordship for the change, the same reserve had been continued towards him against which he (Mr. C.) had before so earnestly remonstrated. This counter-statement concluded with saying, "Being informed of this circumstance by the Duke of Portland, and learning at the same time from his grace that there were other difficulties attending the promised arrangement, of which Mr. Canning had not before been apprised, and that the Duke of Portland had himself come to a determination to retire from office, Mr. Canning instantly, and before any step whatever had been taken towards carrying the promised arrangement into effect, withdrew his claim, and requested the Duke of Portland to tender his (Mr. Canning's) resignation, at the same time with his grace's, to the king. This was on Wednesday, the 6th of September, previously to the levée of that day." [Thus Mr. Canning tendered his resignation on the third day after the reception of Earl Chatham's doleful dispatch, and fourteen days before Lord Castlereagh called him to account.] "All question," the statement proceeded, "of the performance of the promise made to Mr. Canning being thus at an end, the reserve which Lord Castlereagh's friends had hitherto so perseveringly practised towards Lord Castlereagh appears to have been laid aside, and Lord Castlereagh was now made acquainted with the nature of the arrangement which had been intended to have been proposed to him. What may have been the reasons which prevented Lord Castlereagh's friends from fulfilling the assurances given to Mr. Canning, that Lord Castlereagh's mind should be prepared by their communication for the arrangement intended to be carried into effect, and what the motives for the disclosure to Lord Castlereagh after the arrangement had ceased to be in contemplation, it is not for Mr. Canning to explain."

The publication of these papers placed Earl Camden, who was president of the council, together with some other friends of Lord Castlereagh who were in the cabinet, in a very awkward position. Lord Camden, to exonerate himself, published a very short paper, wherein he simply declared, "That it is necessary that it should be understood that, however Mr. Canning might have conceived the communication alluded to to have been made to Lord Camden, it was never stated to Lord Camden that the communication was made at the desire of Mr. Canning; and that, so far from Lord Camden having been authorised to make the communication to Lord Castlereagh, he was absolutely restricted from so doing:—that, as it may also be inferred that Lord Camden was expected to prepare Lord Castlereagh's mind for the proposed change, it is necessary that it should be understood that Lord Camden never engaged to communicate to Lord Castlereagh any circumstances respecting it before the termination of the expedition." And here, as far as the principals were concerned, the matter for the present rested.* This was indeed a

* This alludes to the East India writership which Lord Castlereagh, as president of the board of control, had placed at the disposal of his friend Lord Clancarty, and to the criminatory motion made in the House by Lord Archibald Hamilton. See ante, p. 370.

* In the month of November Mr Canning published two more letters, addressed by him to Lord Camden, in which he explained at greater length his own conduct, justifying it, and attributing the conduct of the Duke of Portland, in the reserve practised towards Lord Castlereagh, "to that gentleness of nature which eminently distinguished him, and which led him to endeavour to prevent political differences from growing into personal dissensions, and to aim at executing whatever arrangements might be expedient for improving or strengthening the administration with the concurrence (if possible) of all its existing members." These papers run to a great length, and we can only find room for some of the passages in which Mr. Canning defends himself against the evil impressions which Lord Camden's published statement seemed calculated to make upon his character, veracity, and honour. In the second of these letters Mr. Canning says to Lord Camden—

"This statement appears to me to have been much misunderstood. It has been construed as if your Lordship had meant to aver that what you were *restricted from doing* and what you *had not engaged to do* were one and the same thing: whereas your lordship's statement, in point of fact, contains two distinct propositions, and refers to two separate periods of time.

"The period during which your lordship states yourself to have

pitiful story, but far more injurious to the reputation of the cabinet as a body than to Mr. Canning as an individual member of it; and Lord Castlereagh had at least as much reason to complain of his own friends and of the Duke of Portland as of Mr. Canning. There appears, however, to have been no good ground for the entire blame of the Walcheren expedition being thrown upon the secretary-at-war, as it certainly was and long continued to be, by the majority of the public and by nearly all parties. He was only responsible in common with the rest of the cabinet, who consented to and approved of that enterprise without a sufficient examination of the nature of the country and of the numerous difficulties with which it must inevitably be attended; and it was not Lord Castlereagh, but others, that appointed the incompetent Earl of Chatham to the command.

The ministers that remained in office after these three resignations—with Lord Liverpool, the only remaining secretary of state, who had for some time to perform the duty of the home office, the foreign office, and the war office—were reduced almost to despair, scarcely knowing where to look for a new head and for two new colleagues. Their situation appeared at first so forlorn, that (on the 23rd of September) official letters were addressed to Earl Grey, the now leader of the Foxite Whigs, and to Lord Grenville, informing them that his Majesty had authorised Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval to communicate with their lordships for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration. To this invitation Earl Grey, who was in Northumberland, replied at once that he would not enter into any coalition with the ministers now in place. Lord Grenville, who was in Cornwall, replied that he would lose no time in repairing to town, and begged leave to defer all observations till his arrival. The day after his arrival in town he sent an answer conformable to that of Earl Grey.*

Great hopes were now entertained by the adverse party that the ministry would fall to pieces altogether. It was said, as on some former occasions, that high offices and places went a-begging, and that none could be found to accept them. At one moment it was reported that the Hon. R. Dundas, son of Lord Melville, and now president of the board of control, would be put into Castlereagh's place in the war-office; but this came to nothing. The only hope of the ministry now rested upon the Marquess Wellesley. Hints were thrown out that the marquess would not join any administration in which Mr. Canning was not included. But the marquess came home from Spain, being succeeded in his embassy by his brother Henry (now Lord Cowley), and accepted, not the war department, which Canning had destined for him, but the office of foreign affairs, which Canning himself had vacated. Early in December the ministerial arrangements were completed, Mr. Perceval taking the place of the deceased premier the Duke of Portland, thus uniting in himself, as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had done before him, the offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The loss of the Duke of Portland was little more than that of a name; but the loss of the eloquent pen and the still more eloquent tongue of Canning—the best debater, and, on the whole, perhaps the greatest orator now in parliament—was a most serious loss; and the secession of Mr. Huskisson, who resigned his seat at the treasury, was also felt and regretted. As if his previous domestic employment had particularly qualified him for the war department, the Earl of Liverpool was transferred from the home office to the office which Lord Castlereagh had quitted, becoming secretary of state for the department of war and the colonies, and being succeeded in the home office by the Hon. R. Ryder. Lord Palmerston became under secretary-at-war in lieu of Sir James Pulteney. These were all the changes that were made. It was expected that Canning would join his powerful voice to opposition, and the

been *'absolutely restricted'* from making a communication to Lord Castlereagh extends from the 28th of April, on which day the first communication was made by the Duke of Portland to your lordship, to the time at which the proposed arrangement for the new distribution of the business of the war department was superseded by your lordship's tender of your resignation.

"The period during which your lordship states yourself *'not to have engaged'* to make a communication to Lord Castlereagh extends from the time of the tender of your Lordship's resignation to the termination of the expedition to the Scheldt.

"It ought, however, to be observed, that during the first of these two periods—from the 28th of April to the 12th of July—the nature of the communication to be made to Lord Castlereagh and the nature of the restriction imposed upon your lordship were entirely changed.

"*Previously* to the 8th of June, the communication which your lordship would have had to make to Lord Castlereagh was simply that I had represented the expediency of a change either in his department or in mine, and that *no* decision whatever had yet been taken upon this representation.

"With respect to *this* communication, it does not appear that the restriction upon your lordship was absolute and indefinite.—But I knew nothing of its existence.

"*Subsequently* to the 8th of June, the communication to be made to Lord Castlereagh was, that an arrangement was in contemplation for a new distribution of the business of the war department.

"With respect to *this* communication, not only was the *restriction* upon your lordship not indefinitely continued, but your lordship actually received on the 28th of June an *injunction to make this communication* to Lord Castlereagh at a period distinctly specified, viz., the sailing of the expedition. And this injunction was only superseded by a voluntary act of your lordship's—your tender of your own resignation on the 12th of July as the basis of another arrangement.

"During the whole of the period, from the 28th of April to the 12th of July, the concealment practised towards Lord Castlereagh was either without my knowledge and contrary to my belief, or it was against my earnest remonstrances.

"It was without my knowledge and contrary to my belief up to the week in which parliament rose; and from that time forth it was against my earnest remonstrances."

It does not appear that Earl Camden ever gave any printed or public answer to this public letter. He had threatened to resign at the time of the turmoil, but he remained president of the council when the Duke of Portland, Canning, and Castlereagh had all thrown up their places.

* After saying that, under the circumstances there mentioned, he felt satisfied that the communication proposed in Perceval's letter could not be productive of any public advantage, Earl Grenville added—

"I trust I need not say that this opinion is neither founded in any sentiment of personal hostility, nor in a desire of unnecessarily prolonging political differences.

"To compose, not to inflame, the divisions of the empire has always been my anxious wish, and is now, more than ever, the duty of every loyal subject; but my accession to the existing administration could, I am confident, in no respect contribute to this object; nor could it, I think, be considered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle.

"This answer, which I must have given to any such proposal if made while the government was yet entire, cannot be varied by the retreat of some of its members.

"*My objects are not personal: they apply to the principle of the government itself, and to the circumstances which attended its appointment.*"

cabinet was generally considered as but weak and tottering when parliament met.

A.D. 1810. The session opened on the 23rd of January. The king's speech was again delivered by commission. It had cost ministers no small pains to draw it up, for there were few subjects for congratulation. The most was made of the very little that had been effected by the Walcheren expedition, the loss of life and the immense cost being passed over in silence. There was but one bright ray to relieve the gloom, and that was Wellington's victory at Talavera, which was correctly termed "the glorious victory." As for Austria, the speech declared that, although she had undertaken the war without encouragement on the part of his majesty, every effort had been made for her assistance which his majesty deemed consistent with the support of his allies and the interests of his own dominions. Amendments, strongly condemning the ministerial direction of the whole war, and particularly the Walcheren expedition, were moved in both Houses, but were rejected by 144 to 92 in the Lords, and by 263 to 167 in the Commons. Lord Castlereagh warmly defended his own conduct, and not only the share he had in that enterprise, but also the whole of the expedition to the Scheldt as originally planned. It was not his fault if a good plan had been badly executed: it was a *coup de main* against the naval power of the enemy and a diversion in favour of Germany that was intended, and not the capture of Walcheren alone. It was Bonaparte's practice to slight distant diversions; but, when he should thus be attacked in a vital point, it was reasonable to expect that it would operate powerfully in favour of our allies. He was not ignorant of the nature of the climate of Walcheren at that season of the year; but it was never intended by government that our army should be locked up there for such a length of time. He had expected that our troops would be employed in a dry healthy country between Walcheren and Bergen-op-Zoom. But even the unhealthiness of Walcheren had never been considered as a bar to our occupancy: we had held that island thirty-one years during the existence of the Barrier Treaty, and we had had it in our possession since then. With the evacuation of the island he (Lord Castlereagh) had had nothing whatever to do. Mr. Canning said that he never would have consented to the expedition if he had conceived that nothing greater would have been accomplished. But he had thought that the capture and possession of the naval arsenal at Antwerp—a British object of the first importance—would have been the result; and that some support was due to our friends the patriots of Germany. General Tarleton thought that a most peculiar degree of responsibility lay upon Lord Chatham, who was at one and the same time a cabinet minister (master-general of the ordnance) and commander-in-chief of the expedition; and other orators—among whom was Mr. Whitbread, who prognosticated that Lord Wellington would be compelled to evacuate Portugal in the spring, as Chatham had been compelled to evacuate Walcheren in the autumn—animadverted very severely on the whole of the conduct of the unlucky general.

On the 26th of January, Lord Porchester, in the Commons, moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the conduct and policy of the late expedition to the Scheldt; and the motion was carried, against all the exertions of ministers, by a majority of nine, the numbers being 195 against 186. It was impossible for such an inquiry to be properly conducted by a committee of the whole House of Commons; and there were serious and very obvious objections to a public disclosure of all the projects which had been entertained, and of all the military blunders which had been committed. These objections were of such weight, and ministers were so anxious to conceal the national weakness and dishonour from Bonaparte, who regularly had the English newspapers and parliamentary reports translated to him, and who always took most of his notions respecting this country from the exaggerated party speeches of our opposition members, that it was resolved to enforce the standing order for the exclusion of strangers during the inquiry. But in spite of this precaution our disgrace in the Walcheren affair was blazoned to the world, for minutes of the evidence were published notwithstanding the order of the House, and, being carried over to Paris, were inserted at full length in the Moniteur, as consoling proofs of the incapacity of our ministers and military commanders. Though evidently screened and protected by the court, and defended to the utmost by the ministry, the Earl of Chatham found himself under the necessity of resigning his office of master-general of the ordnance.* After many long and tempestuous debates, the condemnatory resolutions, drawn up as logical consequences from the facts which had been produced in evidence, being moved by Lord Porchester, were negatived, but only by 276 against 227. General Craufurd then made two motions, the first approving the conduct of ministers with regard to the policy of the expedition, and the second approving the retention of Walcheren after it had been found that Antwerp was not to be captured; and the first was carried by 272 against 232, and the second by 255 against 232.

The enforcement of the standing order for the exclusion of strangers not only failed in the object for which it was intended, but led to new troubles and disgraceful scenes. There was at this time a debating society in London, called the "British Forum," the president and chief orator of which was one John Gale Jones, a very obscure individual, who was suddenly and unexpectedly raised into the dignity of a patriot and a martyr. This manager Jones proposed the matter as a proper subject of discussion in his Forum, and afterwards placarded the walls with hand-bills stating that, "after an

* The Earl of Chatham was succeeded in the ordnance by Lord Mulgrave, who was succeeded in his post of first lord of the admiralty by Mr. Yorke; but these appointments did not take place for some weeks.

interesting discussion, it had been unanimously decided that the enforcement of the standing orders, by shutting out strangers from the gallery of the House of Commons, ought to be censured as an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberty of the press, as tending to aggravate the discontents of the people, and to render their representatives objects of jealous suspicion." The same placards proposed as a question for the next night's meeting of the society, "Which was the greater outrage upon public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing orders or Mr. Windham's recent attack upon the liberty of the press?"* Of all this Mr. Yorke complained in the House, on the 19th of February, as a gross violation of the privileges of the House. On the 20th, the printer of the hand-bills, being brought to the bar, expressed his contrition, and gave up the name of his author. On the morrow, the president of the Forum himself was brought a prisoner to the bar, and was, by the unanimous vote of the House, committed to Newgate. On the 12th of March, Sir Francis Burdett moved that John Gale Jones should be discharged; and in so doing he questioned the legality of the commitment, and the privilege and power of parliament. Several of his party, though hot reformers like himself, fell from his side on this question, and he was outvoted by 153 to 14. A few days after the debate Sir Francis printed his speech in an enlarged form, and with more offensive language than he had used in the House. He published it in Cobbett's Weekly Register, putting his own name to it, and introducing it with a letter to his constituents. The thing was a libel nearly from beginning to end—a passionate and dangerous appeal from the authority of parliament to the excited people;—but the passages which seemed more peculiarly to demand punishment were those in which he denied the right of the House to commit for breach of privilege, and asked whether our liberty should lie at the mercy of the House of Commons, which House he characterised as "*a part of our fellow-subjects collected together by means which it is not necessary to describe.*"† On the 27th of March, Mr. Lethbridge, member for Somersetshire, brought the matter before the House. Whitbread succeeded in carrying an adjournment till the morrow, and the question was then further adjourned till the 5th of April, when it was carried, by a majority of thirty-eight, that Sir Francis Burdett should be committed to the Tower under the warrant of the Speaker, as guilty of a libel on the House. Sir Francis shut himself up in his mansion in Piccadilly, barring his doors and windows, and declaring that he would yield only to force. On the 6th, he sent a letter to the Speaker expressive of this resolution, of his contempt for the House, and his conviction that the warrant was illegal. An immense mob now gathered near his mansion, shouting "Burdett for ever!" and compelling all passengers, whether on foot or riding in carriages or on horseback, to pull off their hats and join in the cry. The lord privy seal, the Earl of Westmoreland, was assaulted and covered with mud, as were sundry other individuals of less note. The far greater part of these poor fellows intended nothing more serious than that amusement which they call "a lark;" but a few fanatic demagogues glided among them, and harangued them over their beer, and at night they were joined by thieves and pickpockets, by all the rascality of London and Westminster, who hoped to make good booty in that immense crowd. A party began to break windows, an example which other parties were sure to follow. In rapid succession the windows of Mr. Yorke, Lord Chatham, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Montrose, Lord Westmoreland, Sir John Anstruther, the Marquess Wellesley, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Lord Castlereagh, and many others, were smashed. Windham's windows escaped, for they could not find his house. But by this time the horse guards were out, and several corps of volunteers were called to quarters. The troops scoured the streets, and by two o'clock in the morning the mob dispersed, some with broken heads and some with other men's watches in their pockets. In the course of the following day the serjeant-at-arms, with the Speaker's warrant in his hand, gained admission into Sir Francis's house; but the baronet put the warrant in his pocket, and his friend Mr. O'Connor led the serjeant-at-arms down stairs, and to the door, telling him that out he must go, if not by fair means, then by foul. Placards of a very inflammable nature, and addressed to the people, were stuck up in several parts of the town, and particularly in the neighbourhood of the Tower. About noon a troop of the life guards and a company of the foot guards took post before Sir Francis's house. This did not prevent the mob from pursuing the same courses as on the preceding evening; and several respectable persons travelling on the outside of stage-coaches through that great western thoroughfare were much injured because they did not sufficiently wave their hats or raise their voices. At length the life guards were ordered to clear the street. The rabble fled as usual, but they soon returned, and the commotion assumed so serious an aspect that it was thought proper to read the Riot Act. During this operation Sir Francis from time to time showed himself at the window, and was cheered by the mob. He was visited by Lord Cochrane, Lord Folkstone, Colonel Wardle, Major Cartwright, the Earl of Thanet, Mr. Coke of Norfolk, Mr. Whitbread, and other political and private friends, nearly all of whom are said to have im-

* In the course of the debate upon Mr. Yorke's motion for enforcing the standing order against strangers in the gallery, Windham had certainly delivered some rather heretical opinions about the liberty of the press. But he appears to have been excited thereto by a great deal of extravagance and rhapsody from Sheridan and others.

† The language of the letter was intemperate and *ad captandum* throughout: the illustrations were of that kind most likely to excite such of the common people as had passions stronger than their reasoning faculties. Scriptural illustration was not spared. "One cannot," said Sir Francis, "with such impressions in one's mind, help entertaining a fear that the gentlemen of the House of Commons may be in danger of incurring the sentence of St. Paul upon the insolent and tyrannical high-priest Ananias, who had commanded him to be stricken for opening his mouth in his own defence:—'God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: For sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?'"

plored him to put an end to a farce which might probably end in a tragedy for some, or to yield obedience to the Speaker's warrant now that enough had been done to constitute a case for the trial of the right of the House of Commons. But the baronet, who had been carried shoulder-high by the people on several occasions, would not yield to this reasonable advice, and probably there were other friends besides the hot Mr. O'Connor who recommended a very different course. To keep up the commotion, Sir Francis wrote a letter to the sheriffs of Middlesex, complaining that an attempt was made to deprive him of his liberty, under the authority of an instrument which he knew to be illegal, and that his house was beset by a military force; avowing his determination never to yield a voluntary obedience, but to resist the execution of such a warrant by all the legal means in his power; and calling upon the sheriffs, as the constitutional officers appointed to protect the inhabitants of the bailiwick from violence and oppression, to furnish him with the aid with which the laws had provided them, by calling out either the *posse comitatus* or such other force as the case and circumstance might require. The government, wholly unprepared for this sort of resistance, were greatly perplexed; and the magistrates acted with timid indecision, doubting whether it was or was not lawful to use force in executing the Speaker's warrant. At last, Mr. Perceval, the premier, advised the serjeant-at-arms to take the opinion of Sir Vicary Gibbs, the attorney-general. Mistakes were committed in the drawing up of the legal case to be laid before him; and the crown lawyer gave a reply which went rather to increase than diminish the embarrassment and indecision, for he left it doubtful whether, if death should ensue on executing the speaker's warrant by force, the serjeant-at-arms would not lie open to an indictment for murder; as also whether any person in the contest that should think proper to kill the serjeant-at-arms could be held in law guilty of murder.*

Mr. Matthew Wood, who chanced to be one of the sheriffs this year, professed the same political principles and the same eagerness for parliamentary reform as Sir Francis Burdett; the alderman was indeed now and long afterwards a sort of satellite to the baronet. After communicating Sir Francis's letter for the aid of the *posse comitatus*, &c. to the lord mayor, Sheriff Wood posted off to the Speaker to augment his perplexities by showing him the letter and asking his advice upon it. Abbot, the Speaker, got rid of the unpleasant visitor by telling him that he had done his duty, and that no doubt the sheriffs would know how to do theirs. Mr. Sheriff Wood, choosing to consider the letter which he had received as "an intimation of a disturbance, of which, as conservator of the peace, he was bound to take official notice," went straight to the beleaguered mansion in Piccadilly. Sir Francis, glad to see so dear a friend or so warm a partisan, requested Mr. Sheriff Wood to pass the night in the house in order to protect him by the civil power against tyranny and military force. Wood readily consented, and called in his colleague Mr. Sheriff Atkins, when they jointly addressed a letter to the secretary of state for the home department, enclosing a copy of Burdett's letter to them, and requiring his instructions how to act. Mr. Ryder, the new secretary, replied that it was not for him to deliver any opinion upon the baronet's letter; but that he could have no doubt that the sheriffs would feel it to be their duty to give every assistance which might be required of them in aid of the Speaker's warrant, rather than think of offering any resistance to it. With the aid of the baronet's pantry and cellar the night passed off pleasantly enough, and at about three o'clock in the morning the sheriffs shook hands and withdrew, expressing their decided opinion that no attempt would then be made to break into the house. Serious mischief had, however, been done in the course of the preceding evening. Unluckily, it chanced to be a Saturday evening, when the working people were released from their labours and had money in their pockets to buy drink. There were a few hundreds of German cavalry at this time in England waiting to be conveyed to the peninsula—brave but quiet and inoffensive men, who wore the sad mementos of the old Duke of Brunswick, or who had been raised by his gallant son and other expatriated princes to fight against the common enemy. A portion of the public press had represented these few hundred Germans as highly dangerous to the liberties and the constitution of England, and, since these Gale Jones and Burdett turmoils had begun, great pains had been taken to exasperate this feeling, and hand-bills had been distributed filled with inflammatory declamations against foreign troops. In the course of the Saturday it had been deemed necessary to call out a few more troops. Among these was a party of English light dragoons, who wore a uniform which was new to the London mob. A cry was set up that these men were German mercenaries employed to cut the throats of the people. The military were hooted and pelted, and, what was much worse and far more rare, several shots were fired at them. The soldiers bore these insults and outrages with a forbearance of which none but disciplined English troops are capable; and, even after one of their comrades had been shot with a ball through the jaw, they were not allowed to load their pistols till the magistrates had once more read the Riot Act, and made fruitless endeavours to repress the tumult. The magistrates, the civil officers, as well as the soldiers and their commanders, were assaulted with mud and stones. At length a few

* The fault might be in the law or in the want of precedent, and not in Sir Vicary Gibbs; but it appeared hard to leave an unlearned serjeant-at-arms to judge for himself when the learned attorney-general would not judge for him; and the amount of Sir Vicary's answer, as was said by Sir John Anstruther in the debate of Monday, the 9th of April, was just this—"Serjeant-at arms, go and execute your warrant; you shall have all possible aid, both civil and military; but then we can't say how far you may lawfully go: never mind, however, do your duty, and then no matter whether in the event you are hanged for it or not."

cavalry pistols were drawn from their holsters and discharged in self-defence, and one man in Piccadilly fell mortally wounded.

On Sunday morning, at seven o'clock, the serjeant-at-arms, attended by a party of police-officers, once more demanded quiet entrance into the house, and, being denied it, he stationed messengers to watch the house, and remained with his deputy in the neighbourhood to apprehend Sir Francis in case he should come out. The morning was very fine and all that part of the town soon became crowded, but far more by the curious than by the mischievous. Many, however, there were decidedly bent upon mischief, and while some of these picked the pockets of the unwary, others hissed and groaned or threw stones and filth at the soldiery. If they had been French troops, no power on earth would have prevented a charge and a carnage; but our men behaved as they had done before.* But they felt, and some of them said, that they would rather be in the hottest of a battle like that of Talavera, than be sitting there like statues to be insulted and injured and covered with filth by a mob of their own countrymen. About one o'clock in the afternoon the two sheriffs waited again upon Sir Francis. Sheriff Wood had still no doubt as to the illegality of the Speaker's warrant, or as to the right of continuing to resist it; but Sheriff Atkins now declared that he thought the warrant must be obeyed, because it directed that the serjeant-at-arms of the House of Commons should call on all mayors, sheriffs, magistrates, &c. to assist in its execution. Sheriff Wood then trudged away to the magistrates who were assembled at the Gloucester Coffee-house, Piccadilly, and, according to his own account, remonstrated with them against ordering the soldiers to act, telling them that if any death ensued he would indict them all for murder.†

The life guards stationed near Burdett's house continued patiently to bear the insults of the mob, presenting, however, their pistols from time to time in the hope of intimidating them. But, at last, the guards made a charge, yet so as to disperse the people without injuring them. The mob opened and fled on all sides; but as soon as the guards returned to their post they rallied, and continued the same annoying warfare as before. But it was now dusk and raining in torrents; and the darkness and the rain drove away many thousands. Still the more dangerous part of the mob remained; and these heroes, being driven from the western end of Piccadilly, gathered in force between the east end of Coventry-street and St. James's church. As on the two preceding nights, they had made the inhabitants illuminate their houses; but at about ten o'clock on this unholy Sabbath night they made all the lights in the windows be put out, and at the same time they broke all the street lamps on either side of the way. Then, in this darkness, they carried away the ladders and scaffolding from a house under repair, and with these materials made a low barricade across Piccadilly, towards which they endeavoured to allure the cavalry, expecting that they would come on at full gallop in the dark, and so be thrown. But this pretty artifice was discovered, and the barricade was broken down by a party of foot soldiers. Towards midnight it rained harder than ever, and, to the infinite relief of the quiet inhabitants, the mob melted away. By Monday morning ministers had come to the determination of breaking into the baronet's house, and carrying the warrant into effect by military means. For this decision Burdett was prepared, and he got up a dramatic scene in which to meet it. He assembled his family and friends in his drawing-room on the first floor, and in the front part of the house, and there sat down to breakfast with Lady Burdett, the Countess of Guildford, three of the Ladies North, Mr. and Mrs. Coutts, his brother Mr. Jones Burdett, peppery Mr. O'Connor, and one or two others. Breakfast being finished, Sir Francis began to hear his son (then an Eton boy) read and construe Magna Charta in the original. The patriot baronet was thus engaged—presenting, as his friends thought, a fine subject for an historical picture—when Mr. O'Connor started up dramatically on observing a man's face peering into one of the drawing-room windows. The face belonged to a constable or peace-officer, who had placed a ladder against the house, and who was now in the act of throwing up the window-sash, in doing which he broke some of the baronet's panes of glass and cut some of his own fingers. O'Connor rushed to the window. It is said that this Irish Achates intended to hurl the poor peace-officer into the area below; and that Sir Francis stopped him by calling out not to hurt the man. What O'Connor did was to seize the officer by the breast with one hand and to shut the window with the other. Baffled in this attempt to storm through the drawing-room windows, the police made an attack in an humbler quarter;—descending into the area towards the region of the kitchen and the scullery, they burst open a window, sashes, frame, and all, and entered the house through a servant's room. At the crash the bold O'Connor ran down stairs to see if all were safe below, and there he found some twenty men with those magical wands, constables' staves, in their hands. He retreated to the drawing-room, and was quickly followed thither by the constables and by the serjeant-at-arms, who, advancing to the baronet, said, "Sir Francis, you are my prisoner." Sir Francis replied by asking the serjeant under

* One of the mob threw a handful of mud right into the face of a dragoon, who merely wiped off the filth, rode up to the fellow, and said, "You rascal! If I had not a sword and pistols I would get off my horse and break every bone in your skin! Don't do that again."

† The magistrates, however, publicly contradicted this, affirming that they never heard Sheriff Wood use any such threatening language, and that his appearance at the Gloucester Coffee-house and his interference did not in any way prevent them from doing what they conceived to be their duty.

If Alderman Wood, carrying out his theory, could have paralysed the magistrates, and have prevented their acting in concert with the troops, a good part of the capital would, that night, have been plundered and burned, and more lives would have been sacrificed than were lost in the London "No Popery" riots of 1780.

what authority he had broken into his house in violation of the laws of the land. The serjeant-at-arms spoke of the Speaker's warrant; the baronet spoke of the laws and constitution, and refused to submit. "Then, sir," said the serjeant, "I must call in assistance and force you to yield." Upon which the constables laid hold of Sir Francis, Mr. Jones Burdett and Mr. O'Connor stepped up, and each took the baronet under an arm. The constables closed in on all three, and drew them down stairs, Sir Francis protesting all the way, in the king's name, against this violation of his person and his house, and telling them they were acting at their peril. A coach was ready at the door: Sir Francis got in, with his brother, the deputy serjeant-at-arms, and a messenger; the serjeant himself mounted his horse; and then, with a strong escort of cavalry, coach and mounted serjeant went off at a smart pace. To avoid mischief they had determined to proceed to the Tower by the roundabout way of the New Road, Marylebone, Pentonville, Islington, the City Road, &c. They had got to the top of Albemarle street, Piccadilly, when a cry was set up, "They have taken him! They have dragged him out of his house!" And at the cry countless multitudes began to scamper off towards the Tower, for the most part by much nearer roads than that which the cavalcade were taking. Ever since Friday placards had been stuck up in the city calling upon all true Britons to protect the patriot. But by this time government had collected such a military force as had rarely been seen in the capital before.* And, while the serjeant-at-arms and the cavalry escorted the prisoner, two battalions of foot guards marched by the shortest route through the Strand and through the heart of the city (the necessary consent having been previously obtained from the Lord Mayor) and drew up three deep before the Tower gates, to cover the entrance. Shortly after, the prisoner arrived, the dragoons cleared the way, and the coach drove up to the Tower gates, the mob shouting "Burdett for ever!" There was also much hooting and much running; and a good many of the mob fell or were forced into the Tower ditch, but as there was little water, nobody was drowned, and as the mud was soft, no bones were broken. Sir Francis alighted and, when he had been received with the usual ceremonies, the gates were closed. But when the troops began to return towards their barracks in the west, the mob began to pelt them most furiously. Finding themselves threatened from behind palings and iron railings, and embarrassed in narrow streets, and being able to bear this usage no longer, the soldiers fired, and about eight persons were wounded, two of them mortally. The troops thus made way for themselves through Fenchurch Street, then crossing over London Bridge returned to the Horse Guards by way of Lambeth and Westminster Bridge. The alarm was greater on this than on any of the preceding days: the metropolis was agitated from one end to the other, and many thousands believed that what had appeared a trifle at first would end in a formidable rebellion. At night Sir John Anstruther in the Commons complained bitterly of the timid, undecided conduct of government, which, he urged, had allowed the storm to gain head. It was not a subject, he said, upon which he could speak very coolly, when he recollected that, owing to a remissness in some quarter or other, the lives of his wife and children had been for a long time endangered. [Many other persons had the same recollections or convictions as Sir John Anstruther.] He said that it appeared that ministers had not taken any steps to provide against consequences which might easily have been foreseen; but he ended by throwing the principal blame upon the attorney-general. Sir Vicary Gibbs attempted to throw the blame from his own shoulders upon those of the serjeant-at-arms, which—even by those friendly to government—was not considered either very just or very generous. Nor was it in fact very extraordinary that the serjeant-at-arms, checked by the ambiguous legal answer of the attorney-general, should have hesitated how to act when the persons of the highest authority to whom he looked for instructions knew not how to advise him.

On the following evening, when the letter of Sir Francis Burdett was taken into consideration by the House of Commons, several members who had voted against his committal to the Tower censured his conduct in unmeasured terms. The baronet's offensive letters were now considered but part of a system for bringing the House of Commons into contempt; and it was asserted, even by friendly parties, that, if the House had not taken notice of his first letter, published in Cobbett's 'Register,' they would have been dragged into something else, and have had to meet other and bolder attacks. The House was far more concerned in this quarrel than were the ministers. It was the authority of the House that had been insulted and defied. Expulsion from the House was spoken of; but, as this must necessarily lead to a new election in Westminster, to the withdrawal of the military, and to saturnalia of fourteen days' duration, the notion was given up. Mr. Davies Giddy (the late Mr. Davies Gilbert) would not now give Sir Francis credit even for rectitude of intention; Lord Porchester thought no language of reproach could be too strong to apply to his conduct from beginning to end; Sir John Sebright said it was the most disgraceful conduct that had ever come under the cognizance of the House, and asked whether it was a love of civil liberty that induced Sir Francis to stir up a tyrannical mob to aid him in the solution of a great constitutional question? And Mr. Lyttleton declared that, though he had lived on terms of friendship with Sir Francis, he now abjured him both as a private and as a political friend. Even Mr. Whitbread, who called Burdett's letter to the House "a high and flagrant

* In addition to the volunteers, about 19,000 regulars, horse and foot, were collected in and round London; and about 15,000 more, from different parts of the country, were halted within a day's march.

breach of the *privileges* of parliament," maintained that the warrant of the speaker was legal, complete, and ought to be *omnipotent*. The Speaker's warrant, said Whitbread, if good for anything, is good for *everything*: and it certainly authorises the breaking open of doors if it is necessary to its execution that doors should be broken open. But it was chiefly as a parliamentary reformer that Whitbread contended for the preservation of this and of all other privileges of the House. The cause of reform (so he said) was now making rapid progress;—within the last month very many converts had been made to that cause. In what state would the House be placed in the event of a reform, if stript of the power now under discussion? The crown was known to have a great influence in that House, as well as elsewhere (meaning in the Upper House); and what must the people expect to be the inclination and aim of that influence in the event of reform? Must they not calculate upon its hostility? and what power could a reformed House of Commons have of counteracting that hostility, if its warrant were not effective? As soon as possible after his committal, Sir Francis Burdett, having recourse to those legal means which he might have applied to at first, without risking bloodshed and such disgraceful rioting, caused the Speaker to be served with a notice that a bill would be filed against him in the Court of King's Bench. On the 13th of April the Speaker communicated it to the House, and the letter containing the notice was entered upon the Journals, Mr. Whitbread observing that it might be the ground of great questions to be tried hereafter. On the 16th, Sir Samuel Romilly moved for the discharge of John Gale Jones, whose debating club and placards had produced, or had at least hurried on, the great Burdett explosion. Romilly did not think that Jones had not merited punishment; he only thought that he had been punished enough already by being detained a few days in Newgate. Windham reminded the House that a meeting of the Westminster electors was announced for the morrow, and that, if the House should liberate Gale Jones, those noisy patriots would be sure to impute it not to their mercy, but to their fears. Romilly was outvoted by 160 against 112; so the president of the Forum was left in durance until the rising of parliament, which must equally open the doors of Newgate to him and the gates of the Tower to Burdett.

At the time appointed, the great Westminster meeting was held in Palace Yard, close under the Houses of Parliament. It was numerously, if not well, attended, and there was no want of the passionate ingredients of eloquence on the part of the Westminster orators who spoke; for Sir Francis, besides being "England's glory," was "Westminster's darling." They passed a string of resolutions, declaring that they most highly approved of Sir Francis's letter to his constituents; that they thought his conduct, in calling upon the civil power for the protection of his house against a military force, was dictated by prudence, knowledge of and confidence in the laws of his country; and that the House of Commons should be called upon to restore to them their beloved representative, and to co-operate immediately with him in his endeavours to procure a fair representation of the people in parliament. A letter addressed to him in the name of his constituents had been drawn up, and, being now read with general satisfaction, it was resolved that it should be presented to the patriot in the Tower by the high bailiff of Westminster. It was a very peppery epistle. It declared that his constituents felt as a personal wrong the indignity which had been offered to him; that they, however, were not surprised to find that, when every excuse was made for public delinquents, the utmost rigour was exercised against him who pleaded for the ancient and constitutional rights of the people; that he, Sir Francis, had nobly stepped forward in defence of a fellow-subject (Gale Jones) unjustly imprisoned; and that the House of Commons had answered his arguments by breaking into his house, seizing his person, &c. They upheld all that had occurred as rendering more than ever necessary a radical reform; and they repeated Sir Francis's own libel, and quoted his words as to the construction of the present House of Commons, where so many members, said they, "are collected together by means which it is not necessary for *us* to describe." The letter to the baronet ended with saying that the treatment he had met with was but a sad presage of what might be expected by all those that had the courage to stand forward in defence of the people's rights. The Westminster meeting also voted a petition and remonstrance to the House of Commons, couched in the most disrespectful terms, denying the privilege of the House, and calling for the immediate liberation of Burdett, and a speedy reform of parliament. In the evening this petition and remonstrance was presented by the baronet's colleague, Captain Lord Cochrane, who, unfortunately for himself, if not for his country, had quitted the sea service to become an active member of reform societies, and a hot and impatient politician. His lordship moved, according to custom, that the petition should lie on the table. The Hon. J. W. Ward (afterwards the Lord Dudley and Ward) opposed the motion, saying, that, if the House received the petition, they would submit to the grossest violation of their dignity. Mr. Curwen suggested the propriety of withdrawing it for the purpose of preparing one of a more decorous kind, if the object of the petitioners really was to promote the cause of reform, to which he, Mr. Curwen, was friendly. Other members thought the language of this petition highly indecent; but Whitbread justified the petition, and not only Canning, but also Perceval, though they condemned the language, said that some intemperance might be overlooked—that in cases of petitions it was better for the House to err on the side of indulgence than on that of severity; and the Westminster paper was ordered to lie on the table.*

* "This," says Sir Samuel Romilly, "is certainly not the last

In the meanwhile, the ferment being kept up out of doors by popular meetings, clubs, handbills, pamphlets, and newspapers, a coroner's inquest in the city had brought in a verdict of wilful murder in the case of a young man who had been shot by the soldiers on their return from the Tower,* and the mob had persevered in insulting the military wherever an opportunity could be found. On the other hand, however, another coroner's jury had returned a verdict of justifiable homicide in the case of a man who had been shot by the military which had formed the escort of Sir Francis from Piccadilly to the Tower; and a proclamation had been issued by government calling on all justices of the peace, &c. to aid and assist in suppressing all tumultuous meetings, and offering a reward of 500*l.* for the apprehension of any person who had been concerned in firing at or otherwise wounding the military in the discharge of their duty; and this was followed by another proclamation offering a reward of 500*l.* for the apprehension of the person who had fired at Ensign Cowell while on duty on the night after Burdett was lodged in the Tower.

Yet Lord Ossulston, one of the Burdettites, rose in the House of Commons on the 18th of April, and asked whether the government did not mean to offer a like reward for the discovery of the unknown lifeguardsman against whom the first verdict of wilful murder had been returned? He was told that under all the circumstances of the case this was not to be expected. Whitbread then moved, without the customary notice, that that verdict should be taken into consideration by the House; and he was supported by Mr. William Smith, who argued that, though the soldiery in general had behaved well, it did not follow that one of them might not have been guilty of murder. The home secretary (Ryder) affirmed that a strict inquiry had been instituted into the conduct of the populace on the one hand and of the troops on the other; that the inquiry was still proceeding; but, from everything which had yet appeared, the privy council had resolved to advise his majesty not to issue a proclamation upon the subject of the first verdict. The premier asked whether the House ought to take into their own hands the administration of justice while in progress? Were they to be inspectors of coroners' verdicts and indictments for murder? Were they to put themselves in the situation of grand jurors? Captain Agar, who had been on duty, stated that from ten to twenty shots were fired by the people before he heard one shot fired by the soldiers; and that, as several shots were fired by the troops at about the same time, it was very likely that the soldier who fired the unfortunate one did not know it himself. Mr. Lascelles observed that, if a lifeguardsman should be sent before a jury at the present moment, it was very probable he would be tried for his life under circumstances very partial and oppressive. Whitbread's motion was negatived without a division; and then the Easter recess gave some relief to the government, and some time for the people to grow cool.

During the recess, however, popular meetings were held in various places; and the freeholders of Middlesex, or the men who arrogated to themselves the exclusive right to that designation (including many who were freeholders neither in Middlesex nor anywhere else), assembled at Hackney, and there voted an address of thanks to Sir Francis, and a petition and a remonstrance to the House of Commons. Mr. George Byng presented this petition to the House on the 2nd of May, but his brother member for the county of Middlesex, Mr. Mellish, declared that he could not support so violent and indecorous an appeal. Mr. Perceval said that this was a deliberate insult to the House, an experiment to try how far they would go in forbearance. The discussion was adjourned till the next day, when it gave rise to a hot debate with furious criminations and recriminations. Mr. Barham said it was not a petition, but a protest against the authority of the House; not an application for redress of grievances, but a bold menace. He lamented that there were members of that House who could lend themselves to the clamours of popular faction. Such men were little aware of the consequences to which their conduct directly tended; for, if once the factions, of which they were but the tools, should succeed in their real object, these very men would be the first victims of the storm which they had helped to raise, and would be swept away like chaff before the wind. Several liberal members spoke against the danger and disgrace of conceding anything to the menaces of the people, or even of receiving such petitions; but they charged government with having produced all this disrespect and disaffection by opposing

affront which, in consequence of the contest in which the ministers have rashly plunged the House, they will have to receive and to record against themselves. These are the first-fruits of this boasted vindication of the rights and dignity of the House of Commons."—*Diary of Parliamentary Life, in Memoir by his Sons.*

* It was positively asserted that this thoughtless young man, Thomas Ebrall by name, and another young man who was likewise killed, had each seized the bridle of a lifeguardsman's horse, which was precisely the act of aggression which of all others justified the soldiers in using their weapons. Nevertheless, the juries in both instances brought in verdicts of wilful murder against some lifeguardsman unknown; and, to keep alive horror, indignation, and revenge, a tombstone was put over the grave of Thomas Ebrall (in Aldgate churchyard) recording his fate and the coroner's inquest, and giving the following text from the Apocrypha:—

"Thus saith the Lord God; My right hand shall not spare the sinners, and my sword shall not cease over them that shed innocent blood upon the earth."—2 Esdras, ch. xv.

For this there was precedent to be found in the John Wilkes St. George's Fields riot: see ante, vol. i. pp 60—67.

Where the money was found for the tombstone and funeral, and for other matters far more expensive, it is not difficult to surmise. The parliamentary reformers and the other adversaries of government seem to have contemplated changing the ministry and effecting higher objects by force of tombstones and exciting epitaphs. There was erected at the back of St. Martin's Church a monument bearing this inscription:—

Sacred to the memory of
JOHN IRWIN, Esq.,
of Sligo, in Ireland, surgeon to his majesty's forces,
who died on the 22nd day of April,
1810,
aged 58 years:
A victim, like thousands of our gallant countrymen,
to the fatal consequences of
the unfortunate expedition to the Scheldt,
commanded by
John, Earl of Chatham.

It was noted as something very prophetic or very significant, that on the 14th of April, the fifth day after Burdett's committal to the Tower, the sword, buckles, and straps fell from the equestrian statue of Charles I. at Charing-Cross!

parliamentary reform, and by screening such culprits as the Duke of York, Lord Castlereagh, &c. To which the ministerial benches retorted, that these very gentlemen, in their eagerness for parliamentary innovations which might ruin the constitution, and by their inconsiderate and vehement attacks upon persons in authority, had created and nourished the popular violence. The motion for receiving the Middlesex petition was rejected by 139 against 58.

But the very next day a petition in much the same strain was voted by the livery of the city of London. It was presented on the 8th of May; but the motion that it should be received was negatived by 128 against 36. Major Cartwright, a very old champion of reform, and one who devoutly believed that nearly all the ills that flesh is heir to could be cured by a sweeping radical reform-bill, sent in a long memorial in the form of a petition praying for the said reform in parliament, &c. It was presented by Whitbread; but, as the major called the committal of Sir Francis Burdett an act of flagrant illegality, and as his memorial was portentously prolix, it was rejected also, the premier observing that, if such long petitions from an individual were to be encouraged, the House might expect to have others presented lengthened out into *folio* volumes!

But the business was not over yet. The suit which Sir Francis had commenced against the Speaker was followed up by similar law-proceedings against Mr. Colman, the serjeant-at-arms, and Earl Moira, the Constable of the Tower. On the motion of Mr. Perceval a select committee was appointed to consider of the proceedings to be taken and to examine into precedents. On the 11th of May Mr. Davies Giddy brought up the report of this select committee. He said there were but three modes in which the House could proceed:—1. To inhibit the courts of law from proceeding in these actions; but for this course there was no precedent. 2. To commit all the persons concerned in bringing or promoting such actions; for the exercise of such a power there were many precedents, but it did not appear expedient to follow them. 3. The only mode remaining, therefore, was to plead to the actions, and let the parties sued show to the court that the acts complained of were done in consequence of the privileges of that House. Mr. Davies Giddy moved accordingly: 1. That the Speaker and the serjeant-at-arms might be permitted to appear and plead to the said actions; and, 2. That the attorney-general should be directed to defend them. There were long debates, and there was a second report brought up from the select committee, but the measures recommended by Giddy were ultimately adopted.

The case of Burdett *v.* Abbot came on before Lord Ellenborough, in the court of King's Bench, but not before the 8th of February, 1811; and, the cause being postponed, it was not until the 17th of May of that year that the attorney-general made his reply in defence of the Speaker. The justification set up for the warrant, &c. appeared to the court perfectly satisfactory, and the plaintiff was cast. On the 19th of June of the same year the case of Burdett *v.* Colman was tried in the same court, when the jury without hesitation found a verdict for the defendant. In the course of this trial it was proved by Burdett's own witnesses that the serjeant-at-arms had discharged his unpleasant duty with the greatest politeness and civility. Several other witnesses deposed to the riotous disposition of the mob and to the good conduct of the soldiery, and gave it as their opinion that the serjeant-at-arms could not have executed his warrant without a strong military force. The record of the cause Burdett *v.* Lord Moira (Constable of the Tower) was then called on, and dismissed for want of a jury.

Since the No Popery riots London had seen no such commotion as this, and since the days of John Wilkes no such idol as Sir Francis Burdett. The French newspapers announced that it was a revolution.*

The prorogation of parliament of necessity produced the liberation of "the martyr of liberty," who had passed as pleasant a martyrdom in the Tower as heart could desire; receiving the visits of his friends and the deputations of bodies corporate, and catching the echoes of his fame as it rolled through the country. On the morning of the 21st of June vast multitudes assembled to escort him and carry him in triumph from the Tower to Piccadilly; portions of this multitude were organised in bodies, and had their banners and their bands of music; there was a car of Liberty, and there were inscriptions and devices of a very stimulating kind. As the troops were ordered to be on the alert, there would have been certain riot and, very probably, bloodshed, if the baronet had returned, as he was expected to do, through the heart of the City and along the Strand; but he very wisely resolved to take his departure from the Tower privately. The outer gates of that fortress were closed, and the immense mob, not knowing what was passing within, kept waiting hour after hour, lining the edge of the ditch and covering the open space denominated Tower-hill. At last, a soldier on the walls, sending his words through a speaking-trumpet, roared "*He is gone by water!*" The people would not believe the soldier. A police-officer, or constable, or some civil authority of that kind came out and solemnly assured them that Sir Francis was gone by water. By water—impossible! By boat up the river, and lose this triumph—it can never be! Thus said the patriots by the ditch and

* All these things, even to ourselves, read like a dream; and so, possibly, they may do to Sir Francis Burdett. But we are old enough to remember the great consternation which was caused by the riots, and which, as usual, was greater in the country than in the capital. We were living at the time at a considerable but quiet town, on the western road, just 49 miles from Piccadilly or from Hyde Park Corner. Direful was the intelligence which the mail coachmen and guards and the stage coachmen were said to have brought down on the Saturday night! Sir Francis Burdett was standing a regular siege in his mansion: the people and the troops were fighting in Piccadilly ankle-deep in blood! On the Sunday some coaches were delayed; and then not a few of the denizens believed, like Bonaparte, that it was a revolution.

on the hill; and their incredulity lasted till half-past four o'clock in the afternoon, when three great placards were suspended over the Tower-gates with the following solemn inscription: "Sir Francis Burdett left the Tower by water at half-past three." Yet still the congregated patriots were incredulous. Surely he never would go by water and disappoint his friends, unless he had been compelled so to do! Some said there had been foul play in the Tower; some, that they had forced him into a boat and were carrying him up to Westminster to be reprimanded by the House of Commons before he got his discharge. Mr. Sheriff Wood and Mr. Sheriff Atkins at last came to the Tower-gate on horseback. At first, these two dignitaries appeared as little able as the rest to account for the non-appearance of the baronet; but they were allowed to enter the Tower, and in about a quarter of an hour they returned and informed Major Cartwright, and the other reform gentlemen who had been appointed to conduct the main procession, that verily and truly Sir Francis had gone by water, not by compulsion, but willingly and in a boat accompanied by two friends. With a considerable part of the mob this water business had a very prejudicial effect upon the baronet's popularity. John Gale Jones, whose confinement also expired with the close of the session, issued from Newgate at four o'clock, and drove in a hackney-coach to Tower-hill to join the procession and, as he thought, to divide with Sir Francis the honours of the triumph. His name was chalked upon the pannels of the coach, and as he went along he stopped from time to time to harangue the people and to complain to them of the hardship of having been turned out of Newgate at two minutes' notice.

The supplies voted for the year amounted to 52,185,000*l.*, of which the Irish proportion was 6,106,000*l.* The ways and means, which it was calculated would leave a surplus of 141,200*l.*, included a loan of 8,000,000*l.*, which was negotiated on terms even more moderate than those of the preceding year. No new taxes were proposed; and a very favourable report was made of the commerce and general prosperity of the country. At the same time Mr. Perceval drew a striking picture of the state of commercial affairs in France, and of the effects produced by our Orders in Council. The Orders in Council had not done all the mischief to the enemy; but Bonaparte's war system and the working out of his "Continental system" together had contributed to destroy nearly all foreign trade in France and its dependencies.

Of the money voted, 1,380,000*l.* was appropriated to foreign subsidies (988,000*l.* for Portugal and 400,000*l.* for Sicily); nearly 20,000,000*l.* was devoted to naval services, and nearly 25,000,000*l.* to the land forces and ordnance.

The opposition orators continued uttering their doleful predictions. The battle of Wagram, all the last Austrian campaign, and the matrimonial alliance between the Emperor of the French and the daughter of the Emperor of Austria, which was completed in the month of March of this year, convinced them all that it was hopeless to think of continuing the war—madness to dream of supporting any longer either Portugal or Spain, or of interfering with the will of the conqueror in any part of Europe. They saw countless and invincible columns pouring into the Peninsula (now that Napoleon could have nothing else to do) to sweep the weak English army into the sea; they mourned over or sneered at the victory of Talavera, which, they said, was either no victory at all or a very useless one, since it had been followed by a retreat; and most of them opposed the vote of thanks, and the pension of 2000*l.* per annum, moved by the government to Lord Wellington.

The subject of the slave trade was re-introduced in the Commons by Mr. Brougham, and in the Lords by Lord Holland, who severally moved for addresses requesting the king to persevere in his measures to induce other nations to co-operate in the abolition of that trade, and to take such further steps as might be necessary. Mr. Brougham stated that persons in this country continued to carry on the traffic in a clandestine and fraudulent manner; and the address he proposed prayed that orders for checking such practices might be given to the commanders of his majesty's ships and to the officers of the customs. Both addresses were voted without opposition; and a resolution moved by Mr. Brougham for taking measures early in the next session to prevent evasions of Wilberforce's Slave Trade act, was also unanimously agreed to.

Early in the session Mr. Bankes made a motion for rendering perpetual the act for preventing the grant of offices in reversion; but, though a bill for this purpose passed the Commons, it was thrown out by the Lords on the second reading.

A motion was made by Lord Melville, the disgraced friend of the navy, who was now fast approaching his last hour, which was calculated to do an immense deal of good both to the land and sea service, and to put a stop to the flagrant jobbing carried on between private ship-owners and merchants, who hired out transports to government, and the transport-board, which had the management of those concerns. Lord Melville recommended that an adequate number of king's ships should without delay be prepared and held in readiness for the accommodation of such troops as it might be found expedient to embark for foreign countries. He showed that a great saving of life would arise out of a more airy and comfortable accommodation given to the troops on board ship; that by employing armed troop-ships, manned by seamen of the royal navy, there would be less danger in the navigation, less risk of the convoy and troops getting scattered, more facility for landing and re-embarking, more speed and more certainty in all operations; that it was an essential advantage to have the crews of ships which conveyed troops subject to naval discipline, and under honourable and experienced officers. Though they had to undergo a sort of examination before the

transport board, the commanders of these hired transports were nothing but skippers, and in general not superior to the masters of colliers or other coasting-vessels (we mean of that day, for it would be injuring the improved skippers of our own day to compare these masters of transports to them). His lordship adduced the evidence of good military officers to show the importance of amending the system of conveying troops by sea, and the almost total impracticability of landing an army in the face of a respectable enemy in transport-boats.* The plan he submitted to parliament was simply this: to fit out, from the ordinary of the navy, a number of armed troop-ships adequate to the accommodation of 24,000 soldiers; to keep these vessels, and a few two-decked ships and a certain number of frigates and light-armed vessels, always ready, so that at any given moment a single letter from the admiralty and the war-office might assemble the ships and troops at any rendezvous, and thence send them on their errand with secrecy, speed, and a diminished liability to accidents at sea and accidents on landing. He calculated that such an establishment would require 48,000 tons of shipping, and that, through savings in other particulars, the expense would be less than that which government now incurred in hiring transports, which were not only badly manned and commanded, but not unfrequently slow sailers, crazy, and scarcely seaworthy. But the ministry were not disposed to listen to this excellent advice. Lord Mulgrave (the present head of the admiralty) said that it would be far more expensive to convey troops in ships of war than in hired transports. The Earl of Liverpool, the war-secretary, without expressing any opinion upon the project, shook his head and said it was one of great difficulty—it required very serious consideration—it could not be decided upon now. And so the previous question was agreed to without a division. The old transport-service continued to disgrace us, to endanger and oft-times sacrifice the lives of our troops, till the end of the war; and whenever we shall be engaged in another extensive warfare our disgrace and our losses will be renewed, unless some such system as Lord Melville's be established, or some immense improvements be introduced into the out-fitting, manning, officering, and entire management of the hired transports.

One measure of essential benefit to the service was brought forward by Mr. George Rose, who continued in office as vice-president of the board of trade and treasurer of the navy. He obtained leave to bring in a bill for the increase of seamen, by establishing naval seminaries on the coasts, where young boys might be properly educated for four or five years. They were to be supplied from those who were parish paupers, of whom the number was counted at 90,000; they would not cost government more than 5*l.* each, and this supply would keep up a succession of seamen to the amount of 7000 every year. This would go to diminish the hardship of forcible impressment; and the extension of such a system might altogether do away with that cruel and anomalous practice.

A scheme for parliamentary reform, brought forward by Mr. Brand, was rejected by 234 against 115. The debate was chiefly remarkable on account of the strong opinions pronounced against radical reform by the moderate reform party, and on account of some very enthusiastic declarations in favour of the transatlantic republican system. Mr. Sturges Bourne said that such a plan as Mr. Brand's would never satisfy the so-called radicals, who wanted frequent elections and universal suffrage; and he asked whether the working of these things in the United States was calculated to recommend them to our imitation? Whitbread rejoined, that the grand political creation which had taken place in America, so far from failing in its object, had far exceeded the extent of human hope; that it was the work of one of the greatest and best of men—of George Washington—of that patriot who had communicated to the government which he had reared a portion of the purity of his own spotless mind and unsullied life; that the United States had grown at once from the weakness of infancy to the strength of manhood, and had engaged in all the pursuits which lead to greatness and happiness. In this enthusiasm there was falsehood as well as prejudice, or, if not intentional falsehood, then an ignorance of facts: the system of government which obtained in the United States could not be called the government which Washington had reared, for Washington had opposed, as much as he could, the fundamental dogma of universal suffrage: he had clung, to the last hour of his life, to a more aristocratic form of government; and he

* One officer declared that the greatest loss of our troops in landing in Egypt was occasioned by the confusion of the transport-boats, and that, had not the centre and right been carried in men-of-war's boats, that landing would not have been accomplished in the gallant manner it was. Another officer stated, that, in the re-embarcation of Sir John Moore's army at Corunna, the men-of-war-boats made ten trips while the transport-boats were making one. [We have seen in our account of that embarcation how some of the skippers of the transports cut their cables in their panic at a few cannon balls, and ran their ships on shore, with the troops on board.] "The officers," said Melville, "who superintended that midnight embarcation, endured far more anxiety than they had experienced in the hour of battle, owing to the want of order and discipline among the transports, which was such as to produce the utmost confusion and embarrassment, and to excite, in the minds of those present, the greatest alarm for the fate of the army. These distressing circumstances would not have occurred if, instead of common transports, there had been regular troop-ships, under naval discipline." His lordship pointed out other advantages to be derived from the keeping in constant readiness a number of large troop-ships, instead of going into the merchants' market to hire and freight them. If, in the spring of last year, before preparations were begun for the Scheldt expedition, there had existed in this country an establishment of armed troop-ships, adequate to the conveyance of 10,000 men, a very considerable portion, if not the whole, of the enemy's fleet in the Scheldt might have been captured or destroyed; and, without much difficulty, the basin of Flushing might have been destroyed also. But his lordship was of opinion that, if we had had such an establishment of floating barracks as that which he was now recommending, neither the evacuation of Walcheren nor the destruction of the basin of Flushing would have been necessary. The prospect of our capturing or destroying the enemy's ships, which were sure to run up the Scheldt on the news of our approach, was reduced to the single chance of a successful attack upon Antwerp. "If," said his lordship, "there had been, in the spring of last year, such an establishment as I am now contending for, 8000 or 10,000 men might have been easily embarked, without ostentation, noise, or parade, and might have proceeded in perfect secrecy to the point of attack, when, in conjunction with our blockading fleet on that coast, a successful result would, I confidently believe, have crowned their operations."

had left upon record, in public as well as private papers, predictions or forebodings of the anarchy and other evils which would result from the too great extension of a direct democratic influence and the use of universal suffrage—predictions which every year had tended to realize. The motions of Mr. Parnell on the subject of Irish tithes, and of Mr. Grattan and Lord Donoughmore on Catholic emancipation, and the important exertions made by Sir Samuel Romilly for the reform of our too sanguinary criminal laws, will be noticed in other chapters. The session of parliament terminated on the 21st of June. The royal speech, which was again delivered by commission, affirmed that Portugal was exerting herself with vigour and energy, and that in Spain, notwithstanding the reverses which had been experienced, the spirit of resistance against France continued unsubdued and unabated.

At the beginning of the year the aspect of affairs in the Peninsula was far from bright. The battle of Ocaña had left Spain without any considerable organised army in the field; and, although the supreme junta issued an address to the Spanish nation calculated to re-animate patriotism and check despondency, the forced loan which the junta required of half the specie possessed by individuals, with other sacrifices and exertions, was a measure which their influence and reputation were not adequate to carry into effect. The sacrifice demanded from private individuals was indeed too great, and the Spanish people had too little confidence in the virtue of their public men. Several of the members of the supreme junta were suspected not only of peculation but of downright treachery —of seizing the money of the people with one hand, and of selling the people and the country to Joseph Bonaparte with the other. In the course of the preceding year, besides the defeats which we have enumerated, the Spaniards had sustained several overthrows. General Reding had been defeated and killed in the battle of Valls, and Blake, who had succeeded to the command-in-chief of Catalonia, Valencia, and Arragon, having rashly marched to meet Suchet in the open field, had been defeated in two sanguinary affairs near Zaragoza and Belchite, and had lost all his artillery, most of his colours, and the greater part of his men. But the way in which the Spaniards had defended the old walls of Gerona gave better hopes; for, though that place had surrendered on the 10th of December, it had only yielded to famine after a six months' siege: though rent with three wide breaches, it had constantly repulsed its assailants, and had caused them a terrible loss; nor did those staunch Spaniards think they were starving until they had eaten up all their horses and mules.

Towards the close of 1809 Marshal Soult had been appointed chief of the staff and principal military adviser to King Joseph in the place of Jourdan, who was recalled to Paris. It was the fate of all these marshals to be dissatisfied with the service, and to cause great disappointment and dissatisfaction to their emperor, in whose bosom, however, these unpleasant feelings continued to be mitigated by the opportunity afforded him of saying, "I cannot be everywhere," and of showing to the French people how much their glory and success depended upon him personally. Soult, however, commenced operations with vigour and with a unity of plan. Taking with him King Joseph, who could scarcely have been safe without him, the ablest of the French marshals marched upon the Sierra Morena with the determination of crossing those mountains and subduing Andalusia, together with all that country of the south which had not yet been touched by the French arms. The folly of Areizagas, and the dolorous rout of Ocaña, had left no army to defend the passes; without the least obstruction Soult poured his columns through the ravines of the Sierra, and on the 21st of January established his head-quarters at Baylen, the scene of Dupont's surrender. Soult's object was to reach the sea-coast with a division of his army and seize the strong city of Cadiz before it could be put in a state of defence, and before the Duque d'Albuquerque should be able to reach it with the fragments of a Spanish army he was collecting. Moving, therefore, rapidly from Baylen, Soult with one corps advanced upon Seville, sending two other corps in the direction of Malaga and Granada. The supreme junta had announced their intention of retiring from Seville to Cadiz on the first rumour that the French were approaching the Sierra Morena; and, before Soult had reached Baylen, their authority and political existence was no more. The citizens of Seville, thinking they were abandoned and betrayed, rose in tumult and deposed the supreme junta. The members of the junta had then fled to Cadiz, in the hope that there people would still recognise their authority and submit the fate of the country to their guidance; but the citizens of Cadiz rose in an insurrection more fierce than that of the citizens of Seville, and, finding that their very lives were threatened, the members of the junta formally resigned. But before this public act they named a temporary regency, to which they transferred their authority, stipulating that it should be retained only till the Cortes, or representation of the whole nation, could be assembled.

As usual with them, the fugitive Spanish generals and the wandering junta seem to have taken no thought of what they were leaving behind them, provided only it was not coined money. As the French advanced from town to town, they found and collected large quantities of ordnance and military stores, which had come principally from England, and which any people but the Spaniards would have removed. The citizens of Seville had talked highly about defending their fine old town; but the city was too vast to be converted into a fortress, no preparations had been made, the assistance of British troops had been refused by the late junta, and so Soult entered Seville not only without opposition but in a kind of triumph.

SEVILLE.

For some time the head-quarters and the court of King Joseph were established in Seville.* But Marshal Victor was hurried on to Cadiz to make sure of that most important city. In rapid marching even the French troops were not equal to the Spaniards. The Duque d'Albuquerque, though he had a long way to come, and though he was embarrassed by some absurd orders which the supreme junta at Seville had issued before it ceased to exist, got with 8000 or 10,000 men to the Isla or Isle of Leon and the city of Cadiz before Victor, and when that marshal drew near he found the approaches guarded and the fortifications manned. Albuquerque had marched 260 English miles in an astonishing short space of time. If he had arrived four-and-twenty hours later than he did, Cadiz must have been lost; and if the duque had followed the absurd or treacherous instructions of the Seville junta, instead of coming to the Isla de Leon, he would have gone towards Cordova to have sustained a certain defeat, without the possibility of being of any use. But the danger at Cadiz was not yet over; and Albuquerque himself confessed that, if Victor had ventured to make a spirited attack on his first arrival, he must have succeeded, and that nothing but British assistance could enable the Spaniards to hold out. Before this close approach of danger offers of English aid and advice, which had been tendered by Lord Wellington in the preceding autumn, and which had been repeated since, had been proudly if not insolently rejected at Cadiz as well as at Seville; but now pride and jealousy gave way to fear, and the Cadiz junta not only consented to receive British troops, but implored that they might be sent with all speed: nay, more than this, they even consented to receive a Portuguese regiment for the service at Cadiz, which the Portuguese regency had offered to send at the instigation of Lord Wellington.* By the 5th of February, only two days after Albuquerque's arrival at Cadiz, Major-General the Honourable W. Stewart was instructed by orders from Torres Vedras to embark in the Tagus with two companies of artillery lately arrived from England, with the 79th and 94th regiments, and the 2nd battalion of the 87th, to proceed instantly to Cadiz, and there to land and co-operate in the defence of the place by every means in his power. And within four days more (though every man seemed required for the defence of Portugal) Wellington embarked the 20th Portuguese regiment for the same destination. The arrival of these British and Portuguese troops

* It was from Seville that a proclamation, signed some days before by Joseph Bonaparte, was issued to the Spanish people. It affected to consider that the contest had never been dubious and was now decided. It called upon the Spaniards to submit to their inevitable destiny; and it repeated the menace which Napoleon had used, by reminding them that it was the interest of France to preserve the integrity and independence of Spain; but that, if Spain would still remain an enemy, France must seek to weaken, dismember, and destroy her.

* Our commander-in-chief in Portugal had clearly foreseen all that would happen in Spain; that the Sierra Morena passes would not be defended; that the French would soon be in possession of Seville, and of the arsenals, magazines, and manufactures of arms which had been established there; that no Spanish army could give the enemy any opposition; and that, for the preservation of Cadiz, a prompt and strenuous effort must be made by us.—*Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

now gave the greatest satisfaction to the junta and people of Cadiz. Other British forces, together with a fragment of the Spanish army which had escaped from the field of Ocaña, were brought down from Gibraltar, and other small corps were brought in from various places; so that it was calculated that there were 18,000 Spanish troops for the defence of Cadiz and the Isla de Leon, besides the volunteers of the town and the British and Portuguese troops. The number of British alone soon amounted to 6000 men; and Lieutenant-General Graham, one of the bravest and best of our officers, was sent out from England to take the command of them. The new junta—more docile than junta had ever been before—also consented to give the direction of the Spanish fleet to Admiral Purvis, who brought in his own squadron to co-operate in the defence. The Spanish ships of the line were twenty in number: some of them were not rigged, many of them were almost falling to pieces for want of repair; but a little patching made them available for floating but fixed batteries, and for other useful purposes; and the British admiral moored them all across the harbour. Both Soult and Joseph came down to the coast; and, by the 15th of February, the French army, which occupied the neighbouring country from Rota to Chiclana, was estimated at 25,000 men. The siege or blockade of Cadiz lasted more than thirty months, or from the 5th of February, 1810, to the 12th of August, 1812, when it was finally raised in consequence of the successive advantages gained by Wellington. In strictness of language it could neither be called a siege nor a blockade; for, though they cast peculiar guns and mortars for the purpose, the French were kept at such a distance that they could scarcely throw a shell or shot into the place; and, as for a blockade, they could not so much as cut off all its communications by land, while the communications by sea were kept constantly open by the English fleet, so that all needful supplies of provisions, reinforcements, &c. were carried in from England, from the coast of Barbary, from Gibraltar, and from other places on the Spanish coast. It was rather an observation than a siege or a blockade; but it gave constant occupation to French forces varying from 25,000 to 15,000 men, and it led to no inconsiderable loss, in detail; for the guerillas, who were fast increasing in numbers and in boldness, paid the French lines many visits, and frequently cut off and cut to pieces their detachments and convoys.

The two other *corps d'armée* which Soult had sent to the south-eastern coast encountered but few obstacles. Nearly the whole of Andalusia was overrun. Sebastiani entered Granada without resistance, and carried the old Moorish town of Alaha by storm. Between that place and Malaga he had to encounter bands of armed peasants, headed by priests and monks, but he cut his way through them; and the populous and pleasant town of Malaga threw open its gates. The place pleased the French so much that there they seemed determined to stop; but, as the insurrection spread to the mountains on the borders of Murcia, and as Blake was again collecting an army in that quarter, Sebastiani, in the month of April, entered that province, and, after a number of petty actions, obliged the Spaniards to retreat down to the eastern coast and take shelter within the walls of Alicant. But in all the mountains which traverse or hem in the great country of Andalusia the entire population was in arms, causing constant trouble and frequent loss. To subdue this insurrection, and to keep open the communication between the corps of Victor at Cadiz and that of Sebastiani at Malaga, a body of 6000 French had been left at Ronda, a romantic old hill town, situated among cork woods, and in the midst of the lofty mountains called the Sierra de Ronda. To surprise these French a detachment of Spanish troops, commanded by General Lacey, moved rapidly from Algeciras, in the Bay of Gibraltar, into the interior of the country, and, by taking bye roads across mountains and forests, they came so suddenly upon the French at Ronda that they gained a victory without the trouble of fighting for it. The French fled panic-stricken and in the greatest disorder, leaving nearly all their arms and ammunition, which were distributed among the mountaineers. The arrival of fresh forces from Seville, from Cadiz, and from Malaga (from which three places Ronda is about equidistant), compelled these hardy insurgents to withdraw to their fastnesses; but this was only for a season.

In Catalonia, O'Donnell, the best of the Spanish generals, kept up a more regular system of warfare against the French, being assisted by the nature of the ground, which was interspersed with numerous strong positions, and dotted by a good many fortresses, and also by the English squadron along the coast, and by the organisation and daring spirit of the Catalonian militia, known by the name of Somatenes and Miguelets. In several of their enterprises, O'Donnell completely foiled Marshals Suchet, Augereau, and Macdonald; and, though often forced to retreat from the more open part of the country, his Catalans kept their ground in the mountains, and continued to inflict terrible losses on the invaders.

But all eyes were now fixed upon Portugal, and upon the British army there, for it was known that the great effort of the campaign on the part of the French would be made in that direction. The peace with Austria had enabled Bonaparte to send large reinforcements from Germany into Spain. During the winter Junot and Drouet had crossed the Pyrenees with two fresh corps; they were followed by a part of the imperial guards, and it was rumoured that the emperor himself was coming. By the beginning of the month of April, Ney, Kellermann, and Loison, with about 60,000 men, were in Old Castile and Leon, threatening the Portuguese frontier in that direction; and, as a prelude, they had besieged and taken Astorga, and had made their preparations for the siege of Ciudad

Rodrigo. At the same time General Regnier was on the borders of Spanish Estremadura with about 12,000 men, menacing the frontier of Portugal on that side. Bonaparte, in the honeymoon of his marriage with the imperial Austrian, did not come, but he sent Marshal Massena, Prince of Essling, to take the command of the army in Old Castile and Leon, which now assumed the name of "the Army of Portugal." Massena had obtained the name of the darling child of Victory; Massena, from his earliest essays as a commander in the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, had been accustomed to mountain warfare; Massena, though with an evident injustice to Soult, was considered the greatest general and strategist next to Bonaparte himself; so, assuredly, with superior forces, Massena could not fail in executing his emperor's commission, which was simply this—to drive the English leopards and the sepoy general into the sea. Massena himself had no doubt as to his success, for on quitting Paris he had said that he only required three months to replace the eagles of the emperor on the walls of Lisbon. He arrived at Valladolid about the middle of May, and assumed the command not only over the corps of Ney, Kellermann, and Loison, but also over those of Junot and Drouet. Without counting large detachments and garrisons left in the provinces of Valladolid, Santander, and Leon, Massena had thus 90,000 men under arms for the field; but the corps of Drouet, about 18,000 strong, did not take part in the campaign in Portugal until it was somewhat advanced; and Regnier was left in Estremadura for some time longer with his 10,000 or 12,000 men. It was therefore with a force of from 60,000 to 62,000 men that Massena first put himself in motion to meet Lord Wellington. His lordship, who had been but stintingly reinforced during the winter, and who had been obliged to send troops to Cadiz, had about 24,000 British troops, and from 28,000 to 30,000 Portuguese regulars. There was, moreover, a considerable Portuguese militia, employed mostly in the garrisons and in the provinces beyond the Douro, in Alemtejo and Algarve—in short, on the wings of his lordship's regular army. But, while Massena could concentrate his whole force for the attack on Portugal north of the Tagus, Wellington was obliged to leave part of his force in the provinces south of that river to guard against any sudden movement of Soult's army of Andalusia, which, being more than 60,000 strong, might very possibly be induced to send a strong detachment into Alemtejo, where General Hill with 12,000 men was already observed by Regnier, with a force nearly if not quite equal to his own. Scarcely one-half of Hill's troops were British. Massena's army was mostly composed of old soldiers flushed with recent success and in a high state of training. Lord Wellington could only confidently rely upon the British part of his forces, for the Portuguese regulars were as yet untried, and the militia was not at all to be trusted in the open field. Great pains had, however, been taken by Marshal Beresford with the Portuguese regulars; many of the officers of those troops were English, and Lord Wellington had brigaded several of the regiments with British regiments, judging rightly that, being mixed with English corps, they would feel a greater confidence in their first trial, and a nobler emulation afterwards.* These Portuguese regulars gloriously justified the confidence placed in them. Early in June, Massena commenced operations in earnest by investing Ciudad Rodrigo, which was defended by a Spanish garrison, but which was almost within sight of the British advanced division posted on the Azava. The Spaniards defended themselves bravely till the 10th of July, when, a practicable breach being made, the French entered the place by capitulation. Bonaparte's Moniteur taunted Wellington for having permitted the siege to proceed, in sight of his outposts, without making an attempt to relieve the place; and the reproach was repeated, not only by many Spaniards, but also by some of Wellington's own officers. But his lordship knew his business better than to play into the hands of the French by any rash or false movement. He could not risk his small army for the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo; his object and his paramount duty was to defend Portugal, and above all Lisbon. This he had pledged himself to do, and he knew he could do it. He had not promised the Spanish governor that he would attempt to relieve him by risking the safety of Portugal. He had offered, indeed, to unite the whole British army for the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, by making General Hill's corps cross the Tagus, if the Marques de la Romana, who had collected some forces in Estremadura, would undertake to maintain himself there against Regnier; but the marques, in several interviews which he had with his lordship during the siege, declared point blank that he could not maintain himself in Estremadura, or in any way cover that frontier of Portugal, if General Hill should cross the Tagus.* He departed not a hair's breadth from his plan: he calmly retained his position on the left bank of the Coa, having his light division advanced a little beyond that river. As the corps of Marshal Ney came thundering on after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, it came in contact with our light division, which was commanded by Ge-

* Dispatch to Lord Liverpool, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.—The French, who were greatly enraged at being detained more than a month before Ciudad Rodrigo, a place hardly to be ranked in the third order of fortresses—a place commanded from many points, and destitute of any bomb-proofs—with their ordinary delicacy accused Lord Wellington, in their Moniteur, of lying and deception, and of having deceived Herraste, the Spanish general, with hopes of relief. His lordship's calm and dignified reply is contained in the above dispatch to Lord Liverpool. Bonaparte's generals, moreover, had adopted the principle that every town that had no hope of relief from without was bound to surrender immediately, and not to impede the march of a great army. "It is a very convenient doctrine for the French," says his lordship, "that a fortified place which is attacked by them, and has no hope of relief from an army in the field, ought to surrender without making any defence; but the contrary doctrine is the only one by which they can be effectually opposed. The inhabitants of every town in a state of siege must suffer considerably, but their remaining in it during the period of siege is a matter of choice, and in the case of Ciudad Rodrigo, in particular, was not a matter of necessity; and it would be quite a new principle in war, and a most advantageous one for the French, that every town threatened with a siege, of which the inhabitants might feel the inconvenience, and for which there could be no hope of relief by an army in the field, ought to surrender without making any defence."

Ciudad Rodrigo.

neral Craufurd, a very brave and an able man, but somewhat hot-headed and self-willed. Instead of falling in quietly and easily, as he had been ordered to do, Craufurd, eager for fame, halted repeatedly, and disputed the ground against a much superior force: he finished by effecting his retreat in a masterly manner by a bridge across the Coa, by repulsing the French in their attempt to follow him, and by costing Ney 1000 men in killed and wounded. But Craufurd himself suffered considerable loss, and Wellington could ill bear any useless reduction of his small British force. This fighting, however, gave Massena a specimen of the resistance he was likely to encounter in his march to Lisbon, and it delayed for a day or two some of the enemy's operations.*

Massena, upon crossing the frontiers of Portugal after the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo, issued a flaming proclamation to the Portuguese, abusing the English as the cause of all mischief and discord, and attributing the presence of Wellington's army in Portugal to "the insatiable ambition of England;" as if "the presence of French armies in Spain and Portugal bore evidence of the total want of ambition on the part of France."* The proclamation ended by recommending the Portuguese people to remain perfectly quiet, and receive the French soldiers as friends, in which case they should find protection for their persons and property. But the conduct of Massena's army had already been vindictive, unprincipled, monstrous. Lord Wellington issued a counter-proclamation, in which he said, "The time which has elapsed during which the enemy have remained upon the frontiers of Portugal has fortunately afforded the Portuguese nation experience of what they are to expect from the French. The people had remained in some villages, trusting to the enemy's promises, and vainly believing that, by treating the enemies of their country in a friendly manner, they should conciliate their forbearance; that their properties would be respected, that their women would be saved from violation, and that their lives would be spared. Vain hopes! The people of these devoted villages have suffered every evil which a cruel enemy could inflict. Their property has been plundered, their houses and furniture have been burnt, their women have been ravished, and the unfortunate inhabitants, whose age or sex did not tempt the brutal violence of the soldiers, have fallen the victims of the imprudent confidence they reposed in promises which were only made to be violated. The Portuguese now see that they have no remedy for the evil with which they are threat-

* The enemy afterwards made three efforts to storm the bridge over the Coa, in all of which they were repulsed by Craufurd and his light division.—*Wellington Dispatches.*

"There can be no doubt that in this skirmish the British troops fully supported their character for gallantry and coolness; but it was to be regretted that the action had taken place at all. It was not our wisdom to waste our strength in partial encounters, particularly when these must be followed by a retrograde movement.....Yet was Craufurd an officer of singular ability and bravery, and certainly one of the best of the army, as all his proceedings showed. But I doubt if he was strictly within his orders; and certainly considerable dissatisfaction was felt at head-quarters when the report of the affair came in."—*Marquess of Londonderry, Memoir of the Peninsular War.*

* A. Vieusseux, Military Life of the Duke of Wellington.

ened but determined resistance. Resistance, and the determination to render the enemy's advance into their country as difficult as possible, by removing out of his way everything that is valuable, or that can contribute to his existence, or frustrate his progress, are the only and certain remedies for the evils with which they are threatened. The army under my command will protect as large a proportion of the country as will be in their power; but it is obvious that the people can save themselves only by resistance to the enemy, and their properties only by removing them. The duty, however, which I owe to his royal highness the Prince Regent, and to the Portuguese nation, will oblige me to use the power and authority in my hands *to force* the weak and the indolent to make an exertion to save themselves from the danger which awaits them, and to save their country; and I hereby declare that all the magistrates or persons in authority who remain in the towns or villages after receiving orders from any of the military officers to retire from them, and all persons of whatever description who hold any communication with the enemy, and aid and assist them in any manner, will be considered traitors to the state, and shall be tried and punished accordingly." *

Marshal Massena found he could not move quite so rapidly as he had calculated on doing. He had given himself only three months to achieve the conquest of Portugal and drive Lord Wellington into the sea; but he passed nearly one whole month in inactivity on the line of the Coa. In the interval General Regnier quitted Spanish Estremadura, crossed the Tagus with his whole corps, and established himself at Coria and Plasencia; and General Hill, making a corresponding movement, had also crossed the Tagus to take post at Atalaya, from whence he could either be joined to Lord Wellington's army or could be thrown again in front of General Regnier.* At last, on the 15th of August, the French broke ground before Almeida. This ancient but strongly fortified city, situated in the province of Beira, between the rivers Coa and Turones, at the distance of less than 30 miles from Ciudad Rodrigo, was defended by a good Portuguese garrison, commanded by an English officer, Colonel Cox, who was prepared for a determined resistance. Lord Wellington brought his army nearer, so as to be able to strike a blow if the enemy should afford an opportunity, and at all events to oblige Massena to keep his corps in a more collected state during the siege, which would render his operations the more difficult on account of the want of subsistence. The French opened their fire on the 26th of August, and on the night of the 27th, in consequence of the accidental explosion of a magazine which contained nearly all the ammunition, and by which a large part of the town and defences were destroyed, the governor was obliged to capitulate. Some treachery was suspected; but it appears more probable that the awful explosion arose from one of those accidents which no one can foresee, and to which all military actions are more or less liable. There was, however, a good deal of treachery afterwards; the Portuguese major commanding the artillery, who was the person employed by Cox to settle the capitulation, went out and informed the French of the exact state in which the explosion had left Al-

* Proclamation to the people of Portugal, dated 4th August, 1810, in Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches: new edition, 1838.

* Dispatches. "General Hill had for some time been altering his quarters, in conformity to the changeable habits of the enemy. Wherever General Regnier appeared, the British general was in his front. This became a measure, with reference to the invasion of the country, of positive importance; although it was ultimately proved that no idea of entering the Portuguese territory on more than one line was ever contemplated by the French generals."—*Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative of the Peninsular War.*

ALMEIDA

meida, and never returned! Massena made the traitor a colonel! Moreover, the whole of the 24th Portuguese regiment, with the exception of its major and of its English officers, went at once into the French service!* Lord Wellington was greatly disappointed, for he reckoned on the place detaining Massena till the rainy season set in. He seemed, however, provided for everything; and, strange to say, his famed opponent let nearly three weeks elapse after the reduction of Almeida before he seriously moved forward. This strange delay nearly brought on the rainy season, which the English general wanted, as the swelling rivers and streams, and the increasing badness of the roads, must greatly retard the march of the French columns.†

Lord Wellington fell back with the main body of his army to the valley of the Mondego, and fixed his head-quarters at Gouvea. No French corps advanced to supply the place of Regnier in Estremadura, so that the English, having all their enemies concentrating in their front, or along the frontier between the Douro and the Tagus, had nothing to fear from any other quarter. On the 15th of September the great French army began its march down the valley of the Mondego, by the right bank of the river, in the direction of Coimbra, through Viseu. Here the vaunted Massena seems to have committed another mistake. "There are certainly," said Wellington, "many bad roads in Portugal, but the enemy has taken decidedly the worst in the whole kingdom." His lordship, who had retired by the left bank of the Mondego, and by a better road, now crossed the river, and took up a strong position in front of Coimbra. He had already called up from Atalaya and the south the corps of Hill and Leith, and those generals were marching rapidly to the Mondego and to the position appointed for them on "grim Busaco's iron ridge." Some troops were left on the left bank of the river to secure the high road to Lisbon on that side; but, with this exception, Lord Wellington's whole army, as well Portuguese as English, were collected, by the 24th, upon the Serra de Busaco, a lofty mountain-ridge extending from the Mondego to the northward. Altogether the ridge extended nearly eight miles, forming the segment of a circle, whose extreme points embraced the enemy's position. The faces of the mountain towards the French were very steep, and, in some places, quite precipitous. The Serra was traversed by three roads leading to Coimbra; but good care was taken to defend these and several gorges and defiles, which, though not regular roads, at times afforded passage to shepherds and their flocks, and smugglers with their mules. To convey some idea of the great extent of the position at Busaco, it has been stated that after 50,000 men had been placed upon it, a space of nearly two miles intervened from the left of General Leith's corps to the right of the third division, which stood next in line. At the loftiest summit of the ragged mountain, about two miles from its northern extremity, there was a lonely convent of Carmelites, and there Lord Wellington fixed his head-quarters. The 26th of September was a beautiful day, with bright sunshine. From the heights of Busaco, which command a very extensive prospect over the low country to the eastward, all the movements of Massena's army of Portugal were distinctly visible, at first by the aid of glasses, and then to the naked eye: it was impossible to conceal them from the observation of our troops stationed all along the Serra; nor did the enemy seem to aim at any concealment. One of the animated spectators on the height says—"Rising grounds were covered with troops, cannon, or equipages: the widely extended country seemed to contain a host moving forward, or gradually condensing into numerous masses, checked in their progress by the grand natural barrier on which we were placed, at the base of which it became necessary to pause. In imposing appearances as to numerical strength, I have never seen anything comparable to that of the enemy's army from Busaco: it was not alone an army encamped before us, but a multitude—cavalry, infantry, artillery, cars of the country, horses, tribes of mules with their attendants, suttlers, followers of every description, formed the moving scene upon which Lord Wellington and his army looked down."* The evening of the 26th closed upon the allies finally arranged in position on Busaco; and, after dark, the whole country at the foot of the mountains, and far away in their front, was illuminated by the fires of the French army. As early as two o'clock in the morning of the 27th, our silent and motionless army could distinctly hear the stir of preparation in the French camp. In the grey of the morning those immense columns were seen in motion, with our piquets and some of our light troops retiring before them. It is said that Marshal Ney, on arriving at the base of the Serra de Busaco, had been strongly impressed with an opinion of the unattackable nature of the ground which Wellington had chosen, but that Massena, scorning Ney's advice, determined, after reconnoitring, to try the strength of Busaco. Massena had hoped to cross the Serra and penetrate to Coimbra before Wellington could collect an army strong enough to oppose his march; and even

* "It is said," says Wellington, "that their object is to have an opportunity of deserting from it, which is well enough for the private soldiers, but is highly disgraceful to the character of the officers."—*Dispatches.*

† It should appear that, while Wellington was prepared for everything, Massena was prepared for nothing. The French had undertaken the last siege necessary to be undertaken before advancing upon Lisbon, and treachery or a most fortunate accident had thrown Almeida into the power of Massena a month before he had any right to expect that advantage. "But," says a military writer, "what is the utility of fortunate accident, in a military point of view, unless immediate advantage can be taken? It has always appeared to me the most brilliant feature in this campaign of Lord Wellington, and one presenting a remarkable contrast in the maturity of arrangement of two distinguished men:—a very formidable army threatened the country which the British general was destined to defend: it reduced one fortress and laid siege to another, where, contrary to all human calculation, accident occasioned the fall. The consequence was, that, Lord Wellington being prepared for all contingencies, the premature reduction of Almeida did not essentially annoy him, while his antagonist was unprepared promptly to follow up the advantage naturally arising from the circumstance."—*Colonel Leith Hay.*

* Colonel Leith Hay.

COIMBRA.

now, though he saw clearly enough that the English general was determined to risk the experiment of a battle, he deceived himself as to the amount of his forces; for some corps of the allies were concealed by the nature of the ground, and a Portuguese reserve and some English regiments had been halted out of sight on the reverse of the Serra or on the face of the hill which slopes down towards Coimbra. Besides, Massena saw that a part of Wellington's front line was composed of Portuguese troops, that entire Portuguese regiments were mixed with the British; and he, and all the French under him, despised the Portuguese troops as much as they did the Spanish, not knowing the almost magical effects which had been produced in the course of a very few months by General Beresford's drilling and training, and little calculating on the noble emulation which the allies and fellow-combatants of the unflinching British infantry were about to display.* At about six o'clock in the morning of the 27th, as the mist and the grey clouds were rolling away, the French made two desperate simultaneous attacks in great force, the one on the right and the other on the left of Wellington's position, on the highest part of the Serra. The column which attacked our right was preceded by a cloud of tirailleurs, which out-numbered the light infantry of General Picton, and forced them to retire: some of the tirailleurs gained possession of the highest rocks, and appeared to their comrades below to have got upon the flank of Wellington's right: the attacking column followed rapidly and resolutely; a good part of it reached the top of the ridge, and was in the act of deploying when it was attacked in the most gallant manner by a part of Picton's division, consisting of the 88th regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, the 45th under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. R. Meade, and the 8th Portuguese regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas, the whole being directed by Major-General Picton. These three regiments advanced with the bayonet, and drove the enemy's division from the advantageous ground which they had gained. The Portuguese, charging in line with the British, emulated their prowess, and met with the best encouragement that could possibly attend such a first essay; for the whole work was done in a very few minutes, and the enemy were bayoneted on the ridge, or broken and hurled down the steep, to a dense mass which Massena had collected there to support and follow up their attack, but which now moved not forward, but backward. Another French division, attacking still farther to the right, without being

* It should appear, however, that the Emperor of the French had not been taught sufficient caution by Wellington's victory over fearful odds at Talavera, and that Massena was urged on to fight by his impatient master. In an intercepted letter to Massena, Bonaparte was found reminding that marshal of his great superiority of force, of his 12,000 cavalry, and of his immense train of artillery. "It would be ridiculous," he said, "to suppose that 25,000 English can balance 60,000 French, if the latter do not trifle, but fall on boldly, and after having well observed where the blow may be struck." Bonaparte counted the Portuguese troops for nothing, or put them on the same level as the Spaniards; but Massena, and other marshals too, to their great cost, very soon discovered the mistake. *For the intercepted letter see Colonel Napier's History of the Peninsular War.* "The discipline of the Portuguese army," observes a British officer, "was daily improving. The uncommon exertions of Marshal Beresford, and the British officers under him, were rewarded by the praises of all who witnessed the miraculous change in the appearance, movement, and general conduct of the soldiers committed to their charge. The old, incorrigible, indolent, and useless Portuguese officers were placed on the retired list, and their commissions were given to young men, full of zeal, willing to learn, and able to discharge the active duties required of them."—*Recollections of the Peninsula.*

aware that Lord Wellington's lines extended so far, or that General Leith's corps was there, was brought to a halt by the unexpected appearance of the head of a British column before it could reach the plateau or the summit of the hill, and was attacked in a trice by Colonel Barnes's brigade of General Leith's corps, composed of the royals, the 9th, and the 38th regiments. The 9th, commanded by Colonel Cameron, being the leading battalion of our column, when about a hundred yards distant from the French, wheeled suddenly into line, and fired a volley, the effect of which was terrific and decisive. The ground was covered with dead and dying, not new levies or mercenaries, or half-hearted contingents from foreign dependent states, but men who belonged to the *élite* of the French army. This destructive fire being followed up by an immediate charge, this division gave way and broke, and rushed or rolled down the hill side as their comrades had done. On the same space of ground seldom has been seen such a destruction as overtook this French division. Both these divisions which made the attack upon our right belonged to the corps of General Regnier, who had witnessed on the plains of Maida what British bayonets could do, and who seemed destined to be particularly unfortunate whenever he met our troops. The attack on Wellington's left was made with General Loison's division of Marshal Ney's corps and with one brigade of the division of Marchand; this attacking column being supported, as the other had been, by a mass of troops formed at the base of the Serra, and prepared to move forward at a moment's notice. It was not a whit more fortunate than General Regnier's force, and it scarcely fought so well. It was confronted exclusively by the British light division under General Craufurd and General Pack's brigade of Portuguese. One division of infantry alone made any progress to the top of the hill, and, being immediately charged with bayonets by General Craufurd with the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th British, and the 3rd Portuguese Caçadores, it was broken and driven down with immense loss. General Coleman's brigade of Portuguese, which had been kept in reserve, was moved up to the right of Craufurd's division, and made a brilliant and successful charge upon some French, who had not reached so elevated a spot, but who were trying to gain the ridge. These men too were driven down with terrible destruction. Some of the Portuguese, charging into a thick mass, got so wedged in among the French that they had not room to use their bayonets; so, imitating the example which had been set by English soldiers, they turned up the butt ends of their muskets and plied them with such vigour as soon to clear the way. The little artillery that was used in the action was nearly all Portuguese, and it was exceedingly well served. For some time the troops at the base of the Serra kept within a short distance, as if intending to renew the attack; but Massena had had enough of that iron ridge, and the rest of the day passed in loose skirmishes between the light troops of the two armies, the British and Portuguese descending the hills to meet their foes. In the words of Lord Wellington himself, who in these matters measured every word he said or wrote, the loss sustained by the enemy in his attacks on the heights was *enormous*: 2000 were left killed upon the field of battle (killed chiefly by the bayonet), and from 3000 to 4000 were wounded. Three generals of division were among the wounded; one general was killed; one general was taken prisoner, together with a few hundred men and officers. The loss of the allied army did not exceed 1300, of which number 578 were Portuguese—a very convincing proof that the men whom Lord Beresford had trained had gone well into action. "This movement," says Wellington, "has brought the Portuguese levies into action with the enemy for the first time in an advantageous situation, and they have proved that the trouble which has been taken with them has not been thrown away, and that they are worthy of contending in the same ranks with British troops in this interesting cause, which they afford the best hopes of saving."*

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.—Southey, in Edinburgh Annual Register, and Hist. of the Peninsular War.—Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative.—Major Moyle Sherer, Military Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington.—H. B. Robinson, Memoirs of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Picton.—This last named work, though it contains some nonsense, and some ridiculous half-concealed attempts to elevate Picton by the depression of the Duke of Wellington, gives some interesting anecdotes, and some very characteristic letters written on the spur of the moment by that very brave, but somewhat too hot-headed, Welshman, Picton. A few days after the battle, in writing to his friend Colonel Pleydel, General Picton says—"Our army is healthy, well equipped in every respect, and *regularly supplied with provisions*." This denotes an improvement in our commissariat. And in the dispatch of the commander-in-chief, from which we have last quoted in our text, there is an admission of the same kind. Through this improvement, and the skilful way in which their strength had been husbanded for trying and critical moments, the troops had been enabled to do their very best in the battle of Busaco. "Throughout the contest on the Serra," says his lordship, "and in all the previous marches, and those we have since made, the whole army have conducted themselves in the most regular manner. Accordingly all the operations have been carried on with ease; the soldiers have suffered no privations, have undergone no unnecessary fatigue, there has been no loss of stores, and the army is in the highest spirits." Lord Wellington acknowledges his particular obligations to the adjutant and quarter-master-generals; but the excellent result must have been in good part owing to those fundamental improvements in the commissariat department, the necessity of which he had been so long urging on government.

Before the campaign of this year began, some excellent regulations with regard to this service were issued from the War-office. They fixed the gradations of rank as follows,—

1. Commissary-General.
2. Deputy-Commissary-General.
3. Assistant-Commissary-General.
4. Deputy-Assistant-Commissary-General.
5. Clerk.

They ordered that no clerk should be eligible to promotion until he had served at least one year; that no deputy-assistant-commissary-general should be eligible unless he had had at least four years' service as deputy, or five years dating from his first entering as a clerk; that no assistant-commissary-general should be promoted unless he had had five years' service in that grade, or ten years' service counting from the time he became a clerk; and that no deputy commissary-general should be promoted to the highest grade of all until he had served three years as deputy. Thus a commissary-general would have, *in mintmo*, an experience of at least ..13 years.

A deputy-commissary-general.....10
An assistant-commissary-general ..... 5
A deputy-assistant-commissary-general ..... 1

*Government Gazette*, 19*th March*, 1810.

In this way, service, experience, and good conduct were made the essentials, and an end was put to rapid, indiscriminate, and, in many cases, shameful promotions. An evil practice had long obtained of crowding the commissariat department with a set of boys; but an end was put to this also by the present regulations. Altogether this was a great step in the right direction. Some abuses lingered, and perfection was not to be obtained without time and practice; but we believe it is admitted that from the spring of 1810 the British commissariat began to improve rapidly. The commander-in-chief repeatedly expresses his warm approbation of the activity, zeal, ability, and general merit of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Kennedy, who was at this time commissary-general to his army.

Another object which Lord Wellington had in view, in fighting the battle of Busaco, was to give time to the people of the country in his rear to comply with the proclamation he had issued, and to remove out of the way of the enemy with their goods and provisions. It was especially important to gain this time for the inhabitants of Coimbra, a populous and wealthy town, which Massena would have entered on the 26th but for the force united on the Serra de Busaco. Unfortunately the proclamation, and the specific orders given, were in many instances ill obeyed. This rendered necessary a recourse to compulsive measures, the British general being determined that his proclamation should not be a dead letter, and feeling that the present sufferings, however great, of a portion of the community were not to be put in comparison with the future welfare and triumph of the whole Portuguese nation. If an absolute want of forage and provisions should fall upon the French, together with a want of lodging and accommodation, at the very time that the rainy season was beginning, their progress must be impeded, their losses augmented, and their stay in the country much shortened. With the intention of providing, by means of English stores, provisions, and money, for the emigrating population behind the lines he had chosen near Lisbon, Wellington would have left all the country as bare to Massena as were the summits of the Serras or jagged mountains. He knew that, on starting from Almeida, the French marshal had given his people bread and biscuit for fifteen days, ordering every man to carry his own stock; but he also knew that the impatient French soldiers, wearied by this great additional weight, had thrown the greater portion away, preferring to trust to chance and plunder, to the cattle they were driving with them, and to the vegetables they might pick up. And, since Massena had begun his march, his soldiers had received meat only, and that was growing very scarce.

On the 28th, the day after the battle, Massena moved a large body of infantry and cavalry from the left of his centre to the rear, and Wellington saw his cavalry marching over the mountains by another road towards Oporto. This road, by the pass of Boyalva to the north of Busaco, completely turned the position of the allies on that iron ridge: the pass had been open before, and Massena might have taken it, but that presumptuous man had preferred risking that engagement which had ended in such terrible loss. The British general now directed Colonel Trant to occupy that pass with his Portuguese division; but a Portuguese general commanding in the north had previously ordered the division to march elsewhere; and, unluckily, when Trant took it upon himself to obey his lordship's orders rather than those of the general, he lost his way in seeking a short road, and arrived too late to arrest the march of the French, who descended into the plains that lie open to the sea-coast, and seized on the road leading from Oporto to Coimbra in the rear of the British. But Massena had only made the march which Wellington expected he would make. The British general had no intention of remaining where he was: his place of strength, his chosen, inexpugnable position, in which Portugal was to be saved, was not in the Serra de Busaco or on the Mondego, but much nearer Lisbon, and thither a good road remained open to him. By the 29th the whole allied army was already in the low country, between the Serra de Busaco and the sea; and on the 30th it was collected on the left bank of the Mondego, and began its retreat towards the Tagus and the capital. On the 1st of October the British rearguard, after some skirmishing with an advanced guard of the French, evacuated Coimbra, accompanied by all the remaining inhabitants, who ought to have removed three or four days (at least) before, and who now ran away with whatever movables they could carry, with the sick, the aged, and the children thrown on carts, mules, and asses, not knowing whither they were going, and incumbering the road to the British rear; while the French were pressing close upon them, and even hovering on the flank. "It was a piteous sight, and one which those who saw it can never forget," adds an officer who had fought at Busaco, and who was now in the rear of our retreating army.* It was like the uprooting and sweeping away of the population of whole provinces, with their flocks and their herds, their household goods and gods, and everything that was theirs: it was a scene such as Europe might have presented at the first irruption of the Huns: it was a scene to make good men curse the restless ambition which had led to it and made it necessary. "I feel," says another eye-witness, "that no powers of description can convey to the mind of any reader the afflicting scenes, the cheerless desolation, we daily witnessed on our march from the Mondego to the lines. Wherever we moved, the mandate which enjoined the wretched inhabitants to forsake their homes, and to remove or destroy their little property, had gone before us. The villages were deserted; the churches, retreats so often (yet so vainly) confided in, were empty; the mountain cottages stood open and untenanted; the mills in the valley, but yesterday so busy, were motionless and silent! . . . . The flanks of our line of march from this place (Thomar) were literally covered with the flying population of the country. In Portugal there are, at no time, many facilities for travelling, and these few the exigencies of the army had very greatly diminished. Rich, indeed, were those in good fortune, as in possession, who still retained a cabriolet, and mules for its service. Those who had bullock-cars, asses, or any mode of transporting their families and property, looked contented and grateful; for respectable men and delicate women, of the second class, might on every side be seen walking slowly and painfully on foot, encumbered by heavy burdens of clothes, bedding,

* A. Vieusseux.

and food."*—"The column of march of the allies," says another officer, "presented an extraordinary scene, the varieties of which it is impossible minutely to describe; but, when it is explained that the route was absolutely and continuously covered during its whole extent, some idea may be formed as to its unusual aspect. It was not alone troops of all arms, attended by the incumbrances and followers of an army; it was not peasantry, removing with their families; it was not the higher orders of society, travelling conformably to their rank; it was not the furniture, grain, cattle of an extensive line of country, passing from one station to another,—but it was all these combined, pressing forward in one varied, confused, apparently interminable mass."† It is to be remarked, however, that, great as might have been the sufferings of this forced emigration, the people must have suffered infinitely more if they had remained in their homes during the French advance and the infernal retreat which followed it. And better had it been for the general cause in the Peninsula if Lord Wellington's proclamation had been in all instances more strictly obeyed. His lordship had given a good deal of time for preparation, having issued his proclamation as far back as the 4th of August, or nearly two months before he commenced his retreat from Coimbra: in advancing from that city, in crossing the Mondego and taking up his position on the barrier of Busaco, his only intentions were to gain time, to try the Portuguese levies, and to show the enemy what stuff the allied army was made of: he never thought of remaining more than a few days at that advanced position, which could not defend Lisbon; and the Portuguese *inhabitants* in his rear were repeatedly warned to remove with their substance. When the French entered the forsaken city of Coimbra, they discovered ample stores of provisions; but, fortunately for the allies, and fatally to themselves, the soldiery pillaged and wasted these stores instead of husbanding them for the future necessities of the army.‡

When the intelligence of these movements reached England, that party which had always represented the glorious struggle as hopeless said that Wellington had gained another victory only to commence another retreat; that it was one of the wildest flights of human presumption to think of defending a country like Portugal, against the vast and victorious armies of Bonaparte, with 25,000 British troops and 30,000 native soldiers; that the predictions of Napoleon, verified everywhere else, must be realised in this particular case,—that the British, or such of them as should escape the ignominy of a capitulation, must be driven back to their ships, *leaving nothing* to England, *after all* the sacrifices of money and of life she had made, but humiliation and disgrace, and an increase of debility which must render her so much the less able to contend with the enemy for her own existence as a nation. But no such raven croaked over the tent of the great commander. The plan of defence which he had formed and matured was still unbroken and entire, and so were his own hopes. He was never so confident as he was a day or two after he began his retreat from Coimbra. Writing to the admiral in the Tagus, he says, "I have very little doubt of being able to hold this country against the force which has now attacked it. There will be a breeze near Lisbon, but I know that we shall have the best of it." And writing to his brother Henry, now ambassador in Spain, he says, "We shall make our retreat to the positions in front of Lisbon without much difficulty, or any loss. *My opinion is, that the French are in a scrape.* They are not a sufficient army for their purpose, particularly since their late loss and that the Portuguese army have behaved *so well*; and they will find their retreat from this country a most difficult and dangerous operation."* In fact, both the British and Portuguese effected their retreat with the greatest ease and regularity; General Hill, with his division on the right, moved by Thomar and Santarem; the centre of the army moving by Leiria and Rio Mayor, and the left by Alcobaça and Obidos. Massena followed in one immense column by the centre or Rio Mayor road, his advanced guard occasionally skirmishing with our gallant light division. On the 7th of October the French van caught sight of the chain of hills, behind which, at the distance of twenty-four miles, lay the city of Lisbon. And now up, Lines of Torres Vedras, and show the lion in the middle path!†

But those lines were already up; and every thing was prepared to keep the French at bay,

"As famish'd wolves survey a guarded fold." ‡

We have mentioned the first conception of this grand defensive scheme, which had more or less occupied the mind of Wellington ever since the campaign of 1808. It had been indispensable to conceal the great project, and to mystify the French as to its existence; and this had been done with astonishing address. Even when most actively engaged in directing the construction of the works, Wellington had the art to make not only the enemy, but also the people of the country, believe that he intended nothing serious there; and it is said that, in order to keep up the illusion, he sometimes spoke of the plan, even to officers of his own army and

* Recollections of the Peninsula.—"The French army found the city of Coimbra, as it had previously done Vizeu, perfectly deserted; the houses closed against them; the inhabitants wandering over the face of the country, or crowding the roads leading to Lisbon. This emigration, produced in great measure by the instructions of Lord Wellington, was of incalculable inconvenience to an invading army, moving without magazines, consequently depending for subsistence on the countries through which it advanced. Instead of beholding a large population, subjected to intimidation and reluctant discovery of the stores in their possession, the bare walls of the houses alone remained; while the depositaries of grain, or provisions of any description, fell but unfrequently and accidentally into its power."—*Leith Hay.*

† Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative.

‡ On moving from Coimbra, Massena left 5000 sick and wounded in that city. Three days after his departure, Colonel Trant, with a part of his rapid Portuguese division, entered the town and captured the whole of the French hospitals, together with some *marines* of the Imperial Guard, who had been left there to protect the sick.

* Colonel Gurwood. Wellington Dispatches.

† "But in the middle path a lion lay!"
*Walter Scott, Vision of Don Roderick.*

‡ Id. id.

about his own person, as a thing which had flitted through his head, but which had been abandoned. And, even when Massena received better information, he remained in the belief that the works thrown up were little more than field-works, which might easily be turned or overpowered by his own batteries, and that so extensive a line was not defensible by such a force as the British general commanded, but must have several weak points, at some one or two of which, a concentrated, sustained attack, costing perhaps a few thousands in killed and wounded, must eventually succeed. For a complete notion of the lines of Torres Vedras the reader must consult military and scientific books, and Wellington's own dispatches. We can only offer an outline sketch.

The peninsula or promontory, at whose south-eastern extremity Lisbon is situated, is crossed, rather obliquely, by two serras, or chains of mountains, which extend, with various altitudes and various degrees of steepness, but with partial interruptions or openings, from the shore of the Atlantic to the right bank of the Tagus. These two serras run nearly parallel with each other, at a distance of from six to eight miles; the point of the line nearest to Lisbon being close to the Tagus, between Via Longa and Quintilla. Through the passes in these serras, and the low ground bordering the Tagus, four roads, from the interior of the country, lead to the capital. The hand of nature had marked out these two lines of defence, and British science and engineering had been employed for a whole year in strengthening them, and in blocking up the openings which seemed the most accessible. Here redoubts were erected; here the whole face of a mountain was scarped and hewn into the appearance of the facet of some Titanic fortress; here the threads of mountain rivulets (which would be something more than rivulets at the end of October and in November) were collected and brought together into one bed; and here rivers, tributaries of the great Tagus, were dammed up, or were provided with dams which could be used, and with floodgates which could be shut, so as to inundate the country at the foot of the hills on the approach of the invader. The line of defence was everywhere double, while in some parts there was a treble range of batteries and redoubts. The first line, which was twenty-nine English miles in length, began at Alhendra on the Tagus, crossed the valley of Aruda (rather a weak point), and passed along the skirts of Monte Agraça, where there was a large and strong redoubt: it then ran across the valley of Zibreira, skirted the deep ravine of Ruda, to the heights of Torres Vedras, and thence followed the course of the little river Zizandre to its mouth on the Atlantic. The second or inner line, at a distance varying from six to eight, and in some points to ten miles, extended from Quintilla on the Tagus, by Bucellas, Monte Chique, and Mafra, to the mouth of the little river S. Lourenço on the sea-coast, a distance of about twenty-four miles. This was by far the stronger line of the two, both by nature and by art, and, if the first line were forced by any enemy, the retreat of the army upon the second was secure at all times.* Both these lines were secured by breast-works, abattis, and stone walls with banquettes and scarps. Not an opening nor interstice, through which a mountain goat could pass, but was blocked up or guarded. Down the hollows in which the roads ran were pointed the black muzzles of numerous guns, projecting from batteries which could maintain a fire in front and a crossing fire from the flanks. And, to provide for every occurrence, to make sure of a safe and easy passage to our ships of war in the Tagus, there was in the rear of the second line a shorter, closer line, to protect the embarcation of our troops. This innermost line of all was strong enough to check even a brave enemy had there been no other lines before it; it rested at one extremity on a tremendous redoubt, and at the other on the broad ditch and lofty walls of the castle of S. Julian. About 100 redoubts or forts, containing altogether more than 600 pieces of artillery, were scattered along these lines.†

In fortifying such lines as these of Torres Vedras, for the support of a large army in the field, the ordinary practice is to construct batteries and other *points d'appui*, which shall present as imposing a front as may be to the attacking force, but shall be open and defenceless in the rear, and thus useless if once turned. But in the present instance the redoubts thrown up were not of this ordinary nature; they were not so much field-works as regular castles, many of which were capable of containing several hundreds of men, while there was one that required a garrison of 3000. Equally strong in the rear, flanks, and front, these castle-like redoubts were built as if each had been intended to stand a siege of six weeks at the most moderate computation; and they were so placed that they were all, to a certain extent at least, independent of those near them, and well sheltered from the fire of their neighbours, if those neighbours should fall into the hands of the enemy. Supposing the front line to be forced, the forts were still there to interrupt the enemy's communications and cut off their supplies; and our retiring columns had only to march a few miles to the rear, in order to assume ground even more defensible than that which they had abandoned.‡ It was erroneously supposed by some that the regular army, in the event of an attack, would occupy these redoubts, and be wholly engaged and shut up in the works. Nothing was

* It is said that the *front line*, on which the allied army was placed, and on which it had a complete triumph, was at first intended rather as a line of isolated posts, or as a sort of outwork to retard the advance of the French and cool their impetuosity, than as the permanent position; but that, through the long delay of Massena in opening the campaign in Portugal, and in advancing from Almeida, time had been given to the English engineers to render this first line so formidable as to induce Lord Wellington to make his stand upon it.

The highest praise was due, and was given to these engineer officers, whose labours were directed at first by Colonel Fletcher, and afterwards by Captain J. T. Jones, both of the Royal Engineers.

† Dispatches.—A. Vieusseux, Military Life of the Duke of Wellington.—Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative.—Major Sherer, Memoirs of the Life of the Duke of Wellington.—Southey, in Edinburgh Annual Register, and Hist. of Peninsular War.

‡ Marquess of Londonderry, Memoir of the War in the Peninsula.

farther from Lord Wellington's mind: his design was to garrison these strong posts with his artillery, and the militia and least disciplined regiments of the Portuguese, whilst he kept the whole of the British army and the *élite* of the Portuguese free and unencumbered, to be employed as circumstances might require. By this arrangement he secured to himself the double advantage of a movable army and a fortified place. While the immovable part of the force, the artillery, the militia, &c., held the castle-like redoubts, the whole allied regular army, numerous, brilliant in equipment, high in spirit, confident in their great commander, would move, free as the wind, in every direction, to cover the summits of mountains, to descend into valleys, or to rush against any luckless French column that, with diminished numbers, might perchance force a passage through the batteries and redoubts, and the almost impenetrable obstacles of this grand position.

Within the foremost of these lines Lord Wellington and the allied army entered on the 8th of October, leaving the French van behind them in the plain. As soon as the army arrived, and each division took up its assigned quarters, the defences, which were strong enough before, were made still stronger, as if the great leader were determined to take a bond of fate. The powerful British fleet in the Tagus and a flotilla of gun-boats were made to flank the whole of the right of the position; a fine body of English marines occupied the line of embarcation, and Portuguese militia and artillery manned the castle of S. Julian and the forts on the Tagus, and, in conjunction with the respectable armed citizens who had formed volunteer corps, garrisoned Lisbon, into which our ships of war and transports threw everything that was needful. Telegraphs were erected along the two lines, to communicate information from one extremity of the lines to the other and to every part of the position; and these signal-stations were properly put in charge of experienced seamen from the fleet. To complete the barriers, pallisades, platforms, and planked bridges leading into the works, 50,000 trees were placed at the disposal of the engineer department. There was no lack of hands to do the necessary work; 3000 artillerymen and officers of the country were on the spot; 7000 Portuguese peasantry were employed as labourers; and the British engineers, artillerymen, and artificers (the latter recently imported or increased in numbers), were aided by our foot soldiers, who found great excitement and amusement in the occupation. From Torres Vedras to Lisbon the whole country was as busy as bees in the honey season;—it was covered, or constantly traversed, like an anthill in an autumnal evening. Every day, every hour, the whole position, and particularly the first line, was gaining strength from all this unremitting labour. The roads leading up to the position were destroyed; and, as Wellington had gained the inestimable advantage of bringing the French down as the rainy season was setting in, they found an inundated country and a swamp to give them damp welcome.* Within the front line there was made a good broad road to afford easy passage to our troops to every part of that line; and other roads, between the first and the second line, and between the second and the line of embarcation, were either repaired or made, to facilitate communication, to admit the passage of artillery, or to shorten the distance by which the troops had to move for the purposes of concentration or resistance. And again, in case of an almost impossible reverse, all the roads and stone bridges between the outer line and the line of embarcation were undermined. A finer field for manœuvring than that which lay behind the ridge of Torres Vedras could scarcely be desired or conceived.†

The French van halted at Sobral for three or four days, waiting for the arrival of the main body and rear, whose march was impeded by the tremendous rains. This interval was employed by the allies in the manner above narrated. When Massena came up on the 11th he appears to have been taken by surprise at the sight of Wellington's lines; and he employed some days in reconnoitring them from one extremity to the other. He made some demonstrations in order to make the British divisions show out their force. On the 14th there was a little fighting between the town of Sobral and the lines, in which the French were defeated by the English bayonet. They also showed themselves in some force near Villa Franca on the right of the line and close to the Tagus; and here the French general St. Croix was killed by the fire of the English gun-boats. After this no demonstration of any consequence was made. Not a single attempt was ever made to assail any of the works, or to penetrate the outer line in any part of its long range. Those scarped rocks, and those eminences bristling with cannon, smote the heart of Massena with despair; and, by this time, Wellington had united behind that foremost line a force numerically equal to his own. Some reinforcements had arrived from England and from Gibraltar, and the Marques de la Romana had been induced to come from Estremadura and join the allies with a Spanish division 5000 strong. Though, perhaps, indifferent in other respects, these Spaniards might be depended upon behind stone walls and parapets. Lord Wellington counted his British troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, at 29,000, and the whole of the regular force of which he could dispose at 58,615. He estimated that Massena had had not less than 70,000 men at the battle of Busaco, but that he

* The weather kept fine until the very day on which Wellington arrived at Torres Vedras. In a dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool, dated 13th October, he says, "On the 8th the rain commenced which usually falls at this season of the year in Portugal, and has continued with great violence ever since. This has probably increased the enemy's difficulties, and delayed his progress."

† "I cannot proceed further without desiring to draw the attention of my brother soldiers in a particular manner, not only to the subject (Torres Vedras) of which I am now speaking, but to the whole plan of this campaign, because I am sure that a British army never took part in one better adapted to instruct it in the art of manœuvring on a great scale, nor, consequently, so well calculated to make efficient officers of those who shared in it, or are disposed to take the trouble of studying it as it deserves."—*Marquess of Londonderry.*

had already lost by war, by disease, and want about 15,000! But 6000 or 7000 of the French army that remained were cavalry, an arm in which the English general continued to be very deficient. Renouncing for the present all hopes of planting the eagles on the towers of Lisbon, Massena put the 2nd and 8th corps partly into the villages and partly in bivouacs in front of the right and centre of the British position, leaving the 6th corps at Otta in his rear. He established his depôt and hospitals in the town of Santarem, and endeavoured to form magazines there. For this last purpose he sent movable columns to scour the country in search of provisions, for he had brought nothing of the sort with him. All this part of the country had been pretty well stripped by the inhabitants, who had either retired to the mountains or within the lines of Torres Vedras; but the French plundered or destroyed what was left, so that for many leagues in Massena's rear the country was reduced to a desert. Nor was this all the woe in that quarter: Colonel Trant, who had carried off the French sick and wounded from Coimbra, was joined by the Portuguese militia under Sir Robert Wilson and Colonel Millar, and all these forces glided in between the army of Massena and the Spanish frontier, cutting off all his communications, and doing other mischief. Trant and Wilson even came down to attack or menace the strong French rear at Otta, obliging Massena to move back a whole division from his front to keep them in check. Towards the end of October, when the privations and the sickness of his army were on the increase, he threw 2000 men across the Zezere to re-open a communication with Spain by way of Castello Branco; and he sent General Foy with a strong escort to find or fight his way as best he could to Ciudad Rodrigo, whence the general was to repair with all speed to Paris, to acquaint the emperor with the real situation of affairs in Portugal. On the 15th of November Massena began a retrograde movement, for the purpose of withdrawing his army from the low wet grounds in front of Torres Vedras and placing it in cantonments for the winter. He established the 2nd or Regnier's corps in and near Santarem in a very strong position; the 8th corps he put into Pernes, the 6th corps farther back into Thomar, and he fixed his head-quarters at Torres Novas. These positions were not to be assailed with impunity; but before the French could reach them they were molested by the British light division and cavalry, who took some prisoners. Lord Wellington, leaving part of the allied army in the lines, moved forward the remainder towards the Rio Mayor, which separated him from the French position at Santarem; and, having placed Hill's division on the bank of the Tagus opposite to Santarem, his lordship fixed his head-quarters at Cartaxo. If his proclamation had been properly obeyed, Massena must have been starved out of the country before the beginning of December. But the Portuguese inhabitants between the Tagus and the Zezere had remained in fancied security, and the French found considerable supplies in Santarem, Pernes, Torres Novas, Golegao, and other towns. Thus provisions were obtained, by the usual processes of force and intimidation, at least for a part of the winter. And, what was worse for the allies, a number of boats had been carelessly or treacherously left at Santarem, to enable the French to cross the Tagus whenever they liked, and to act on

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the flanks of Wellington's army.* The Portuguese regency were far from possessing that authority which an executive government ought to possess; and in activity and ability they seem to have been still more deficient. The business of government requires an apprenticeship as well as all others; these new untried men were very greedy for the popularity which they hoped would prolong their power; and, as Lord Wellington observed, they would not aid in any measure, however beneficial to the real interests of the country, which might be unpopular with the mob of Lisbon.† Instead of strenuously enforcing the proclamation, they had agreed with the unwilling inhabitants in many parts of the country that the measures it prescribed were very distressing, and ruinous and unnecessary; and they had endeavoured to throw all the odium of the proclamation upon his lordship. When Massena's movable columns began to ravage the countries east of the mountains and between the mountains of the Tagus and Zezere, the people felt the folly of the regency and their own lamentable error; but then it was too late. It has been said by one of his companions in arms, that it is not going too far to affirm that a British commander has seldom, if ever, stood in a predicament more harassing and more unsatisfactory than that occupied by Lord Wellington during this campaign of 1810; and that probably not a single individual in the British service could have carried himself through the difficulties arising out of it, except the man who struggled with and overcame them.‡ The Bishop (now patriarch) of Oporto and Principal Souza, who had given so much trouble to Sir Hew Dalrymple during his brief command, and who had now voices potential in the regency (the patriarch being president), had been carrying on an irritating correspondence all through the summer, pretending to know better than the able British general how to manage the war, and constantly interfering with his authority, although, by a decree of the prince regent of Portugal sent over from Brazil, his lordship had been appointed commander-in-chief and marshal-general of the Portuguese army.§ "They give me more trouble in writing letters upon their nonsense," says his lordship, "and make me lose more time than can be conceived. I am responsible, and they are not, for the success of our operations." The fact was that the regency, after the appointment of Principal Souza to be a member of it, conceived that the war could be maintained upon the Portuguese frontier, where Massena might be kept at bay, contrary to the opinion of Wellington and every military officer in the country; and, instead of giving positive orders preparatory to the retreat of the allied army to Torres Vedras, they wasted much valuable time in discussing with his lordship the expediency of adopting another plan of defence—a plan which must have driven their sapient excellencies out of Lisbon, and have left that capital open to Massena. After the sudden fall of their fortress of Almeida, the regency betrayed such a degree of ill-humour as made it seem as if they believed that that fortress alone could have stopped the French, and that Lord Wellington had set fire to the powder-magazine, which blew its works into the air. On the 7th of September, or twenty days before he fought the battle of Busaco, Wellington wrote in firm and indignant language to the British minister at Lisbon, desiring him to put an end at once to these miserable intrigues by informing the members of the regency that he would not stay in the country, and that he would advise the British government to withdraw their assistance, if they interfered in any manner with the operations of his army, or with the appointments Marshal Beresford might choose to make for his own staff. He bade Mr. Stuart remind those gentlemen of the original arrangement and agreement which gave to himself and Beresford the exclusive management of the two armies, and to warn them once more of the dangers which must result from the regency's refusing or delaying to adopt the civil and political arrangements recommended by him, and corresponding with the military operations he was carrying on. His lordship drew a comparison between this ignorant and impatient regency and the central junta of Spain, which had hurried army after army into battle, only to be beaten and sacrificed. He spoke of the Portuguese militia as only fit for the kind of service on which he was employing it; he declared that as yet it was only a part of the regular Portuguese army which could be trusted in the field against French veterans, and that he was the best judge of the qualities and capabilities of the troops under his command. But the fighting patriarch and his sword-bearer, Souza, would neither confess their own ignorance, nor renounce their own plans; and when the retreat from the Mondego commenced they wrote and talked more wordy nonsense. On the 6th of October, when the allied forces were close upon the inexpugnable lines, the creation of which saved Lisbon, Wellington again addressed the British minister, who had the right of sitting in the council of regency. "You will do me the favour," said his lordship, "to inform the regency, and above all, the Principal Souza, that, his British majesty and the prince regent having intrusted me

* His lordship had been repeatedly annoyed by similar acts of remissness or treachery; but at this provocation he spoke out. He threw the principal blame where it was merited—upon the Portuguese regency. To Mr. Charles Stuart (afterwards Lord Stuart de Rothesay), who was residing at Lisbon as our ambassador to that shuffling *pro tempore* government, he poured out his complaints and reproaches, well knowing that Stuart would not mince matters with the gentlemen of the regency. "If," wrote his lordship, "the French can feed in the country, they will stay till they will be reinforced. . . . . The French could not have staid if the provisions had been removed . . . All our military arrangements are useless if they can find subsistence on the ground which they occupy . . . . Then the boats are left at Santarem in order to give the enemy an opportunity of acting upon our flanks. They could not have staid a week if the provisions had been carried off . . . . For aught I know to the contrary, they may be able to maintain their position till the whole French army is brought to their assistance. It is heart-breaking to contemplate the chance of failure from such obstinacy and folly."—*Dispatches.*

† Letter to Charles Stuart, Esq. in Dispatches.

‡ Marquess of Londonderry.

§ Lord Wellington had also been appointed a member of the regency in Portugal, in conjunction with Mr. Charles Stuart, our minister at Lisbon; but this last appointment did not take place till the month of August.

with the command of their armies, and likewise with the conduct of the military operations, I will not suffer them, or anybody else, to interfere with them; that I know best where to station my troops, and where to make a stand against the enemy; and I shall not alter a system formed upon mature consideration upon any suggestion of theirs. I am responsible for what I do, and they are not. I recommend them to look to the measures for which they are responsible, and which I long ago recommended to them, viz., to provide for the tranquillity of Lisbon, and for the food of the army, and of the people, while the troops shall be engaged with the enemy. As for Principal Souza, I beg you to tell him, from me, that I have had no satisfaction in transacting the business of this country since he has been a member of the government; that, being embarked in a course of military operations, of which I hope to see the successful termination, I shall continue to carry them on to their end; but that no power upon earth shall induce me to remain in the Peninsula, for one moment, after I shall have obtained his majesty's leave to resign my charge, if Principal Souza is to remain either a member of the government, or to continue at Lisbon. Either he must quit the country or I shall; and, if I should be obliged to go, I will take care that the world, in Portugal at least, and the prince regent, shall be made acquainted with my reasons.* . . . . . I have but little doubt of success; but, as I have fought a sufficient number of battles to discover that the result of any one is not certain, even under the best arrangements, I am anxious that the government should adopt preparatory arrangements to take out of the enemy's way those persons and their families who would suffer if they were to fall into his hands." Souza was not only a presumptuous, meddling, headstrong blockhead, but a corrupt and rapacious man. On the 30th of November, from his head-quarters at Cartaxo, Wellington addressed a frank, manly letter to the prince regent of Portugal, on the other side of the Atlantic, showing the imperious necessity of turning Principal Souza out of the government. The Council of Regency at Lisbon consented to dismiss or suspend the obnoxious Principal; but he would submit neither to suspension nor dismissal. He appealed to the distant prince regent, and, until his answer should arrive, betook himself to the getting up of a regular anti-English party, which greatly injured the confidence which the government reposed in the British army and its great leader.

At the same time the Portuguese troops and militia left in the lines of Torres Vedras were so badly supplied by their government that the regular soldiers began to desert, and the militiamen to run to their homes, whole regiments at once, in order to escape starvation. Thus starving their own troops, it was hardly to be expected that the regency would provide for Romana and his Spaniards. Wellington, who could not see them perish, was obliged to provide out of his own stores for these 5000 famishing men, as also for another equally hungry and naked Spanish corps of 1200 men, which had now been brought into Portugal by Don Carlos de España. Such were a few of the difficulties which surrounded the British general. He had, however, saved the capital, and reduced the enemy to inactivity. All the north of Portugal was free from the French, as was also the whole of the kingdom south of the Tagus. The fine rich country round Lisbon was untouched. The opulent city of Oporto was as safe as Lisbon; Coimbra, Abrantes, all the large towns were in the possession of the allies, as were also all the fortresses of the country, with the single exception of Almeida. Massena was absolutely master of nothing except of the ground on which the divisions of his army stood: he was hemmed in between the northern bank of the Tagus, the Rio Mayor, and the Estrella mountains, having Wellington in his front, the Portuguese militia in his rear, and his communications with Spain and France intercepted.* "It is impossible," said Lord Wellington, early in November, "to describe the pecuniary and other distresses of the French armies in the Peninsula. All the troops are months in arrears of pay; they are, in general, very badly clothed; they want horses, carriages, and equipments of every description; their troops subsist solely upon plunder, whether acquired individually, or more regularly by the way of requisition and contribution: they receive no money, or scarcely any, from France; and they realise but little from their pecuniary contributions in Spain. Indeed, I have lately discovered that the expense of the pay and the hospitals alone of the French army in the Peninsula amounts to more than the sum stated in the financial *exposé* as the whole expense of the entire French army."† At the end of the campaign the British army was in a finer condition than ever it had been in; its discipline was greatly improved, and so was its

* "All I ask from the Portuguese regency," said Wellington, "is tranquillity in the town of Lisbon, and provisions *for their own troops*." It appears that the regency did not send sufficient provisions; that the English commissariat were obliged to furnish the Portuguese troops and militia; and that, instead of maintaining tranquillity in the town of Lisbon, some of the members of that government excited disturbances. "From the letter of the 3rd instant, which I have received from Dom Miguel Forjaz," adds his lordship, "I had hoped that the government were satisfied with what I had done and intended to do; and that, instead of endeavouring to render all further defence fruitless, by disturbing the minds of the populace at Lisbon, they would have done their duty by adopting measures to secure the tranquillity of the town. *But I suppose that, like other weak individuals, they add duplicity to their weakness; and that their expressions of approbation, and even gratitude, were intended to convey censure.*" His lordship desired Mr. Stuart to communicate the whole of this stinging letter to the Portuguese regency, and then transmit it to the British government.

* These communications must have been very completely intercepted, for Massena wrote only two dispatches to Paris, and they were both seized and carried to Lord Wellington. Later, a Portuguese traitor, a Captain Mascarenhas, who had taken service under the French, and had become aide-de-camp to Junot, was intercepted and seized as he was travelling towards the frontier of Spain, disguised as a Spanish peasant. The dispatches found about his person were carried not to Lord Wellington, but to the regency at Lisbon. They were said to contain an earnest request from Massena that the Emperor Napoleon would be graciously pleased to reinforce his army of Portugal with 40,000 men!

This Mascarenhas was hanged by the regency, but not until nearly a year after his capture.

† Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, in Dispatches.—This last discovery will show the faith to be put in the annual *Compte rendu*, or financial *exposé*, presented by Bonaparte and his ministers.

health, the effective strength in proportion to its total numbers being remarkably high. There was, in fact, no sickness in the army of any importance; above half of those returned as sick were convalescent, and were only waiting in the salubrious atmosphere of Belem to gain strength to bear the fatigues of marching and of their duty in the field.*

The rash and the uninformed, or the unfriendly, in England as well as in Portugal, asked why, under such circumstances, Lord Wellington did not attack Massena and annihilate his army in a grand battle? There were several reasons why his lordship should not make any such rash attempt. The allied army under his command was the only organised body existing anywhere in the Peninsula which could keep the field against the enemy, and, should it be shattered, Spain, as well as Portugal, would remain a *rase campagne* to the French. He had only 30,000 British troops, and in the open field he could depend only upon about 20,000 of the regular Portuguese. Massena, after every loss and deduction, had still 55,000 veteran troops, and the positions which the folly of the regency and of the people had allowed him to take up and maintain on the heights of Santarem, Pernes, Torres Novas, &c., were almost as strong as those which Wellington would have left close behind him at Torres Vedras. He knew the difficulty and the enormous expense of recruiting the English part of his forces; and he had some reason to apprehend that, in the event of any signal disaster, the British government might be forced to withdraw the army altogether from the Peninsula. The ministry was in a very insecure unfixed state, weakened by the retirement of Canning and Castlereagh, by the unfortunate result of the Walcheren expedition, and, in some degree, by the Burdett riots: the king was now in that state which must render the appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent inevitable and lasting, and the Whig party had expectations of returning to office and power. Wellington had not received from home all the support that he and the cause deserved; but from a new Whig ministry he would have still less to expect. Any great reverse would have made him lose the confidence of the Portuguese troops, who, no more than the great body of people, partook in any of the unfriendly feelings entertained towards him by Souza and the Patriarch. If he had not enjoyed more confidence from the soldiery and the people than from the council of regency, the cause must have been lost. Any considerable defeat or loss would discourage the new Portuguese regiments that were in training, and lead to desertion: he could not trust the newer levies, and it was incumbent on him to be very careful of the better part of that native army. Immense advantages, too, must arise from keeping all his army in its present high state of health, and this could hardly be done by keeping it in the field through that terrible rainy season and the coming winter. No attempt could be made to manœuvre upon the enemy's flank or rear; first, because the enemy showed they were indifferent about their flanks or rear, or (since they had found provisions) their communications; and, secondly, because the inevitable consequence of attempting such a manœuvre would be to open some one or other of the roads to Lisbon and to our shipping, of which Massena would be sure to take immediate advantage. "Therefore," said his lordship, "we must carry their strong positions in front and by main force, and consequently with loss; and, in the course of the operations, I must draw my army out of their cantonments; I must expose the troops and horses to the inclemencies of the weather at this season of the year, and must look to all the consequences of that measure in increased sickness of the men and in loss of efficiency and condition in horses. . . . . We should still stand alone in the Peninsula as an army; and, if I should succeed in forcing Massena's positions, it would become a question whether I should be able to maintain my own, in case the enemy should march another army into this country. . . . . But every day's delay, at this season of the year, narrows our line of defence, and consequently strengthens it; and when the winter shall have set in, no number, however formidable, can venture to attack it; and the increase of the enemy's number at that period will only add to their distress, and increase the difficulties of their retreat."* From the middle of November the weather continued to be miserably bad; all the cross-roads were impassable for artillery and very difficult for infantry, and the rivulets were all swollen. This greatly distressed the French, who were obliged to scour the country in search of provisions; but, by spreading and deepening the inundations in front of Torres Vedras, it greatly strengthened that position. Wellington was more determined than ever to make no movement by which he should incur the risk of involving the army in a general action on ground less advantageous than that which he had fixed upon. "The enemy," he said, "can be relieved from the difficulties of their situation only by the occurrence of some misfortune to the allied army; and I should forward their views by placing the fate of the campaign on the result of a general action, on ground chosen by them instead of on that selected by me."†

The Spaniards had got together their cortes at Cadiz; but no immediate benefit had appeared to result from the convocation of that national assembly. To Wellington the cortes appeared to be suffering under the national disease in as great a degree as the other authorities; that is, it appeared that they were boasting of the strength and power of the Spanish nation, till they seriously convinced themselves they were in no danger, and then sitting

* Dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Cartaxo, 21st November, 1810.

* Dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool, November 3rd.

† Dispatch to Earl of Liverpool, 1st of December. All the dispatches written at this period should be attentively perused by those who would arrive at a clear notion of the great commander's prudence, foresight, and genius.

down quietly and indulging their national indolence.* They had brought no army into the field, they were depending for the very safety of Cadiz, the seat of their government, upon the British regiments we had sent thither; and, though ten months had passed since the appearance of Marshal Victor, they had neglected to prepare some of the works necessary for their defence, notwithstanding the remonstrances of General Graham and the British officers serving under him.†

It was on the 24th of September that the cortes commenced their proceedings with religious solemnities. The five individuals who had composed the supreme council of regency, to whom the central junta had remitted their authority in the month of February, resigned. The members of the cortes now assembled declared themselves legally constituted as a general and extraordinary cortes, wherein the national sovereignty resided. They acknowledged, proclaimed, and swore anew that Ferdinand VII. of Bourbon was their only lawful king; and declared null and void the cession of the crown which he was said to have made in favour of Napoleon Bonaparte, not only because of the violence and treachery which accompanied that illegal transaction, but principally because the consent of the nation was wanting. They authorised the five members of the council of regency to continue to exercise the executive power till they, the cortes, should appoint a government which they might deem more convenient. But they required the five members of the regency to acknowledge the national sovereignty of the cortes, and swear obedience to such laws and decrees as the cortes should think fit to promulgate; and they drew up a very stringent oath to be taken immediately by the said members of the regency. It was between ten and eleven at night when this decree was passed, and when the members of the regency were summoned to attend. Four of the regents entered the hall of the cortes about midnight and took the oath. But the fifth—the Bishop of Orense—did not come. The lateness of the hour and the infirm state of his health were assigned as the causes of his absence; but it was soon known that the prelate was withheld by stronger motives. He was not prepared to acknowledge the sovereignty of the people—an alarming doctrine to all churchmen—or to swear implicit obedience to a body which was as yet very incomplete, and to laws which were not yet made; and from this hour the Bishop of Orense ceased to act as one of the regency. On the following day, the 25th of September, the cortes decreed, as a consequence of their former decree of sovereignty, that the style in which the cortes was to be addressed should be that of majesty. Highness was to be the style of the executive power. They ordered, also, that the commanders-in-chief of armies, the captains-general of provinces, the archbishops and bishops, the tribunals, provincial juntas, and all other authorities, civil, military, and ecclesiastic, should take the oath of obedience to the cortes, in the same form as the regency.* By another edict they ordered that their installation should be officially made known through all the Spanish dominions, and everywhere celebrated with *Te Deums* and salvos of artillery; and that prayers should be offered up during three days, imploring the Divine blessing upon their councils. On the 26th they declared the regency to be responsible to the nation; but they had hardly decreed the separation of the executive and the legislative functions before they confounded them in their own practice. Several of the deputies of the cortes—the founders of the Spanish republican sect which has since exercised a great influence over the fate of that still unsettled and wretched country—had studied their politics and their general philosophy in the French school, and were supposed to be sufficiently inclined to follow the footsteps, both in matters of state and church policy, of the rash, incapable, and pedantic Girondists, who had ruined all the healthy hopes ever presented by the French revolution. These men had imbibed early prejudices against England and her constitution; and these prejudices did not wholly give way to the hatred of Bonaparte and of the present system of France. For the time this weak minority of republicans and materialists produced no great moral or political effect; but, contrary to the advice of the learned and wise Jovellanos, who had attentively studied the English constitution, the qualification of property in the deputies or members had been dispensed with, and the cortes, instead of sitting in two Houses like the British parliament, or voting as three separate states of nobility, clergy, and commons, like the ancient cortes of Spain, was all jumbled together in one single chamber, and voted altogether in one body, like the constituent assembly of France; and from this one capital blunder, which the Spaniards took as a precedent, and to which they clung with mad tenacity, in the revolution of 1820, have mainly proceeded that over-extension of democratic principle and power, and that anarchy, to which now there seems to be no end except in the reconstruction of the old absolute government, or in a military despotism. The *liberales* were not bold enough to promulgate the doctrine of religious liberty. The cortes, even as Joseph Bonaparte had done in his Statutes of

* Letter to the Right Hon. Henry Wellesley, our ambassador at Cadiz, dated 2nd December.

† Id. "I am afraid," says Wellington, "that the Spaniards will bring us all to shame yet. It is scandalous that in the third year of their war, and after having been more than a year in a state of tranquillity, and having sustained no loss of importance since the battle of Ocaña, they should now be depending upon us for the safety of Cadiz!" At this juncture he was obliged to order General Graham to retain at Cadiz the British troops that Sir John Stuart was sending down from Sicily to reinforce his own army in Portugal. His lordship even spoke of sending some more troops from Portugal to Cadiz.

* The oath ran thus—

"Do you swear to preserve the Holy Catholic Apostolic Romish religion in these realms, without admitting any other? Do you swear to preserve the Spanish nation in its integrity, and to omit no means for delivering it from its unjust oppressors? Do you swear to preserve to our beloved sovereign Ferdinand VII. all his dominions, and, in his failure, to his legitimate successors; and to make every possible exertion for releasing him from captivity, and placing him upon the throne? Do you swear to discharge faithfully and lawfully the trust which the nation reposes in you, observing the laws of Spain, but changing, modifying, and varying such as require to be altered for the general good?"

Bayonne, declared the Roman Catholic the religion of Spain to the exclusion of all others. They voted the liberty of the press (and frantic was the abuse soon made of it), but from this freedom the great subject of religion was excluded.* They passed a sort of law corresponding to our Habeas Corpus Act; but they showed that they themselves, as a governing power, would not be bound by its conditions. The four regents who had taken the oaths found, in less than a month, that the cortes, who held them responsible, interfered with all their measures, and that they could not in this manner carry on the government. They requested to be allowed to resign. Their resignation was accepted; but they were ordered to give in an account of their administration within two months, with a view to their impeachment and trial; and soon after the passing of this decree, the cortes, in a *secret sitting*, came to the resolution of ordering the members of the regency to retire from Cadiz, and fix their abodes in certain remote towns that were named to them. This was nothing less than the relegation process, the arbitrary measure of the old court.† These displaced members of the regency, in their first season of power, had behaved in much the same harsh and arbitrary manner towards the fallen members of the central junta; and thus every triumphant party in Spain trampled upon its defeated rival, losing sight of law or justice, and of the healing and holy influences of moderation. The cortes appointed a new regency, consisting of General Blake, Don Pedro Agar, a captain in the navy and director-general of the academies of the Royal Marine, and Don Gabriel Ciscar, governor of Carthagena. Blake and Ciscar being absent on their military duties, the Marques del Palacio, and Don Jose Maria Puig were appointed to act in their places till they should arrive. The marques entertained the same scruples as the Bishop of Orense. When asked by the cortes if he swore to obey their decrees, laws, and constitutions, he replied, Yes, but without prejudice to the many oaths of fidelity which he had taken to Ferdinand VII. Being called upon to explain this very natural and honourable restriction, the marques said that he was ready to take the oath in the form prescribed, provided those deputies who were versed in theological points would assure him that he might do it without injury to his conscience; that he was quite ready to acknowledge the sovereignty of the nation assembled in its cortes, and that what he meant was more and more to insure the purport of the oath itself, conformably to those which he had taken to Ferdinand. The cortes in a fury ordered the marques into custody; and he was forthwith thrown into a cold damp room, unfurnished and bare. After this arbitrary arrest, the cortes spent three days in debating what should be done with this conscientious nobleman, and who should be temporary regent instead of him. At last they agreed that he should remain a prisoner upon parole in the Isle of Leon; that he should be deprived of his post of captain-general of Aragon; and that the Marques del Castelbar should supply his place in the council of regency. Self-denying ordinances were passed as extravagant as those that were carried by acclamation in the French assembly, the members of cortes binding themselves, during the exercise of their functions, and for a year afterwards, not to solicit or accept for themselves, or for any other person whomsoever, any pension, favour, reward, honour, or distinction, from the executive power which now existed, or from any other government which might hereafter be appointed; and a rigorous law was passed to punish the deputy who solicited any place or employment for a kinsman within the fourth degree. With rather more wisdom, they decreed that a King of Spain could not marry, or alienate his property, or abdicate his throne, without the consent of the nation in cortes assembled: for at this time, according to official French accounts, Ferdinand was still hoping to be adopted by marriage into the family of Bonaparte. It was also reported that the emperor, seeing the hopelessness of crushing the Spaniards by force, was going to remove his brother Joseph and to restore Ferdinand to the throne, but so hampered and enthralled as to be a mere tool or puppet. In the same view, they decreed that all acts and treaties made by a King of Spain in a state of captivity should be null and void. They passed stupendous acts for the levying of new armies, and for their subsistence and equipment; but they could not carry these magnificent schemes into execution, and they scorned to attend to details and to minor operations which they might have effected. Even after they had been assembled for more than four months, Lord Wellington assured his government that the cortes had done nothing to raise, discipline, pay, or support an army; that the distresses of the Spanish forces were worse even than those of the Portuguese; that the army of the poor Marques de la Romana had not a shilling, excepting what he gave them, nor a magazine, nor any one thing to keep them together or enable them to act as a military body. Nearly all round the Bay of Cadiz, under the eyes of the cortes, French detachments were allowed to carry on operations without any interruption. This was also the case on a part of the Mediterranean coast, and particularly at Malaga, where the enemy had collected a number of privateers and gun-boats. As the Spaniards would do nothing, the Governor of Gibraltar risked a detachment in the direction of Malaga; but, unfortunately, he gave the conduct of it to a very incompetent officer, Lord Blayney.

* The 6th article of the Decree regulating the Liberty of the Press declared that all writings upon matters of religion should remain subject to the previous censure of the ecclesiastic ordinances, according to the decree of the Council of Trent. Mexia proposed that the liberty should be extended to religious works, but he was not supported; even Torrero, who had been one of the most strenuous advocates for political freedom of the press, opposed the extension of the principle. They who published upon religious subjects without the licence of the ordinary were declared subject to an arbitrary mulct, besides the punishment which the opinions of the work itself might call for.

† "The conduct of the cortes, in respect to the late regency, is shocking; and I much fear, from all that I see and hear, that, unless I can defeat the enemy, and hold my ground in this country, the whole game in Spain is at an end."—*Lord Wellington to the Rt. Hon. Henry Wellesley; Cartaxo, 31st December.*

This Hibernian peer contrived to run his neck into a noose, to mistake a strong party of French cavalry for Spaniards, and to get made prisoner with about 200 of his men. Major Grant and some 30 or 40 men were killed in the affair of Fiangerolla; but Lord Blayney, who appears to have felt very little grief or shame at his disaster, was carried into France, and to the English dépôt at Verdun, where he wrote, or collected the materials for, a book upon the excellence of French wines and French cooks.*

In other quarters of the world our military operations for the year were of some importance. Lord Minto, now Governor-general of India, sent a force of about 1700 Europeans and 2600 sepoys to reduce the Isle of Bourbon and the Isle of France in the Indian Ocean, which, to the great annoyance of our East India trade, had been left in the hands of the French. The whole expedition was put under the management of Lieutenant-colonel Keating, who, with a fleet of ships of war and transports, arrived early in July off the island of Bourbon. Dispositions were made for an attack on St. Denis, the principal town; but the garrison offered to capitulate; and in two or three days the town of St. Paul and the whole island quietly submitted. But the reduction of the larger island—the Mauritius, or Isle of France—was a work of much greater difficulty, and was not effected by Lord Minto's armament without further assistance. A body of troops, partly drawn from the Cape of Good Hope, commanded by Major-general John Abercrombie, and a fleet under Admiral Bertie, reached this great island in the month of November. On the 29th the troops effected a landing on a very difficult coast. The French skirmished until our artillery was landed, and preparations were made to attack the forts; but then—on the 3rd of December—they capitulated upon terms dictated to them. The garrison was to be sent to France; but the whole of the island, with a vast quantity of stores and produce, 5 large frigates and some smaller ships of war, 28 merchantmen, and 2 captured English East Indiamen, was surrendered. This island, by far the most valuable of the remaining French possessions to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, became a permanent British possession. Some frigates were afterwards dispatched to destroy the French factories and batteries on the coast of Madagascar, and to root them out from some other posts on those seas where they chiefly subsisted by privateering. By the opening of the year 1811 there was not left to France a ship on the Indian Ocean, or a strip of land in either of the Indies. Guadaloupe, the last island that remained to them in the West Indies, had surrendered as early as the month of February, 1810, to a combined force under General Sir G. Beckworth and Admiral Sir A. Cochrane. This island was one of the least unhealthy in that part of the world, and might, with proper attention, have been preserved without any great sacrifice of our troops.*

The Dutch lost in the beginning of the year their ancient East India settlement of Amboyna, with its dependent islands; and in the course of the summer they lost the whole island of Banda, the principal of the Spice Islands, which, together with its dependencies, was reduced by Captain Cole of the 'Carolina' frigate.

Early in the year Murat, or King Joachim, whose army had been reinforced, and who had succeeded, not in subduing, but in dispersing, the Calabrian insurgents after the retreat of Sir John Stuart from Ischia, united a great force at Scylla, Reggio, and on the hills which overlook the narrow straits of Messina, threatening Sicily with invasion. For four months the English troops in Messina were kept on the alert and amused by the animated spectacle presented by Murat's camp, whose parades and festivities were occasionally interrupted by the English and Sicilian gun-boat flotillas. On the 18th of September the French King of the Neapolitans embarked the principal body of his army in a long range of boats at Scylla and the Punta del Pizzo, to distract the attention of Sir John Stuart from Messina, by menacing the British left wing which was stationed at and beyond Faro point; and, while these demonstrations were making, General Cavaignac, embarking at Reggio with 3500 men, pushed boldly across the Strait to fall upon the British right. Our cruisers were absent, and the flotilla was not at its post. General Cavaignac effected a landing, at a spot about seven miles to the south of Messina, and threw forward a division which got possession of the heights behind the shore. He had great hopes of winning over the Corsican rangers that were in our service, and he brought over a fine embroidered standard, inscribed as a gift from King Joachim to these brave Corsicans, the subjects of France; and he had two battalions of native Corsicans with him, whose presence was expected to induce the rangers to desert and join them. The rest of the invading force was composed almost entirely of Neapolitans. As soon as Sir John Stuart was aware of this landing he began to reinforce his right; but before the arrival of these reinforcements Colonel G. Campbell had repulsed the enemy with the greatest facility, taking 800 men, a whole battalion of Corsicans, a French colonel and head of staff, a lieutenant-colonel, an aide-de-camp of the commander of this division, and 40 inferior officers. The whole of the troops that had advanced to the heights were either captured at once by Campbell's people, or were seized soon after or cut to pieces by the Sicilian peasantry. The rest in the retreat to their boats suffered severely, both from musquetry and from a fire of fort guns. One of their boats was sunk, and the soldiers in another deserted to the English or to their old king Ferdinand IV. They must all have run away like sheep, for the only injury sustained by

* Narrative of a forced Journey through Spain and France, as a Prisoner of War, in the years 1810 to 1814, by Major-general Lord Blayney. 2 vols. 8vo.; London, 1815.

* Major A. Tulloch, Statistical Report on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among the Troops in the West Indies.

Colonel Campbell was three men slightly wounded. Murat kept his camp behind Reggio and Scylla for nearly two years longer, but he did not again attempt the experiment of landing in Sicily.*

In Paris "all went merry as a marriage bell." On his return from Vienna, at the close of the preceding year, Bonaparte caused it to be intimated to Josephine that she must prepare to give up the claims of a wife upon his imperial majesty, and to see a younger and more fitting bride put in her place. It is said that Fouché, the police minister, was the first man employed on this delicate task, and that Josephine treated the renegade priest and jacobin as he merited, attributing to him and other *sans culotte* revolutionists like him, the crime of first putting it in her husband's head to divorce her and marry an imperial princess. It appears, however, doubtful whether Fouché or Savary or any chief of that department had anything to do in this business of preparation, and whether it was not Bonaparte himself who first opened the subject to his wife. As soon as he arrived from Vienna, Josephine was observed to be very pensive and sad. It is said by one who knew the truth, if he chose to tell it, that it was on Thursday, the 30th of November, just after dinner, that the emperor, being alone with Josephine, announced the whole of his plan, and was much affected at her grief, saying to the courtier who entered (and who narrates the story), that three days before this Josephine ought to have known from her own daughter Hortense (the wife of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland) the cruel necessity of state which condemned him to separate from her, and look for an heir to his throne. According to this account, Bonaparte was affected even to tears, and Josephine's fainting was more than half feigned. But we rather suspect the emperor's prefect of the palace of partiality for his master.* It is pretty clear, however, that the widow of the Beauharnais was a vain, frivolous woman, incapable of any very profound emotions, and much more likely to be affected by the loss of state and dignity than by any other consideration. When her husband and the prefect of the palace were carrying her by the shoulders and legs down stairs to her private apartment, seemingly in convulsions and senseless, the prefect says that his sword got between his own legs and nearly tripped him up; that to save himself from falling, he pressed his burden rather closely (he being at the lady's head, and the emperor at her heels), and that thereupon she whispered in his ear, "You squeeze me too hard." † He adds, that the emperor was too much agitated to observe this side-play, and that, as soon as they had laid her upon a sofa in her boudoir, he sent for Corvisart, the physician, Queen Hortense, Cambacérès, and Fouché. On the 15th of December, a fortnight after this scene, at nine o'clock in the evening, there was a grand consultation—*conseil de famille*—in the palace of

* Sir John Stuart, Dispatches in *Gazette*.—Before this attempt another smart frigate action had been fought in the bay of Naples. On the 1st of May, Captain Jahleel Brenton, of the 'Spartan' frigate, and Captain Ayscough, of the 'Success' frigate, chased a squadron of Murat, consisting of one frigate of 42 guns, one corvette of 28 guns, one brig of 8 guns, and one cutter of 10. The Neapolitans succeeded in getting into harbour, behind the mole of Naples and good land batteries, which had been made stronger since the unpleasant visit paid there the year before by Captain T. Staines. Captain Brenton, our senior officer, knowing that they would never leave this place of refuge whilst two British frigates were in the bay, directed Captain Ayscough to sail away to the back of the island of Capri. At daylight on the morning of the 3d of May, the 'Success' being out of sight, and the 'Spartan' all alone and very near shore, the Neapolitan squadron, reinforced by eight gun-boats, carrying long 24-pounders, stole from behind the mole-head, and stood towards her in a close line. Captain Brenton retired, in order to entice the squadron farther out to sea. The poor Neapolitans set up a shout and hoisted all sail, for they thought he was running away from them. Long before their guns were in range they blazed away at the English frigate. The 'Spartan' was as silent as a coffin until the Neapolitan frigate was within pistol-shot; but then with one broadside she strewed the decks of the 'Cerere' with a sad harvest, killing and wounding so many that it quite passed their comprehension. Captain Brenton ran along their line, and cut off their cutter and gun-boats from the body of the squadron. The 'Cerere' wore, and endeavoured to renew her junction, but was prevented by the 'Spartan,' who took her station on her weather-beam. A close and hot contest ensued, the 'Cerere' being aided by 'La Fama' corvette. But, though they fought, the Neapolitans kept their eyes upon the shore; and light and variable winds carried them and their foe into the bay of Pozzuoli, and near to the castle and sea-batteries of Baia. The affair ended in Captain Brenton's capturing and carrying off the brig, and in leaving the frigate and the corvette much crippled under the batteries. He had lost 10 killed and 19 wounded. Nearly all this mischief was done by the gun-boats. Captain Brenton himself received a grape-shot in the hip, and was obliged to be carried below before the action was over. The carnage on board the 'Cerere' was very great, particularly amongst some Swiss troops, who were drawn in ranks from the cat-head to the taffrail in readiness for boarding. The corvette, the brig, and the cutter also suffered greatly in killed and wounded, for the 'Spartan' had fired into all of them from a very short distance, and in very smooth water. Captain Brenton's number of guns was 46, of his men 258; the enemy had 96 guns, and, counting the Swiss troops, in all 1400 men. As soon as she had repaired her damages, or as soon as the wind served, the 'Spartan' with her prize in tow came round into the inner bay of Naples, and stood in triumph directly across, and within four miles of the harbour and the mole-head. If the wind had been as fresh a few hours before he would have captured the frigate or the corvette.—*Captain Brenton, Dispatch, in Gazette.*

There were many brilliant little enterprises carried on along these shores, in the way of boat and cutting-out parties. In more than one of these Captain George Rose Sartorius, then lieutenant of the 'Success' frigate, distinguished himself.

In one of our naval adventures we sustained a severe check and a very serious loss. In the month of August, after the reduction of the isle of Bourbon, but before the conquest of the Isle of France, four of our frigates made rather an inconsiderate dash into Grand Port, the principal harbour of the isle of France, wherein lay two of our captured East Indiamen, which have been mentioned above, four French frigates, a corvette, and a brig, aided and protected by heavy land batteries. Access to the port was very difficult. Two of our frigates ran aground upon shoals, not known to the pilots, and were abandoned and burned by their crews. Our third frigate, the 'Nereide,' Captain Nesbit Willoughby, fought the enemy alone for more than five hours, and drove the whole of the enemy's ships on shore in a heap. But Captain Willoughby, who, before this time, had been much battered about, and had received more desperate wounds than any living man in the service, was awfully mangled, and had his left eye torn out of the socket by a splinter; his first lieutenant lay mortally and his second dangerously wounded, and nearly every man of the crew was either killed or wounded: the 'Nereide's' quarter-deck guns were nearly all dismounted, several of her main-deck guns were dismounted also, the hull of the ship was shattered, she was striking the ground astern, and the frigate which remained afloat, the 'Iphigenia,' could not get to her assistance. Including marines and some artillery of the Madras establishment, the 'Nereide' had on board 281 men: of this number about 95 were killed and 135 wounded. In this condition Captain Willoughby struck to the enemy. By this and some former exploits on these islands he contributed to the conquest of this very important colony. The 'Iphigenia,' closely blockaded, was taken soon afterwards. Thus we lost, in a single enterprize, four frigates; but, through the noble behaviour of Willoughby, and his officers and crew, the defeat was more glorious than many a victory, and the loss of ships was scarcely considered a misfortune.—*James, Naval Hist.*

* M. de Bausset, Mémoires Anecdotiques sur l'intérieur du Palais.

† "Napoléon prit lui-même les deux jambes de Joséphine pour m'aider à descendre avec plus de ménagement..... Mais dans le moment où je m'embarrassai dans mon épée au milieu du petit escalier, je fus obligé de la serrer davantage pour éviter une chute qui aurait été funeste aux acteurs de cette douloureuse scene, parceque nos positions n'étaient pas la suite d'un arrangement calculé à loisir. Je tenais l'Impératrice dans mes bras, qui entouraient sa taille; son dos était appuyé sur ma poitrine, et sa tête était penchée sur mon épaule droite. Lorsqu'elle sentit les efforts que je laisais pour m'empêcher de tomber, elle me dit tout bas: '*Vous me serrez trop fort.*' Je vis alors que je n'avais rein à craindre pour sa santé, et qu'elle n'avait pas perdu connaissance un seul instant." *De Bausset.* Thanks, O Prefect of the Imperial Palace, for this truly theatrical scene

the Tuileries to settle all about the divorce. It was arranged, and so stated, that the divorce was for the good of the empire, &c., and by the mutual consent of Napoleon and Josephine. The emperor, the now to be ex-empress, the emperor's mother, his brothers Jerome and Louis, his sisters Caroline and Pauline, his brother-in-law Murat, Josephine's son and daughter Eugene and Hortense, Jerome's wife, the Würtemberger princess, the wife of Joseph Bonaparte, in short, all the members of the Bonaparte family, except Elise (Madame Bacciochi), Lucien, who was in disgrace, and Joseph, who was in Spain, were assembled; and Cambacérès, arch-chancellor of the empire, Duke of Parma, &c., and Regnauld de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, minister of state for the imperial family, attended to take the depositions, and to draw up the legal act. Napoleon said a few short words about the necessity of providing a lineal successor, and his great grief in parting with so good a wife. Josephine repeated what had been set down for her, about her being a fond and devoted wife, but ready to make any sacrifice for the happiness of France, even to the annulling of her marriage with the hero who had raised France to her present glory and greatness. Cambacérès, who had been bred to the law, drew up a nice *procès-verbal* of this divorce by mutual consent; and Regnauld de Saint-Jean-d'Angély, who had been a little provincial advocate before the Revolution, and who, in the art of penmanship, bore a striking resemblance to Barrère, penned an act which ran as smoothly as an academical discourse or a senatorial address. All the members of the family put their signatures to this act. There was nothing but signatures of kings and queens and princesses and grand-duchesses, all springing from the once poor Corsican dame Letitia Bonaparte, born Ramolini, who signed *tout court* or succinctly MADAME, in imitation of the formulas of the ancient monarchy of the Bourbons.* Regnauld de Saint-Jean-d'Angély (who had fearfully lengthened and aristocratised his name) was charged with the delicate duty of presenting this act to the senate, and to propose a *senatus consultum* in conformity. His harangue dwelt upon the sacrifices the emperor was making, &c. Strange to say, it was seconded by Josephine's own son Eugene Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy, who never before had taken a seat in that assembly, but who was forced by his step-father to appear there, and praise him for putting away his own mother.† "Princes and senators," said Eugene, "I feel myself under the obligation of declaring the sentiments of my family in the circumstances in which we are. My mother, my sister, and I owe everything to the emperor! He has been to us a true father; and he will always find in us devoted children and submissive subjects. It is of importance to the happiness of France that the founder of this the fourth dynasty should grow old in the midst of a family of direct descendants, who will be a guarantee to all men, and a pledge of the glory of the country. When my mother was crowned before the whole nation by the hands of her august spouse, she contracted the obligation of sacrificing all her affections to the interests of France: she has fulfilled with courage, nobleness, and dignity this first of duties! Her soul has often been tenderly moved at seeing the painful struggles in the heart of a man accustomed to master and command fortune, and to march with a firm step to the accomplishment of all his great designs. The tears which this resolution has cost the emperor suffice for the glory of my mother. In the situation in which she is going to be placed, she will not be insensible to the happiness resulting to us all from her sacrifice: we shall have her wishes and prayers, and it will be with a self-satisfaction mingled with pride that she will see the happiness which her sacrifices have produced for her country and for her emperor." The princes and senators applauded, as they were bound to do, and voted the *senatus consultum*, which left to Josephine her title of Empress-Queen, an annual revenue of 2,000,000 of francs, and the royal domain of Navarre; and when they had done all this, and had heard another speech from the lawyer of the long name, they agreed to a report, and to an extravagant address, to express their gratitude to the immortal Napoleon for the steps he had taken; to tell the so-called "child and champion of democracy" that thirteen French sovereigns before him had been obliged by their love for their country to divorce their wives; that out of these thirteen divorcing French monarchs there were four of the greatest and most beloved that the French had ever known—Charlemagne, Philip Augustus, Louis XII., and Henri IV.—and to predict that Napoleon, greater than all these, would live to see children and grand-children of his own, who would perpetuate his empire, and the happiness and glory of France.* The august senate also voted an address to the Empress Josephine, thanking her for those great sacrifices which history would keep in eternal memory; assuring her that her heroic self-devotion was worthy of being associated with the immortal glory of the Emperor; and that the French people, who had always revered her virtues and beneficence, would eternally admire her sublime conduct, and render her the homage of their gratitude, reverence, and love. Thus far was smooth and easy work;† but the catholic religion repudiated such divorces as these, and Bonaparte had pretended to re-establish the catholic church, and to submit, and to force others to submit, to its dogmas. No dispensation could now be expected from the

* Capefigue, Le Consulat et l'Empire.

† Three short years after this, when the Bonapartean dynasties were all going to pieces, and when Murat thought he had reason to complain both of the Viceroy of Italy and of the Emperor of France, he bitterly reminded Eugene Beauharnais of this performance, on the occasion of his mother's divorce.—*Letter from Murat to Napoleon Bonaparte, in Colletta, Storia di Napoli.*

* The report of the senate was drawn up by senator Lacépède, the celebrated naturalist, author of 'Histoire Naturelle des Quadrupèdes ovipares et des Serpents,' &c. &c.

† The Conseil de Famille was held and the Divorce Act was drawn up on the night of the 15th of December: the Senatus Consultum was passed on the 16th; and all that business was finished in less than twenty-four hours.

despoiled, imprisoned Pope, nor could any pontiff have decently sanctioned such a breach of the canons of the Roman church. In the eyes of that church marriage was a sacrament; and the union by the civil process, by appearing before a notary and a justice of the peace, as first introduced in the days of anarchy and atheism, was no marriage at all, but a sinful contract between man and woman. Without the assurance that Bonaparte and Josephine had been married by a priest, and according to the forms of the catholic church, Pius VII. would never have consented to perform his part in the grand ceremonial of the coronation in Notre Dame. The difficulty had been got over by a private midnight ceremony, performed by the Emperor's maternal uncle, Cardinal Fesch;* but now, to get rid of a greater difficulty, it was declared that there had never been any religious ceremony, and consequently that there was no tie to break, except the fragile and unholy one of the civil contract. If we are not surprised that this should satisfy French consciences, or be held to be satisfactory by the servants and partisans of Bonaparte, we must still feel astonished at its satisfying the consciences of the Emperor of Austria, his daughter, and the rest of that family, who were generally considered, though not bigots, good, believing, and devout catholics. But the truth appears to be that the conscience of the court of Vienna was entirely overlaid by its fears and its worldly hopes. Josephine set out for Navarre; and Marshal Berthier was appointed to conduct, or rather to conclude, the matrimonial negotiations at Vienna. While Berthier was performing these offices, news arrived of the base and bloody execution of Andrew Hofer, who had perished in his prime, for his patriotism, and his enthusiastic attachment to the Emperor of Austria, who was now bestowing the hand of his own daughter on Bonaparte! There might be even at Vienna, and among its great personages, some who thought that everything done by Bonaparte was well done, and that the death of Hofer was a commendable act of energy; but we believe there was not a man who doubted the fact that the telegraph order which overruled the judgment of the court-martial at Mantua proceeded from Bonaparte himself. Marshal Berthier, however, affected to lament "this unlucky accident," and said, with disgusting hypocrisy, that such a transaction would be matter of serious concern to his master the Emperor, and never would have been permitted if his majesty had been aware of it. On the 11th of March, 1810, Berthier, acting as proxy for Bonaparte, received in the palace of Schönbrunn the hand of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, the fairest of the descendants of the Empress Maria Theresa, and at that time little more than eighteen years of age.† The mob of Vienna, usually so docile and submissive, appear to have had more nationality than the court, and to have felt more deeply the dishonour of this forced alliance, and the danger to which the young princess was going to be exposed by her union with so turbulent and restless a man, and her residence in France, among a people who had so barbarously tortured and guillotined her own aunt, Marie Antoinette, who had once left Vienna as fair and as innocent as her niece now was, but far happier. When Maria Louisa drove away from the home of her fathers, attended by Berthier, Madame Murat, the widow of Lannes, and the other French people appointed by Bonaparte, some of the populace cried aloud that she was sacrificed to political interests and intrigues; that the Emperor Francis ought never to have consented to the sacrifice of his own child; that better, far better, would it have been to continue the war than submit to such a humiliation! At one moment a serious riot was apprehended; but the police and the troops, with the rest of the Austrian machinery, interfered; some of the poor orators were arrested, and the rest of the crowd dispersed. We have described how profoundly etiquette and parade were studied by the vulgar court of the Tuileries on the occasion of the coronation of Napoleon and Josephine. As much or more study was now given to the mode of receiving in France, and conducting through that country, the young imperial bride. In his forced philosophical retirement at St. Helena, Bonaparte affected to talk with contempt of all distinctions of blood and race, and of all court etiquette and ceremonies whatsoever; but so long as he was emperor, and so long as his family were kings and queens and grand-duchesses, he and all of them bestowed the utmost attention upon these several matters, and there certainly never was in modern Europe a more rigid and frigid etiquette than that which was observed at Paris, under this child and champion of democracy and equality, and in Naples under his sister Caroline, the wife of the crowned dragoon Murat, who himself loved not the regimen, but who was obliged to submit to it. In the present instance it was ordered that none of the forms and ceremonies should be omitted which had been practised under the old sovereigns on similar occasions. But from the restrictions of etiquette, and from every other restriction or rule whatsoever, Napoleon held himself personally exempt: all the world was to be slavishly bound by them, save and except only the great man that was above them all; and this made that iron etiquette, disgusting in other respects (as very frequently it was from the want of all grace and dignity in the ill-bred performers), so much the more disgusting and humiliating. Under Louis XIV. the court etiquette was rigid enough, but that monarch himself submitted to its restrictions. After issuing the most elaborate instructions, and the most formal and severe orders, about the reception of his bride, Bonaparte himself received her not as a sovereign would receive the daughter of an emperor, not even as a gentleman would receive a young bride, his equal in rank, fortune, and education, but as an unmannerly trooper

* See ante, p. 139.

† The Archduchess Maria Louisa, the first child of the Emperor Francis by his second marriage with Maria Theresa, daughter of Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies, was born on the 12th of December, 1791.

would receive a grisette, who was not coming to be his wife, but to be his mistress, and the follower of his camp for a season. After passing a night together in the old country palace of Compiègne, Napoleon and Maria Louisa came to St. Cloud, on the 1st of April, to be married ecclesiastically.* It was every way a mockery to have that ceremony at all, but it was regulated and ordered that the religious part of the performance should give precedence to the civil and lay part. Arch-chancellor Cambacérès, who had been a Jacobin, a Conventionist, a member of the bloody committee of Salut Public, who had voted on the trial of Louis XVI., and on the more horrible trial of Marie Antoinette, read to the niece of that murdered queen the civil Act of the marriage! This Act, in sixteen long pages, still exists in the French Chamber of Peers. Then followed the religious part of the celebration, which was declared by the Parisian critics who saw it to be a downright failure, and a very poor *spectacle*. The salaried clergy of Bonaparte seemed almost ashamed of the scene, and of the part they were taking in what was neither more nor less than an act of bigamy; very few of the cardinals or the prelates would attend it. It is said that there were only two cardinals present, and that the Corsican Emperor, fixing his eyes on the vacant space which ought to have been filled by those princes of the church, muttered spitefully, "The fools! the fools! they brave and insult me still!"

This marriage was scarcely more popular in France than it was in Austria. There was a great party that still loathed the name of hereditary monarchy, and that thought it monstrous that a child of the revolution should ally himself with the old established "corporation of tyrants;" the men of the revolution saw in Maria Louisa another Marie Antoinette; the ex-conventionists could not forget that the same blood flowed in her veins, nor could they believe but that she must inherit the resentments or be eager to avenge the wrongs done to her aunt; the people regarded her with a superstitious fear, it being an old popular belief in France that Austrian marriages were always unlucky, that the princesses of Austria had always brought misfortune upon France. A very sinister accident confirmed the popular superstition. In May, 1770, a grand exhibition of fireworks, &c. was given at Paris to commemorate the marriage of Louis and Marie Antoinette: through some carelessness or mismanagement several hundred persons lost their lives; and this incident was perpetually referred to, when the revolutionary movements began. In July, 1810, Prince Schwartzenberg, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, gave a grand ball and fête, in commemoration of the marriage of Napoleon and Maria Louisa, who were both present at it; a fire broke out in the ball-room; the hostess, the Princess Schwartzenberg, a young and handsome woman, lost her life, several other persons were killed, and a great many more were seriously injured. Others saw in the young bride a foreigner and an enemy, who would assuredly betray both the emperor and the country.* After the fact and its consequences, the French universally admitted that the marriage was a capital fault. "Napoleon," says the best of their republican historians, "quitted his position and part as a parvenu and revolutionary monarch, who had been acting in Europe against the ancient courts as the republic had acted against the ancient governments; he placed himself in a bad situation with respect to Austria, which he ought to have crushed after his victory of Wagram, or to have re-established in her possessions after his marriage with the archduchess. Solid alliances repose only upon real interests, and Napoleon could deprive the cabinet of Vienna neither of the will nor the power to fight him again. This marriage changed also the character of his empire, and separated it still more from the popular feelings and interests; for he now sought after the old French families to decorate his court, and he did all that he could in order to mix and unite together the ancient noblesse and his new noblesse, even as he had mixed royal dynasties."† It has been fancied that Eugene Beauharnais, Joseph, Louis, and Jerome Bonaparte, Murat, and half of the marshals of the empire, were, for selfish reasons, dissatisfied with the divorce from Josephine, and the marriage with a young bride likely to bring Bonaparte children. Eugene was his son by adoption, and had hoped some day to obtain for himself and his own lineal descendants the kingdom of Italy; in the so-called constitution of the empire all Bonaparte's brothers (with the exception of Lucien) were placed, with their children, in regular order of succession to the empire; Murat's children were the emperor's nephews and nieces, and therefore not remote; and, as for those adventurers and fortunate soldiers, the marshals, who had all seen how their present master had obtained a throne, and made an empire, and carved out kingdoms, they were supposed to dream of events and partitions such as occurred on the death of Alexander the Great.

A few weeks after the marriage, Bonaparte, who had made the same journey with Josephine shortly after his coronation, set out with Maria Louisa to

* For a striking, and, as we believe, a perfectly true account of the first meeting of Bonaparte with Maria Louisa, on a rainy day and on the muddy high road between Soissons and Compiègne, and of what passed in the chateau of Compiègne, see *Capefigue, Le Consulat et L'Empire.* From more private sources of information we know that the most revolting part of those details is perfectly true.

* *Histoire Parlementaire*, vol. xxxix.
The writer adds that these fears were not confined to a few men, but that it was a general and public opinion, as can be testified by those who lived in France at that epoch.

† Mignet, Hist. de la Révolution. A certain number of the old noblesse, attracted by the character and dignity of the new empress, moved by their poverty, and following the example of the witty and loose-principled Count Louis de Narbonne (formerly the idol of Madame de Staël), now joined the court and put on Bonaparte's livery as chamberlains, dames d'atours, &c. The Faubourg St Germain was somewhat thinned of its frondeurs; the Mortemarts, the Montmorencis, the Brignolles, the Perigords, the Contades, the Saint-Aulaires, and others of ancient name who had in part composed the court of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, re-appeared in the Tuileries as the salaried courtiers and household of the emperor and empress. But, except their ancient names, these individuals had little to boast of: they had lost all political weight or character, and, though they might improve the manners of the court, they could not bring to Bonaparte the slightest accession of strength.

visit the northern provinces of France, Belgium, and Holland. While at Flushing he decided that the islands of Walcheren, South Beveland, North Beveland, Schouwen, Duiveland, Tholen, &c. should be for ever annexed to the French empire, and formed into a new department under the name of "Department of the Mouths of the Scheldt." He then returned by Brussels, Lille, Dunkerque, Dieppe, and Rouen to Paris, where he arrived on the 1st of June. In the preceding autumn some negotiations had been set on foot by a Frenchman, a private individual, for a general cartel or exchange of prisoners between England and France; but through the disproportionate demands of the French government these negotiations had ended in nothing. During Bonaparte's absence in Holland, Fouché, his Duke of Otranto and minister of police, had taken it upon himself to open an indirect private correspondence with Sir Francis Baring, in the view of obtaining a peace with Great Britain. He sent Ouvrard, a banker, stock-jobber, and contractor of Paris, to Amsterdam, and there Ouvrard was said to have put himself in communication with Sir Francis Baring, who, at that time, had the principal hand in our government loans. Fouché proposed as the basis of negotiations, the undisturbed empire of the continent of Europe to France, without colonies and without a navy; and to England the undisturbed empire of the seas, with all the colonies in the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Nothing is more certain than that no English cabinet could ever have entertained such a proposition; but it is said by the French that Fouché never doubted of success, but hoped to be able very soon to present to his master the basis of a treaty which could not be refused. It was thought that this police-minister and terrible ex-Jacobin believed he should thus secure a solid favour, and cause the new court to forget the part he had taken in the worst acts and crimes of the revolution. But Ouvrard, it is said, betrayed his employer, and Bonaparte was incensed at Fouché's presuming to take the initiative in such a grand matter as a negotiation with England. On his return to Paris he dismissed Fouché from his all-important office, and seized Ouvrard's papers; but in order to dissemble with the public, or perplex them as to the motives of the Duke of Otranto's sudden removal, he named that renegade priest governor of Rome. Savary, now Duke of Rovigo, was installed in the ministry of police on the 3rd of June. But a few days afterwards the nomination of the governorship of Rome was revoked, and Fouché was told that he must quit Paris and retire to and live quietly in his country-house. Many other causes are, however, stated for Fouché's sudden disgrace. Murat afterwards said, and with much apparent truth, that it was the constant practice of his brother-in-law to sacrifice to his suspicions, one after the other, all the men who had been most faithful to him and had done him most service; that thus Talleyrand was made to give place to Champagny, and Fouché to Savary. Besides, the young empress and the newly constituted imperial court could scarcely see without horror a man whose dark history was so universally known as that of Fouché. The police-minister, moreover, had, within the two preceding years, had various altercations with his emperor, both as to home and as to foreign policy or war; and in his gloomier moments this minister of police had been heard to mutter that Bonaparte was strangling the revolutionary principles which had given France the spirit and strength to work such miracles, and that he was producing a crossed and bastardised system which could not possibly last. Through some sympathy or some calculation Fouché had also of late testified a high regard for the repudiated Josephine. All this was enough to account for his removal without any reference to Ouvrard's proceedings at Amsterdam, or to another incident which is confidently stated as a fact in a French work unusually accurate.* This work asserts that he was dismissed and replaced by Savary for having secretly informed Lucien Bonaparte, who was then residing in Italy, that his brother the emperor intended to arrest him—in consequence of which information Lucien fled with his family from the Continent, and eventually came over to England. The emperor, who had now annexed such a large part of Holland to France, had long been carrying on angry discussions with his brother Louis, the nominal king of that country. He had told Louis, in the act of naming him to that new throne, that he must remain a Frenchman, and devoted to the interests of the French empire; but Louis, the most amiable, the mildest and the best of his family, conceived an affection for the people he was sent to govern; he felt really anxious for the welfare and prosperity of his Dutch subjects, who were almost entirely dependent upon commerce, and therefore he never enforced very strictly the Continental system against English commerce. Furious and dreadful were the rebukes he had received from his imperious brother, who told him that he had become a mere Dutchman, that he was sacrificing the interests of France, that he was opposing the ruin of Great Britain, that grand desideratum without which his empire could have no stability, and that, in short, he was forgetting who had made him a king and for what he had been made a king. On the other hand, the Dutch, already impoverished and in good part ruined by the loss of their rich colonies and shipping, and by the stoppage of trade, implored Louis to relax still more the Continental system, and permit or wink at a greater importation of British merchandise and a more free commercial intercourse with other parts of the world. Louis was not made to struggle with such trying difficulties; he was too weak to resist Napoleon's will, but he was too conscientious to submit to it. About the time that his brother returned from Vienna, Louis repaired to Paris to attempt to moderate and conciliate; but he was met only by fresh reproaches and taunts of ingra-

* Biographie Moderne, ou Galerie Historique.

titude. Thereupon he declared that, unless a peace were concluded with Great Britain,* or some important modification of the Continental system allowed in Holland, he would no longer wear that crown, which he found he could not wear without being a means of completing the ruin of a good, interesting, and industrious people. It was in order to make himself sure of the navigation of the Scheldt, which Louis and the Dutch wished to remain free, that the emperor had annexed the Zealand Islands to France in the month of April. After this annexation there was, in fact, no kingdom of Holland, and it could not therefore have cost Louis much to resign his crown. But when Louis returned into Holland he found a strong party sincerely attached to him, who recommended a bold countenance and a firm resistance. He was closely followed by the French general Oudinot, who took possession of Utrecht on the 29th of June, and demanded entrance into the once great trading city of Amsterdam. At first there was some talk of laying the whole country under water, and of fighting for its independence; but Louis and his Dutch ministers and generals soon felt the struggle to be hopeless. Louis next thought of emigrating with his family to the Eastern colony of Batavia, which still remained in possession of the Dutch, but which, together with the whole of the island of Java, was taken from them, or from the French, in the summer of 1811. At last, Louis came to the determination of resigning his crown in favour of his infant son Napoleon Louis. On the 1st of July he signed an act of abdication and a proclamation to the Dutch people; on the third he put these documents into the hands of his ministers, requesting that they might be laid before the Dutch legislative body, and then he fled with his children into Bohemia to seek an asylum in the dominions of the Emperor of Austria. To all this audacity Napoleon replied by a decree, dated July 9th, the first article of which was—"Holland is *re*-united to France!" Oudinot took possession of Amsterdam, which was now declared to be the third city of the empire; in a few months the French administration was fully established, and the whole country was divided into departments of the empire. Bonaparte's ministers thought it an easy task to justify these measures in the eyes of the French; and for the rest of the world they cared nothing. One minister, in his report, said: "Holland is in reality a continuation of France; it may be defined as being formed out of the alluvia of the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, which are the great arteries of our empire." Talleyrand's successor, in his report, said: "Holland is nothing but an emanation of the French empire. In order to possess the Rhine fully, your imperial majesty must extend your territory to the Zuyder Zee!" This minister for foreign affairs said also that the Continental blockade had existed everywhere except in Holland; that the Dutch under King Louis had been constantly receiving English merchandise, and that twice France had been compelled to close her custom-houses and prohibit all trade with the Dutch for fear of seeing the city of Paris itself inundated with English goods!* But Bonaparte was not satisfied with the line of the Zuyder Zee as recommended by his ministers; he determined to make his empire reach still farther, and before the year ended—by a senatus consultum dated the 13th of December, 1810—Friesland, Oldenburg, Bremen, all the line of coast to Hamburg, with all the country between Hamburg and Lubeck, were annexed to the French empire like Holland. Ten additional departments were thus constituted, and the last blow was struck at the independence of those ancient trading republics, the Hanse towns. "Bonaparte's passsion for territorial aggrandisement," says his old schoolfellow, Bourrienne, "knew no bounds, and the turn of the Hanse towns had now arrived. By taking possession of those towns and territories he merely accomplished a design which he had formed long previously." The plan, however, was concealed with the usual art until the last moment. Bourrienne, who had been residing three or four years at Hamburg as Bonaparte's political agent to the Hanse towns, received no official information of the dark design. On the 8th of December he received a letter from Champagny stating in flattering terms that he must have obtained, from his long residence, information respecting Hamburg and the north of Germany which would be very useful to the public interest, and that the emperor wished to see him immediately at Paris, in order to consult with him upon various matters relating to Hamburg. Bourrienne, who had known the great emperor, the insatiable devourer of states and kingdoms, when he had scarcely a shirt to his back or a sous in his pocket, began his journey on the 9th, and on reaching Mayence he met the French courier, who was proceeding to Hamburg to announce the union of the Hanse towns with the French empire! "I confess," adds the mortified diplomatist, "that, notwithstanding the experience I had acquired of Bonaparte's duplicity, or rather of the infinite multiplicity of his artifices, he completely took me by surprise on this occasion."†

The French empire now in reality extended from the frontiers of Denmark to the frontiers of Naples, while Naples itself was only a dependency and an appanage in the hands of Murat and Caroline Bonaparte. This vast empire consisted of 130 departments, and contained 42,000,000 of people. Besides this, Napoleon held under his sway the kingdom of Italy with 5,000,000 or

* It is said that Louis had been attempting to open separate negotiations with the British cabinet before this time, and that afterwards —at the very moment of the Fouché-Ouvrard manœuvre—he had sent or had consented to the sending over of an Amsterdam merchant to London to confer with the Marquess Wellesley, or with some friends of our minister for foreign affairs, and that this last step made Napoleon view in a more serious light the conduct of his police-minister.

* Rapports de M. le Comte Montalivet, ministre de l'intérieur, et de M. Champagny, ministre des relations extérieures.

† Bourrienne, Mémoires.

6,000,000 of inhabitants, and Bologna and Rome, the other legations, and the marches of Ancona, which had been torn from the pope; the Illyrian provinces, including Dalmatia, Carniola, a part of Croatia, &c.; Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia, and Murat's grand duchy of Berg, belonged much more to him who had given them than to those who had received them; and the troops and resources of the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, of the king of Wurtemberg, the king of Bavaria, the king of Saxony, were at his disposal or under his control. He had also under his *protection* the Helvetic Confederation, or all the once free republics and cantons of Switzerland; and this confederation, like that of the Rhine, was bound to furnish him with troops and to follow his policy. Prussia, humbled and dismembered, lay at his mercy. In all it was calculated that he gave the law to more than 80,000,000 of people. So great a part of Europe had certainly never been subject to the will of one man since the fall of the Roman empire. The fact seemed incredible; but, nevertheless, so it was: the Emperor Francis was his father-in-law, and Austria was his submissive ally. Russia was keeping up a friendly intercourse with him; Denmark, if not so devoted to his interests as she had been, retained her old animosity against Great Britain; and in Sweden, by a succession of court revolutions and state intrigues, Marshal Bernadotte had been elected crown prince, and, with the throne in succession, was already exercising all the authority of a king, and a great deal more than any native Swedish monarch had been possessed of since the days of Charles XII. To brave this mighty power and to continue the war, which, with the intermission of a few months, had already lasted eighteen years, England had no other allies than Portugal, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. Spain seemed bleeding to death, deaf to the councils which would have stanched her wounds and renovated her strength; Sicily was only kept from the grasp of the enemy by the presence of a British army, paid and supplied by the British government, and the court of Ferdinand IV. must have been starved out of that island but for our subsidies. The king of Sardinia was also living on English money, and was constantly requiring the protection of English ships, without being able to furnish a single regiment or anything else except good wishes to his ally. Our best ally was Portugal, for she furnished men that were becoming excellent troops; but England was obliged to pay for those troops as well as for her own army, which was fighting for the liberation of the country. The close of the year 1810 was considered as the period of Bonaparte's greatest power and splendour, as the apogee of his lucky and bright star. Yet those who looked more attentively saw that mists and clouds were gathering on all sides; that he had built up his tower too high, too hastily, and with materials too incohesive, to stand. Those who knew the strong personal antipathies which existed between Bernadotte and Napoleon, and the frequent and violent quarrels which were breaking out between Napoleon and Murat, saw already that the existence of a French-born king in Sweden would not add to the power of France in the north, and that events might arise which would detach Naples in the south. A little sooner or later Russia was sure to resent the usurpations of France in the north of Germany and on the Baltic; and the family alliance with Austria, contracted by force, a record of disgrace, a thing which did violence to all national feeling, must some day be found as weak as a gossamer, as worthless as dicers' oaths. But what most encouraged the hopes of those who longed and sighed for the subversion of the Bonapartean system, was the certainty derived from the knowledge of the character and temper of Bonaparte himself and of the French people, that attempts would soon be made to give a still greater elevation to the already tottering tower; that aggressions would be made upon the great and adroit power of the North, whose strength was unbroken and whose arms were undisgraced, and that these aggressions must ultimately produce not merely a coalition of kings, as former leagues of that sort had been, but a coalition of peoples, a rising and a union of nations. When the downfall and the day of reckoning arrived, the Emperor of the West and his subjects exchanged accusations and reproaches, the French saying that Bonaparte would never rest, and Bonaparte saying that with such a people and with such an immense army it was impossible to rest. Between the two, and in the nature of the system, the impossibility certainly existed. The system itself was like a drunken man who can keep his feet so long as he runs, but who falls when he attempts to stop.

Events had occurred in England from which greater political changes were expected than ever resulted from them. By the non-attendance of George III. at the opening and closing of the session of parliament, and by other indications, it had long been suspected that the king was suffering under his old distressing malady. In the autumn of the preceding year, 1809, when his majesty entered upon the fiftieth year of his reign, it was determined to celebrate the anniversary as a Grand National Jubilee. The government, under Mr. Perceval, took the lead, but the call was eagerly and unanimously responded to by the municipalities of the kingdom, and by other public bodies and societies; and the great mass of the population hailed the 25th of October with every possible demonstration of loyalty, attachment, and respect. It was truly a national festival, and a gay and beautiful one, for that October month was more than usually fine and bright. The jubilee was observed as a holiday in every city, town, village, and hamlet; there was illumination and joy throughout the land; but the joy did not reach the interior of the old monarch's palace, but grief was there, and sickness, and the apprehension of death, and of what was worse than death. The king's mind had

been over-wrought and over-excited by the Austrian war, which had then finished so disastrously, and by the Walcheren expedition, which was then terminating in such failure, and, as it was thought, in such disgrace. The nomination of the Earl of Chatham to that command had been completely a court nomination; and George III. is said to have reproached himself now for yielding to his own and the queen's partialities in favour of an amiable man who had proved himself to be unfit for the command. To an eye predisposed to despondence the whole aspect of affairs abroad was gloomy enough. Other causes of distress and agitation of a more private and domestic nature existed at the time of the jubilee, or were superadded shortly afterwards (materials of which the spirit of faction caught hold, and turned to atrocious uses); but the grief of griefs in the bosom of the old king was the declining health of his youngest child, his darling daughter, the Princess Amelia, who had long been in a very precarious state. The king himself had long been suffering under a disorder of the eyes, and was now well-nigh blind. In the summer of 1810, the Princess Amelia was removed to Windsor, in a state of great suffering. Her fond father visited her every day. When she felt that her end was approaching, the princess ordered a ring to be made, enclosing a lock of her hair, with her name on the inside, and the words "Remember me when I am gone." The mournful token was made and delivered. The next day when the king came to her bedside, and, darkling, held out his hand to her, the princess put the ring on his finger silently. He felt the ring, he understood all that it imported, he controlled his agony; but, when he had quitted that chamber of death, his intellect was found to be quite overset. This was on the 20th or 21st of October, 1810. The Princess Amelia lingered till the 2nd of November; but, though she missed her father's daily visit, she knew not the sad condition into which her fatal present had thrown him. On the 25th of October, the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, it was publicly announced that his majesty was again attacked by the mental malady under which he had before laboured. Parliament had stood prorogued, *pro formâ*, till the 1st of November, without any intention of its meeting then for the dispatch of business. An order of council had been prepared, directing that it should be further prorogued, and authorizing the chancellor to issue a commission, under the great seal, for this further prorogation; but the state of the king, and his inability to sign the commission, prevented the completion of this order, and both Houses therefore met on the 1st of November, under these singular circumstances, not being summoned for the dispatch of business, and being left to form a course of proceeding for themselves, without having any precedent to guide them. The physicians confidently stated their expectations that his majesty would soon recover; and ministers upon this ground moved an adjournment for a fortnight, which was agreed to, in thin Houses, without a dissentient voice. At the fortnight's end the physicians remained in the same opinion; one of them declared that he perceived the same symptoms which had convinced him two-and-twenty years before that the king was recovering. A second adjournment for a fortnight was moved by ministers. Lord Grenville said he should prefer a shorter adjournment, to be followed by other adjournments, from time to time, if the state of the king should render it necessary; adding, however, that he would rather err on the side of forbearance, delicacy, and delay, than on that of precipitation, and that therefore, and for the sake of unanimity, he would assent to the ministerial motion. Earl Grey assented also, but he expressed serious doubts of the propriety of the proceeding; and he bade the peers reflect that, as there could not be the same prospect of a full and entire recovery as in 1788, they were bound not to shut their eyes to the calculation of probability, and the actual state and condition of the country. In the Commons the opposition were much less decorous. Whitbread, Sir Francis Burdett, Tierney, Lord Archibald Hamilton, and others, said that they had no evidence before them, except the *ipse dixit* of the chancellor of the exchequer; that the constitution was suspended; that the public business could not go on without the king, or the real executive government; that the country would fall into a state of anarchy, and was already in a state of great danger. Mr. Fuller, one of the Sussex members—"honest Jack Fuller"—asked where was this danger? since the enemy could not get a ship to sea, nor could their troops beat Lord Wellington in the peninsula. The adjournment was carried by 343 against 58. After the second fortnight had elapsed, ministers laid before parliament a report of the privy council, containing the examination of the king's physicians, who all still declared their conviction that it was probable that his majesty would recover.* In the Lords the Earl of Liverpool then moved for the delay of another fortnight. Earl Spencer, in opposition to this, moved that a select committee should be appointed to examine the physicians; and he was strongly supported by Lord Holland, Lord Grenville, and others. Lord Grenville said that the proposal for further adjournment was derogatory to the dignity of parliament, hostile to the best interests of the crown, repugnant to every principle of the constitution; that the House was not yet in possession of any fact which they could constitutionally recognize; that, as for the report of the privy council, it signified nothing, since it must have been convened without the sanction, the summons, or even knowledge of the king, who alone was entitled to summon it; that if such courses as these were allowed to be pursued the monarchy would become not a republic, but the most odious and detestable form of aristocracy. On a division, Lord Spencer's amend-

* "Our beloved old king, the physicians declare, is recovering, and they have scarcely a doubt of his being even speedily well, if his restoration be not retarded by some of the circumstances which if he were not a king he would not experience."—*Wilberforce, Diary.*

ment was negatived by 88 against 56; two of the king's sons, the Dukes of York and Cambridge, voting with the ministry, and two, the Dukes of Clarence and Sussex, with the opposition. In the House of Commons the debate was again much more violent. Whitbread spoke of the king's recovery as an impossibility, and of his blindness as an absolute disqualification. Several members repeated the arguments, and almost the very words, which the whigs had used in 1788, in calling for the immediate appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent; but it was noticeable that Sheridan, and some other members of that party, who had been so hotly impatient then, were cold and cautious now. They showed no alacrity, because they entertained no hope. The great champion for the instant regency was General Montague Matthew, who said that, as the third estate was wanting, and as the House could have no confidence in the assertions of ministers, he would vote not only against the adjournment, but for the immediate appointment of the Prince of Wales as regent, with full regal power. That excellent prince, he said, had the voice of his country, which well knew that no one existed so able and likely to reconcile all jars, especially in Ireland, which looked to him with confidence to heal the injuries she had received from the maladministration of the faction which was now ruling. It was a source of happiness to him, and to the country, to know that they had so wise and experienced a prince to supply the defect that had arisen. He therefore recommended the House to withdraw the power as speedily as possible from ministers, and appoint the Prince of Wales to the regency for which he was destined by the Almighty! Mr. Yorke, the present head of the admiralty, spoke as if a change of ministers and of measures must follow the nomination of the regent. "If," said he, "there are inconveniences in our present proceedings, there are also inconveniences on the other side. What if the regent were to be advised to change the whole system of our foreign policy, to withdraw our army from the peninsula, and refuse all further support to Spain and Portugal? Such a case was possible, and would that be no inconvenience?" Mr. Ponsonby moved for a committee to examine the king's physicians; but this was negatived by 230 against 137, and the House once more adjourned for a fortnight. On the 15th of December, when parliament met again, ministers said that, though a considerable degree of amendment had taken place, and the same confident expectations of his majesty's ultimate recovery were still entertained by his physicians, yet the immediate state of his health was not such as could warrant them to propose another adjournment.* With the concurrence of ministers committees were therefore appointed in both Houses to examine the physicians. On the 17th the committees made their reports, which were ordered to be printed.* According to the reports the physicians re-affirmed their hopes of a recovery. But Mr. Perceval moved that on Thursday next, the 20th instant, the House should resolve itself into a committee to take into consideration the state of the nation; his intention, he said, being to submit then to the committee three preliminary resolutions similar to those which had been moved and carried by Mr. Pitt in 1788. On the 20th, the House being in committee, the chancellor of the exchequer presented his three resolutions, which were precisely the same as those which Pitt had laid down, in opposition to the scheme of Fox and his friends.† The first resolution, setting forth the king's present incapacity, was agreed to; the second, declaring the competency of the two Houses of Parliament to supply the deficiency of the executive power, was carried, with the single dissentient voice of Sir Francis Burdett, who said it was perfectly impossible for him to concur in any resolution which called such a parliament as the present, "the Lords spiritual and temporal and Commons of the United Kingdom, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm." The third resolution, which proposed to proceed to the appointment of the regent by bill, was opposed by Mr. Ponsonby, who moved an amendment to the effect that the proceeding should not be by bill, but by address. [In other words, Mr. Ponsonby would have proceeded as the Irish parliament had done in 1788, and have called upon the Prince of Wales by address to assume the regency as his hereditary and indisputable right; which was the doctrine held by Fox and all the whigs of that day.]‡ The amendment was rejected, and the original resolution carried by 269 against 157. The same three resolutions were carried in the House of Lords by 100 against 74. All the royal dukes voted in the minority, and joined with many other peers in a strong protest against the limitations put upon the power of the regent. Previously to this protest the royal dukes had had recourse to the singular measure of protesting against the intended restrictions in a letter addressed to Mr. Perceval.§ On both sides there was a total want

* "December 9. The king getting better, but with occasional relapses. Perceval said on Thursday, that he was as well then as when Thurlow declared him well, and sealed the commission in 1789. I believe it. I remember that it was then said in private that the king was not quite well."—*Wilberforce, Diary.*

* Sir Samuel Romilly, however, says, in speaking of the report of the committee of the Commons, "The whole of the evidence which the physicians gave does not, however, appear in the report. Several of the questions and answers were expunged by the committee before they made their report. Some of the most important facts so suppressed are, that the cause of the king's insanity in 1801 was the resignation of Mr. Pitt; and the cause of his insanity in 1804, the publication of the correspondence between the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York."—*Diary of Parliamentary Life, in Memoir by his Sons.*

† For Pitt's resolutions, and Fox's scheme of regency, with the debates thereon, see ante, vol. ii. p. 286.

‡ See ante, vol. ii. pp. 283 to 301.

§ The protest was in these words:

"Wednesday night, 12 o'clock, December 19th.

"Sir—The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the royal family, and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by his majesty's confidential servants to the Lords and Commons for the establishment of a restricted regency, should the continuance of his majesty's ever-to-be-deplored illness render it necessary; we feel it a duty we owe to his majesty, to our country, and to ourselves, to enter our solemn protest against measures we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of, the principles which seated our family upon the throne of this realm."

To this protest of the royal dukes, which met with almost universal disapprobation, as being an attempt on their part to form themselves into a college of princes, Perceval had replied, for himself and his

of novelty in the arguments used; and perhaps, after the numerous and elaborate debates of 1788-9, it was not easy for either party to hit either upon new arguments or new illustrations. It was, however, to be remarked that the question of the Prince of Wales's *right* to the regency which had been so vehemently supported by Fox, was scarcely urged at all by any member of the present opposition; and it did not behove ministers to agitate that question, the right having been so decidedly negatived in 1788. Sir Francis Burdett and some others complained of the restrictions put upon the exercise of the prerogative in the hands of the regent; but they did not maintain that, by the mere fact of the incapacity of the king, the Prince of Wales, or heir to the throne, became regent without any vote or authority of parliament. Sir Francis said that Pitt's regency bill of 1788 was an act passed by a powerful faction *against* his royal highness the Prince of Wales; that it was an act which never should have had his sanction; an act which put the prince into leading-strings, threw him back into the stage of infancy, and made him a sort of constructive lunatic. He supposed that the same course was now to be pursued by a part of the same faction which had heaped indignity after indignity upon his royal highness! It was also noticeable that the Radical reformers and the remnant of the Foxite, or, as Burke called them, the new Whig party, were far more eager for increasing the powers of the regent than was any other section or party in the House.

On the 30th of December, Mr. Perceval proposed the same limitations and restrictions on the powers of the regent as were passed in 1788. They were contained in five resolutions. The first was carried in a full House by a majority of only 24. The resolution restricting for a time the prerogative of the regent respecting the granting of peerages was carried by a majority of only 16. The third resolution, limiting the power of granting offices in reversion, salaries, pensions, &c., was carried by a majority of only 19. The fourth resolution, for securing the king's private property, was agreed to without a division; and the fifth, relating to the care of his majesty's person, was postponed till the next day.

A.D. 1811. There was no time for keeping Christmas holidays. On the 1st of January, an amendment to the fifth resolution, tending to diminish to a trifling amount the expenses of the king's household, and to curtail the authority of the queen over that household, was carried against ministers by 226 against 213, Lord Castlereagh speaking in favour of it. On the next day Perceval divided the House upon an amendment of his own, which went to restore the fifth resolution to its original state, but he was outvoted by three voices—217 to 214. When these five resolutions were communicated to the House of Lords, the Earl of Liverpool strongly objected to the fifth as it now stood altered. All he asked was, that the disposition of the household should be allowed to remain for twelve months with the queen. He was willing to agree that none of the great officers should be removed by the queen during that time: in this way her majesty would be placed out of the reach of the imputation of making any improper use of her influence. But, after some discussion, Lord Liverpool's motion was negatived by 100 against 97; and so the fifth clause was agreed to as it came up from the Commons. Lord Lansdowne and Lord Grenville thought it hard, unjust, and illiberal, that the regent should be restricted from granting peerages to any persons except such as might perform some signal military or naval exploit; and an amendment moved by Lord Lansdowne, for allowing the regent to bestow the peerage upon deserving civilians, lawyers, &c., was carried by a majority of three (105 to 102), and was accordingly introduced into the second resolution. The third and fourth resolutions, as sent up by the Commons, were agreed to without a division. The Commons readily agreed to the alteration made in the second resolution, which was the only alteration the Lords did make. By the act founded upon these resolutions, it was provided that the restrictions upon the royal authority as exercised by the regent should continue till the 1st of February, 1812, if parliament should be then assembled, and should have been sitting for six weeks previously; otherwise, till the expiration of six weeks from the assembling of parliament after that day.

A deputation from both Houses waited on the prince-regent and the queen, to acquaint them with the resolutions which had been passed. The queen, who was in a manner entrusted with the sole charge of her unhappy husband, promised her most earnest attention to the anxious and momentous charge, and spoke as if she were satisfied with the confidence reposed in her, and with all the arrangements made by parliament. But the Prince of Wales plainly told the deputation, that, though he did not hesitate to accept the office proposed to him, he could not but consider that its powers were to be exercised under too many restrictions and limitations. On the 11th of January the answers of the Prince of Wales and the queen were reported to parliament. Then Lord Liverpool, in the Lords, moved a resolution for putting the great seal to a commission for opening the parliament under the regent. Earl Grey, who had absented himself during all the previous important proceedings, protested against them in very strong language, accusing ministers of flagrant usurpation, and of

colleagues in administration,—"That, deeply as they lamented that the measure which they had thought themselves bound to propose should appear to their royal highnesses to deserve a character so directly contrary to that which it had been their anxious endeavour should belong to it, they must still, however, have the consolation of reflecting, that the principles upon which they had acted obtained the express and concurrent support of the two Houses of parliament in the years 1788 and 1789; that those Houses of parliament had the high satisfaction of receiving, by the command of his majesty, after his majesty's recovery, his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of their affectionate attachment to his person, and of their zealous concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions; and that the uninterrupted confidence which his majesty was pleased to repose, for a long series of years, in the persons who proposed the measures which were grounded on those principles entitled his majesty's servants, in their judgment, still farther to conclude that those principles and measures had the sanction of his royal approbation."

grossly violating the constitution. The ministers' resolution passed the Lords by 51 against 33. It was afterwards agreed to by the Commons; and then the Houses adjourned until the 15th of January, when the session was to be opened for the dispatch of business under the regency by the commission thus appointed.

The most extensive changes were pretty generally expected to ensue immediately, the restoration of the Whigs to power being considered as a necessary consequence of the prince's old friendships or connexions with that party. It was reported most confidently on the 14th of January that the prince intended to make a sweep as soon as possible; and Wilberforce observes in his 'Diary' that he could not see how the prince could do otherwise. In the Whig clubs and political circles a list of the new ministry was circulated: but this list was certainly not drawn up by the heads of the party, who alone knew the real state of the case; and the list itself seems to have varied considerably in the course of a very few days. At first Lord Grenville was unhesitatingly set down as premier and first lord of the treasury: but there were difficulties in the way of this arrangement (difficulties which will be presently alluded to); and then, without regard to that other obstacle or serious doubt whether Grenville would accept a secondary post under Grey, it was as confidently given out that Earl Grey would be premier. Grenville according to this version was to be secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Holland, first lord of the Admiralty; the Marquess of Lansdowne, formerly Lord Henry Petty, and chancellor of the exchequer to the All Talents administration, was to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in which country he had large estates; Mr. Ponsonby, who for some time had been considered as the leader of the Whig opposition in the Commons, was to be one of the secretaries of state; and Whitbread was to be the third, although no one who knew the two men could believe that Grenville and Whitbread could long agree, for on the vital questions of war and peace and foreign policy, as on every other important point but one, they differed *in toto*. Lord Erskine was to be, not chancellor, as he had been in the All Talents ministry, but speaker of the House of Lords; and the great seal was to be put in commission. Piggott and Romilly were to have their former offices of attorney and solicitor general. Even the minor places were all provided for. Mr. Brougham was to be secretary of the admiralty, in lieu of Mr. John Wilson Croker; and Mr. Francis Horner, a new luminary of the party, and their great financial theorist, was to be secretary of the treasury. All this, however, was but the rumour of a day; other lists were made out by the quidnuncs; and by the end of a week the best informed began to doubt whether either Grenville or Grey would be premier—whether there would or could be any Whig ministry at all. With some this doubt extended far into the future; but with others the hope obtained that, though the Whig party should not get into power just now, their accession to office could not be delayed very long, and that the most the prince-regent would consent or submit to would be the temporary exclusion of his friends. This hope was cherished in some, though not, as we believe, in the heads of the party, who must have known the formidable difficulties that existed, by a correspondence which took place at the beginning of February between the Prince of Wales and Mr. Perceval, in which the prince declared "that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father," and his dread that any act of the regent might interfere with the progress of his recovery, alone induced him to retain the present cabinet. His royal highness also complained indirectly of the restrictions which the minister had thought fit to put upon the powers of the regency.* Mr. Perceval, in his reply, defended the line of conduct which he and his colleagues had pursued; and, as in other matters of a personal nature the premier on former occasions had opposed the wishes of the prince, and had never (not even now, when he was confirmed in his high office) betrayed any symptoms of a timid, a submissive, or compromising spirit, it was judged by those who pretended to be good judges of human nature, that he must be excessively odious to the regent, and that this odium must render his long continuing in office impossible. They neglected to observe that, though Perceval's steady and decided conduct might have given offence to the prince, it had gained for him many friends both in parliament and in the country, and had warmed the attachment and zeal of the disciples, friends, and admirers of Pitt, who indisputably continued to form by far the strongest party in the nation—a party which in fact could be overthrown or committed only by a compromise and a coalition with their political adversaries. This last was an event not likely to occur; for, if the Pittites, or Tories, had been disposed to try the always dangerous experiment (which they were determined not to try, and which, being conscious of their own unaided superiority of strength, they felt that there was no necessity for them to

* The prince's letter was to this effect:—

"Carlton-house, Feb. 4, 1811.

"The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him in the administration of the executive government of the country, according to the powers vested in him by the bill passed by the two Houses of parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the great seal.

"The prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there as his majesty's official servants. At the same time the prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character which he trusts will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him *to dread that any act* of the regent *might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery.*

"This consideration *alone* dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.

"Having thus performed an act of indispensable duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the prince has only to add, that, among the many blessings to be derived from his majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his royal functions, it will not, in the prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution."

try), they would have encountered a capital impediment at least from Earl Grey, if not from the entire Whig phalanx, who had not yet recovered from [the sad and dishonouring effects of Fox's coalition with Lord North. Even those not friendly to him acknowledged the ability, spirit, integrity, and imperturbable calmness and good humour which Perceval had displayed through all the conduct of this most difficult and trying business. It was said that the regent might be offended at the minister, but that he could not but feel an increase of respect for the man. The reasons assigned by the prince, in his letter to Perceval, for continuing the government as he found it established were no doubt strong and *true* motives, although they certainly were not *all* the motives by which his royal highness was actuated. One of the king's physicians represented to the prince the likelihood of his majesty's recovery; told him that his father frequently made the most anxious inquiries about him; and, affirming that a change of ministers would, in all probability, as soon as it was communicated to the king, produce such an *exacerbation* as might put an end to his life, he very strongly impressed upon his royal highness the reflection that he might come to be considered as guilty of parricide. The queen, too, wrote a letter to her son, saying that the king had been informed of all that had passed during his illness, and was in the highest degree gratified by the manner in which the prince had conducted himself.* All this has been set down by the Whigs as a mere intrigue, carried on with great art, in order to determine the regent not to make any ministerial change; but, as it is not easy to set limits to the uncertainties of the medical science in its most difficult department, or to the fond hopes of an affectionate wife, the conversation and the letter may very well be accounted for without believing in any intrigue whatever; and the physician and the queen may, in perfect truth and sincerity—as they understood the matter—have addressed the regent in the manner they did; nor could the prince have entertained any doubt of the effect which would be produced upon his father by any entire and sudden change in the administration, nor can the physician be accused of much exaggeration in affirming that the appointment of a Grey or a Grenville cabinet would have been a death-blow to the poor blind old king, who had, and who for some months continued to have, lucid intervals, during which he eagerly inquired into the condition of the government, and into the state and progress of the war, of the final result of which he had never, in his better days, doubted, provided only the disciples of Fox, who had all along declared the war to be unnecessary and unjust, were not forced upon him as ministers and counsellors. It is but a perverse ingenuity to get up or imagine intrigues and artful manœuvres to account for what may be explained upon very simple and very obvious grounds. A great deal too much importance has been attributed to the conduct at this crisis of that effete and discredited man Sheridan, and to what is called an intriguing manœuvre which he practised. The prince, who, at one moment, had gone the length of refusing to receive Mr. Perceval at Carlton House, and who had requested Lords Grey and Grenville to make a draft of the answer which he should deliver to the addresses of the Lords and Commons, was not well satisfied with the paper they sent him, and handed it over to Sheridan to make some alterations in it. This said draft was not the production of ministers, or even of men who were agreed as to a ministry to be formed, and the places they were to occupy; Grey and Grenville had been consulted as private individuals; it was premature and irregular in them to seek to identify the regent with themselves and their views, as they did in the draft they presented; and the prince had the indisputable right of submitting their paper to correction, or of rejecting it altogether—which last course would have been the best. Sheridan, who was always ready to do whatsoever the prince might ask from him,—Sheridan, who had long considered himself a disappointed, ill-used man, deprived by the aristocratic pride and the selfishness of the great Whig families of the rewards to which his services and his eloquence entitled him—who had little to hope from Earl Grey, and a good deal to fear from Earl Grenville, whom he had lampooned on various occasions—undertook his present task with alacrity, and materially altered the Grey and Grenville paper. It should appear, however, that the alterations were precisely conformable to the directions of the prince, that others beside Sheridan were employed, and that the Earl of Moira was not a stranger to any part of the business, a sufficiently strong proof that, in the estimation of that high-minded nobleman, there was nothing tricky nor dishonourable in the transaction. If the prince had adopted, without alteration, the Grey and Grenville paper, which sounded like their own opposition speeches, the regency would have commenced with a quarrel with both Houses of parliament. His royal highness sent back their draft in its corrected or altered form to Lords Grey and Grenville, apparently without anticipating any angry remonstrance on their part; but those two noblemen, in a joint letter to the prince, expressed in strong terms their dissatisfaction, telling his royal highness that, as he had not deemed it proper to follow their advice, but had submitted their humble endeavours in his service to the judgment of another person, they must decline taking any further part in the intended arrangements. The regent showed this peremptory letter to Sheridan, who is said to have represented to the prince the miserable state of tutelage in which he must expect to be kept by men who began their lectures and their stately dictation to him even before they were his ministers.* But, weeks before this, it was rumoured that Lords Grey and Grenville could not accord, that

* Sir Samuel Romilly.

* T. Moore, Life of Sheridan.

differences and even dissensions prevailed in the Whig party, or in that coalition of parties which had occupied the opposition benches; and certain facts and circumstances, now known to the whole nation, produced no small degree of indisposition to Lord Grenville, together with the pretty general conviction that his lordship could not take office as first lord of the treasury, and that he had never seriously aimed at doing so. Lord Grenville had held for many years the very profitable patent place for life of auditor of the exchequer; on assuming the premiership in the All Talents administration, being fully determined not to sacrifice his certain income as auditor to his very uncertain salary, power, and patronage as minister, his lordship's friends brought in a bill to allow him to hold both places, arguing that there was no inconsistency or incompatibility in this double tenure, that the auditorship of the exchequer was never intended as a check on the treasury, that the first lord of the treasury might very constitutionally, safely, and appropriately continue to be auditor of the exchequer, &c., the auditorship being little else than a dependency and registry of the treasury. This bill was almost the first measure the Talents entered upon, and it was generally considered to have been carried through parliament with a greedy impatience and indecent haste. Nor was Lord Grenville the only member of his family that had been eager and successful in obtaining a disproportionate share of the public money and of the good things in the gift of government. Until driven from office his lordship had continued to exercise the double functions of first lord of the treasury and auditor of the exchequer, his party being ready at any moment to demonstrate that there was not the slightest impropriety or inconvenience in his so doing. But, when Perceval, then first lord of the treasury, was embarrassed by the king's malady, and by the difficulties and delays attendant on the settling of the regency, Grenville, as auditor of the exchequer, gave a version of the duties of that office altogether different from the one which had been formerly given by his friends, claiming for that office a high degree of authority, and independence, and responsibility, and holding that constitutionally the auditor of the exchequer was intended as a check on the first lord of the treasury: all of which was true, and expressed on the title of the office, but was quite as true in 1807 as now. At the trying and critical moment, when nothing was settled, when there was neither a king nor a regent, issues of money for the army and navy became indispensable. Money had been appropriated by parliament for these services; but it was required by law that the issues should be by orders under the great seal, the privy seal, or the sign manual, or by express authority of an act of parliament. Mr. Perceval conceived that, under all the existing circumstances, it would be best to put the privy seal to the orders for the issues; which could not be long delayed without exposing both army and navy to serious inconvenience, if not to danger and to mutiny. The keeper of the privy seal, Lord Westmoreland, was quite willing to take this responsibility upon himself; but it was found that the signature of the clerk of the privy seal was likewise necessary; and Mr. Larpent, who filled that office, refused to sign, pleading scruples of conscience on account of his oath of office. Upon this Mr. Perceval issued an order from the treasury for the exchequer, holding that it was better for the responsible ministers of the crown to risk the censure, or wait for a bill of indemnity from parliament, than to allow the public service to suffer. But, when these treasury warrants were carried to Lord Grenville, in his capacity as auditor of the exchequer, he required time "to consider the nature and extent of the duties which this new and unexpected course of proceeding imposed upon him;" and requested to know from Mr. Perceval when it was absolutely necessary that the money should be issued. His lordship was informed, "that, according to the usual course of supplying the weekly issues to the navy and army, it would be necessary that sums should be issued for both services, beyond the amount of the existing credit at the exchequer, either on the morrow, or the next day at farthest; but, if an actual issue could be made within six days, no serious inconvenience was apprehended." The noble auditor of the exchequer then demanded that the legal opinions of the attorney and solicitor generals should be taken. These law officers pronounced that they "did not think the warrant of the lords commissioners of the treasury was in law a sufficient authority imperative upon the auditor, nor, consequently, a legal sanction for his proceeding to obey the same; nor that any discretion was left to him by the law on this occasion, for the exercise of which he would not be responsible." In communicating this opinion to Lord Grenville, Mr. Perceval and the lords commissioners of the treasury informed him "that their sense of the mischief to the public service which would arise if any delay should take place appeared to render it indispensable that the warrants should be forthwith complied with, and that they were consequently ready to take upon themselves the responsibility of any act which might be essential for that purpose." Lord Grenville, who, as first lord of the treasury, had been his own auditor of the exchequer, now declared that Perceval's responsibility would not relieve him from his, and that his conscientious scruples as auditor were insurmountable. "If," said his lordship, "I could be satisfied of the propriety of my doing what is required, there is no personal responsibility which I would not readily incur for the public interests; but I cannot persuade myself that I could obey these warrants without a breach of my official duty on that point which is above all others peculiarly obligatory on the person placed in the situation of auditor of the exchequer; nor without a high and criminal violation both of a positive statute, and also of the essential principles

of our monarchical and parliamentary constitution. I am told," he continued, "that I must act on my own discretion, for the exercise of which I must alone be responsible. This responsibility, if it legally attaches upon me, I cannot transfer to any other persons, and least of all to your lordships, whatever willingness you have expressed to take it upon yourselves. My attempting to do so would itself be criminal; tending to confound the official relations in which I have the honour to stand towards your lordships, and to annul those checks which the law has established for insuring the faithful discharge of our respective duties, and thereby the security of the public treasure. [*Where was this check when Grenville was first lord of the treasury and auditor of the exchequer?*] But I beg leave humbly to submit that the law has in truth invested me with no discretion on this subject. The exigencies of the public service, which your lordships have condescended to detail to me in these your warrants, are matters of state, of which, as auditor of the exchequer, I have no knowledge, and can take no cognizance." After repeating that he was compelled to decline, "but with all due respect," a compliance with the requisition contained in the warrants, Grenville recommended that the difficulty should be submitted to the consideration of both Houses of parliament, whose right and duty it was to provide the means of removing it, and to whose pleasure he would entirely submit. Upon this—on the 3rd of January—Perceval laid the whole correspondence before parliament, saying that, but for the difficulty which had been unexpectedly started, he certainly should not have thought it expedient to bring the subject under their immediate notice; that he had, however, always anticipated it as his duty to submit it to their consideration, not for the purpose of obtaining a vote of indemnity beforehand, but, after having incurred the responsibility, for the purpose of calling on the House to determine whether or not ministers had acted justifiably in ordering the issues of money for the services for which that very money had been appointed by the House. He moved a resolution, that the lords of the treasury should issue their warrants for the immediate payment of such sums as were necessary, and that the auditor and officers of the exchequer should obey those warrants. The resolution passed, after a long debate, without a division, and was afterwards agreed to by the Lords. Thus the money was issued to the army and navy, and an end was put to Lord Grenville's scruples and contumacy; but the public discussion, by reviving the memory of what had passed on the occasion of the accession of his lordship to office on the death of Mr. Pitt, inflicted a most serious injury on the Grenville party, which never had enjoyed much popularity. After such public and recent discussion, the most bronze-faced politician might shrink from attempting again to unite and hold the two offices of auditor and first lord of the treasury; and after all that had passed there would have been considerable awkwardness even in his continuing to hold his well-paid patent place along with any other office in the cabinet to which the premiership might have been attached. Now, without the borough influence of Lord Grenville, and of his family and connexions, Earl Grey and the rest of the Whigs, even should they be backed by the entire favour and support of Carlton House, could not hope to maintain themselves in office for a week. It was exceedingly doubtful whether, with all the Grenville influence, and with a conformity of interests, sentiments, and views (which certainly did not exist among them), the Whigs could have secured so much as a minimum parliamentary majority. To give them a chance it would have been necessary to dissolve parliament and throw the whole court influence into the general election. But there was not time to try this experiment: too much time had been already consumed, and public business too seriously obstructed, to allow of a delay of many weeks. Indeed even the shorter space of time which would have been required for the members of the House of Commons who might have taken office to obtain their re-election to their seats was, in itself, a very serious objection to any ministerial change at this moment of crisis. Upon all these, and upon other considerations, the Prince of Wales's Whig partialities, even supposing them to have been decided and strong, might very naturally have given way. But there is little to show that these partialities or predilections were very strong at this time. It was true that the prince, acting as all heirs apparent to the throne since the accession of the House of Brunswick had acted, had courted or coqueted with the opposition; that in his young days he had worn the blue and buff; that he had lived in great intimacy and familiarity with some of the men of wit and humour (and they were decidedly men of pleasure also), who chanced to be Whigs and opposition leaders; that the successive governments of the king his father had thwarted many of his wishes and refused not a few of his demands, and that on all such occasions the parliamentary opposition had stood forward with more or less warmth as his champions and eulogists: but at the very first really vital difference which occurred (that upon the French Revolution), the prince had openly separated himself from the opposition, and, both publicly and privately, in the House of Lords as well as in Carlton House, had strongly declared against the opinions entertained or professed by Mr. Fox and his friends; and it had long been matter of notoriety that not the king himself was more resolutely bent upon continuing the war with France than was the Prince of Wales. On this last point all the royal dukes, with the doubtful exception of one, agreed with the prince, and entertained the same conviction as the king their father, that peace was never to be purchased with dishonourable and dangerous submission to terms dictated by Bonaparte. Now, Lord Grey and his adherents, who considered themselves the

truest representatives of the Foxites, and who had never ceased proclaiming the war to be unnecessary and unjust, were understood to be determined to signalise their return to power by opening negotiations with the Emperor of the French; and Lord Grenville and his friends, though they had not committed themselves so thoroughly to a negotiation and a peace upon any terms, were believed to cherish the notion that England ought to cease altogether from interfering in the affairs of the continent, and from succouring the Portuguese and Spaniards in a hopeless struggle with the French, and limit all her exertions to a defensive war for the protection of her own coasts and her own colonies. There was thus, on the question of war or peace, a considerable difference between Grey and Grenville. But among the mixture of parties which had formed the opposition, and which was now aspiring to the government, there existed other and more extreme divergencies of opinion. Lord Holland, though the nephew and pupil of Fox, whom he closely resembled in many particulars, was very far from agreeing either with Grey or Grenville; for he had travelled in Spain, had resided for a considerable time in that country, had acquired its language, and an acquaintance with its literature, and was enthusiastic in the cause of Spanish independence, and very sanguine as to the final success of the national resistance of the Spaniards. With these feelings, Lord Holland, as minister, would have acted with additional vigour in aid of Spain and Portugal, and in this policy he would have been followed *certainly* by Lord Moira, and *probably* by Mr. Ponsonby. No government could have stood with these irreconcileable differences among its chiefs and members; but, on other subjects, and particularly on that of parliamentary reform, there was an equal want of unanimity in opinion and principle; and it may safely be said that these coalesced parties fully agreed in nothing except in taking a liberal view of the Catholic claims and the great question of religious freedom—a question upon which they could not have commanded a majority, the people of Great Britain being not yet prepared for such principles. Indisputably, the Prince of Wales had entertained a very friendly regard for Fox, but his affection for any other men of that party, or rather of those parties, may be safely reduced to a very small matter; he disliked the tone and manners of Grenville, and he did not much like those of Grey, and his family traditions bore testimony to the annoyances and vexations which his father had suffered from a haughty and imperious minister. The prince retained Sheridan in his society, and admitted him into part, at least, of his confidence; but Sheridan was now scarcely to be considered as a Whig, or as a member of any one of the coalesced parties, considering himself as aggrieved by Grenville and by Grey, and being ready, at any moment, to comply with the wishes of the prince; and, besides, Sheridan had been too ready and unscrupulous in the services which he had rendered or proffered, and had too entirely lost himself in public opinion, either to have any claim on the regent's esteem, or any capability of doing him any further public service. Lord Moira, indeed, was both liked and respected by the prince; but it was said that, although this nobleman had been a steady Whig, and a warm opponent of Perceval as of Pitt, he waited upon the prince, then in a state of painful indecision, and declared that his affection for his royal highness, and his anxiety for the welfare and honour of the country, that his loyalty and patriotism obliged him to say that a calm reviewal of all the circumstances and difficulties of the times had convinced him that a stable Whig ministry could not be constituted out of the discordant materials of the opposition, and that there would be great danger in making the attempt.

Whatever may have been the number or the relative weight of the motives which induced the regent to retain his father's ministry, his decision was certainly acceptable to the great majority of the nation.* The recollections of All the Talents administration were a strong bar to the pretensions of the living men who had formed it; and it was worse than idle for them to talk again (as they had recently been doing) of the incalculable advantages to be derived from the union and blending of great names, great reputations, great and varied abilities, &c. The Burdettites and Radical reformers said that it was as well to retain Perceval and Liverpool as to supersede them by Grey and Grenville; that a ministry formed by these two joint opposition lords would, in reality, have excluded almost all the people's friends—that from those lords the people could have expected nothing.

The ceremony of installing the prince regent was performed in Carlton-house on Wednesday the 6th of February, the prince swearing to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to his majesty King George III.; to execute truly and faithfully the office of regent of the United Kingdom, according to the act of parliament; to administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in him by the said act; and in all things, to the utmost of his power and ability, to consult and maintain the safety, honour, and dignity of his majesty, and the welfare of his people. The lord president of the council then presented the declaration against popery, which was repeated audibly and then subscribed by the prince, as the oaths had been. The privy councillors signed as witnesses; and these instruments were then delivered to the keeper of the records. The prince then delivered to the president of the council a certificate of his having

* As late as the 1st and 2nd of February, Wilberforce makes these curious entries in his Diary:—"No one knows what the prince means to do, whether to change his ministers or not. . . . . Lord Bathurst believes they are all to go out; but Perry, the editor of the Morning Chronicle, told Stephen that the Prince of Wales has examined the physician at Carlton-house as to the state of the king's health, and has determined against changing his ministers. Otherwise, it had been decided that Lord Grenville was to be first lord of the treasury, in spite of his late letter to Perceval. . . . . I am assured that, before the prince determined upon keeping the present ministers, he sent to Mrs. Fitzherbert and Lady H., and that they both advised it."

received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and this certificate also was countersigned and handed over to the keeper of the records.

On the 12th of February—six days after the installation of the regent—the session of parliament was regularly opened, not by the prince in person, but by commission. The commissioners were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Montrose, Earl Camden, and the Earl of Westmoreland. The speech they delivered in the name of the regent dwelt upon the success of our armies in the Indian seas, and the repulse of the French and Neapolitans in the attack on Sicily; upon failures that the French had met with in Portugal and at Cadiz; and it expressed the hope that parliament would enable the regent to continue the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula. It was again declared that the best interests of the British empire must be affected by the issue of the contest of these two nations, and that England could not and ought not to think of abandoning their cause. No speech from the throne since the beginning of the war had been more warlike. In the debates on the address, Lord Grenville explicitly declared his conviction that it was impossible to expect success in such a war—that, in a contest so unequal, the money and resources of this country must be expended with certain loss. The address, however, was carried in both Houses without a division, and with far less opposition and oratory than might have been expected.

On the 21st of February, Perceval informed the House that he had been preparing a plan for the establishment of the regent's household, which would have required an additional allowance of 12,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* a-year, but that his royal highness had determined not to add to the burthens of the people, by accepting any addition to his public state. It was stated, however, by one of the prince's legal friends or advisers, that, in case the king should not recover, and the regency should become permanent, this question would be open anew to his royal highness's consideration.*

Soon after his installation it was reported that the Regent intended to restore the Duke of York to the office of Commander in Chief of the Forces. The Perceval administration had zealously defended the duke during the investigation, and the opposition, or all that portion of it which had supported Colonel Wardle, had not conciliated the Prince of Wales by the zeal they had displayed in accusing and decrying his brother. Old Sir David Dundas, who had succeeded within so short a space of time in disgusting or indisposing the whole army, had applied early in the winter for leave to retire from the arduous office; stating that ill health obliged him so to do, and that he had already served his country in different military capacities for half a century. This application had been repeated so frequently and so earnestly that it was indispensable to name some one to succeed Sir David. The universal voice of the army said, Re-appoint the Duke of York; thus seconding or even anticipating the wishes of the Regent. The trials in which Mrs. Clarke had been engaged, and the sad exhibition which Colonel Wardle and his friends had made since the delicate investigation, had gone far to neutralize the popular prejudice and outcry against the duke, and Perceval and his colleagues saw little or no difficulty in complying with the earnest wishes of the regent. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, the Duke of York's re-appointment was gazetted, and without any outcry. Even the opposition newspapers were nearly all silent on the subject. The re-appointment did not, however, pass without some animadversion in parliament. Lord Milton moved in the Commons that it had been highly improper and indecorous in the advisers of the regent to recommend the re-appointment. He was supported by Lord Althorpe, Mr. Wynn, Mr. W. Elliot, Whitbread, and others: but various members retracted the unfavourable opinions they had delivered against the duke during the investigation; declaring that the circumstances which had come to light concerning the evidence and the character of the witnesses, and the conduct of the accusers, caused them to regret the votes which they had then given: some said that the country was ready to acknowledge that the re-appointment of the duke was a great public benefit; that no measure could be more consonant with the feelings of the army; that the army, which would have been degraded and injured by the corrupt practices which had been imputed to him, if such practices had really existed, was, of all parts of the nation, the most highly pleased at the duke's return to power; and upon a division Lord Milton's motion was negatived by an immense majority — 296 against 47. The duke signalized his return to the war-office by establishing regimental schools on the Bell system. The supplies voted for the year amounted to 56,021,869*l.* Out of this sum 20,276,144*l.* were appropriated to the navy, 21,269,940*l.* to the army, 5,012,378*l.* to the ordnance, 2,100,000*l.* to subsidies, &c. for Portugal, and 400,000*l.* as a subsidy to Sicily.

More through our differences with America, and the interruption of our trade with the United States, than through Bonaparte's continental system, a considerable commercial depression was felt at this critical moment, together with a derangement in the money market, in a great measure occasioned by the necessity of constantly sending specie—particularly gold—to the continent, and by the import-

* The regent, shortly after his installation, gave a splendid fête at Carlton-house. Nothing so gay, or so grand, or so gorgeous, had ever been seen in an English palace; but the fête was generally disapproved of by the public as unseasonable. A few weeks after this an incident occurred, which Francis Horner describes in a manner that does credit to his good feeling:—"There was a very affecting proof of the king's melancholy state given last week at the Concert of Ancient Music: it was the Duke of Cambridge's night, who announced to the directors that the king himself had made the selection. This consisted of all the finest passages to be found in Handel descriptive of madness and blindness; particularly those in the opera of 'Samson:' there was one also upon madness from love, and the lamentation of Jephtha upon the loss of his daughter; and it closed with 'God save the King,' to make sure the application of all that went before.' It was a very melancholy as well as singular instance of sensibility, that in the intervals of reason he should dwell upon the worst circumstances of his situation, and have a sort of indulgence in soliciting the public sympathy."—*Letter to his Father, in Memoirs and Correspondence.*

ant circumstance that the price of gold had risen all over the continent, partly owing to the almost total suspension of the supplies of gold from South America (where by this time nearly all the Spanish colonies were in a state of revolt and anarchy), and partly through other potent causes.* A certain school of politicians and economists, taking up the abstract principle that a gold and silver currency (with gold only for a legal tender in all sums beyond a certain low amount) was far preferable to a paper currency; that guineas were better things than bank notes; and, forgetting that there was hardly any gold in the country, that silver was becoming scarce, that there was no immediate prospect of an influx of the precious metals, and that the fate of the country mainly depended upon the credit of its paper money, thought this a proper moment for raising a cry in favour of a speedy return to cash payments. Mr. Francis Horner, who had chosen the bullion question as his *cheval de bataille*, and who seems to have got into parliament chiefly for the purpose of riding it, had obtained during the preceding year the appointment of a committee to inquire into the reason of the high price of gold bullion, and the state of the circulating medium, and of the exchanges between Great Britain and foreign parts. On the 6th of May, Mr. Horner presented the report of the Bullion Committee, in the drawing up of which he had the principal hand. He prefaced it with an elaborate exposition of his own theory and views. The report stated "that there was an excess in the paper circulation, of which the most unequivocal symptom was the very high price of bullion, and next to that the low state of the continental exchanges; that the cause of this excess (of bank notes) was to be found in the suspension of cash payments, there being no adequate provision against such an excess except in the convertibility of paper into specie; and that the unfavourable state of the exchanges originated in the same cause, and was further increased by the anti-commercial measures of the enemy." The report added "that the committee could see no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, except the repeal of the Suspension Act: this they thought could not safely be done at an earlier period than two years from the time of their report; but they recommended that early provision should be made by parliament for this purpose." Four long nights were spent upon the discussion of this report. Mr. Horner, who had thought that his theory must carry conviction to all candid minds, was astonished to find that the majority of the House was blind to its merit, and that many even of his own friends and party differed widely from him, not merely as to the expediency of attempting an impracticable change at a crisis like the present, but as to the soundness of several of his fundamental principles. His opponents insisted that there had been no depreciation of the paper currency, but that gold had risen in value; that a one pound bank note would still purchase twenty shillings' worth of any commodity except minted gold; that the people neither refused, nor thought of refusing, bank notes great or small; and that it ill became the legislature to throw a discredit upon bank paper, or to shake that confidence without which it would be impossible to continue the momentous struggle in which we were engaged. [Many of those who voted with Mr. Horner, or advocated his doctrine out of doors, there can be no doubt, clung to his theory precisely because they saw that its adoption must force the government into a peace with France.] Imagining that some persons, who might agree with him in his general principles, would yet differ from him in the practical conclusion, Mr. Horner divided his resolutions. The theoretical ones were rejected by 151 against 75: the practical conclusion, or the resolution which would have restored cash payments at the end of two years, was thrown out by the still greater majority of 180 against 45. After this Mr. Vansittart, who had been assisted by George Rose and others, moved a series of resolutions, declaring that bank notes were not depreciated; that the political and commercial relations of the country with foreign powers were sufficient to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges, and the high price of bullion; that it was highly important that the restriction on cash payments should be removed whenever it was compatible with the public interest; but that to fix a definite period earlier than that of six months after the conclusion of peace (which period was already fixed) would be highly inexpedient and dangerous: and after a discussion of three nights more these resolutions were all passed by a very large majority. But the bullionists would not let the matter rest here. Lord King, who prided himself on his descent from the family which produced the philosopher and metaphysician Locke, gave notice to his tenants, in a circular letter, which was printed and widely circulated throughout the country, that he would no longer receive bank notes at par, but that his rents must henceforward be paid either in English guineas, or in an equivalent weight of Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes amounting to a

* Bonaparte never took the field with the Grand Army without carrying an immense military chest with him, and this chest, from obvious motives of convenience, was always filled and replenished with gold. On starting on a campaign the French officers, and even those of the soldiers who had money, were all eager to convert it into gold; some of which was carried about the person in a belt or girdle, while some was left secreted at home. In France, all cautious persons, apprehending fresh revolutions and changes of fortune and distrusting the imperial bank, accumulated all the gold specie they could, to conceal it and keep it for the evil hour. Nearly all over the continent of Europe the insecurity of property, and the dread of forced contributions and of less regular plunder, had induced the habit of hoarding and hiding; and gold was sought after and bought up at a constantly increasing price, to be buried in the earth or concealed in secret recesses. In this matter, as in others, Europe was returning to her ancient barbarism, or to the condition of the despotic nations of the East, where so large a portion of the precious metals is constantly withdrawn from circulation and kept hidden. In 1812 and 1813 as much as six Spanish dollars could be obtained in any part of the Mediterranean for an English guinea. With such a temptation to send gold abroad, it was not likely that English traders and speculators should be prevented by the inexecutable laws for prohibiting the exportation of gold and for keeping the guineas down to their standard value from sending gold abroad to the best market. Even in England, Scotland, and Ireland the practice of hoarding specie, during the whole of this revolutionary war, was far from being uncommon. Again, every English officer, traveller, or merchant that went abroad endeavoured to carry with him some gold, as a *corps de reserve*, in case of capture by the enemy, or of other accident. Through all these causes united a guinea, half guinea, or seven shilling piece had become a rare sight in Great Britain.

sum sufficient to purchase such an equivalent weight of gold. It was thought at the time, by those who were not partakers in his lordship's political antipathies, that Lord King had no worse motive than the design of enforcing his own opinion as a bullionist, and, perhaps, of annoying the existing ministers, whom he reproached more especially as enemies to religious freedom, and the claims of the catholics and dissenters of all classes; but that, if his aim had been to bring about national bankruptcy, dishonour, and subjugation, he could not have taken more effectual means to attain that object. It was said that, perhaps, no individual whose intentions were not treasonable had ever before committed so mischievous an act. His example was followed by some other landlords, whose motives were generally believed to be much less disinterested than his lordship's. The farmers and tenants of all classes were thrown into consternation, for guineas were not procurable, and the new demand of the landlords would have imposed an increase on their rents of from 25 to 30 per cent. Fortunately the parliament was still sitting. The very eccentric Earl Stanhope, who had figured so conspicuously at the beginning of the French revolution, as a convert to and a propagandist of French principles, had never ceased voting with the opposition and opposing all ministries; but he had his crotchets, and a pet theory of his own about currency, and he was thus induced to stand forward, and boldly combat the practice or proposition by which Lord King intended to enforce his opposite theory. On the 27th of June, when the government seemed strangely blind to the doom which threatened them and the country, Stanhope gave the alarm, and brought in a bill for preventing the current gold coin from being paid for a greater value than twenty-one shillings, or Bank of England notes from being received for any smaller sum than they were issued for; and for staying proceedings upon any distress by tender of such notes. "The bank," said he, "is one of the bottom planks of the ship of England, and woe be to us if we permit it to be bored through!" On the second reading of Stanhope's bill Lord King defended his letter to his tenants, and his intention of proceeding thereon. Lord Holland maintained that he was perfectly justifiable, as he was only dealing fairly for the interests of his own family, and acting according to the laws of the land.* Lords Lauderdale and Grenville opposed Earl Stanhope's bill, and bitterly censured ministers for countenancing it. Grenville spoke of the French revolution, and of the Jacobin club, in a way to revive the recollections of some of Stanhope's past extravagancies, eulogizing at the same time the character of Lord King, his public spirit, his extensive information, his almost unequalled acquaintance with the subject under discussion, his private virtues, his temper, and benevolence. The second reading of the bill was, however, carried by 62 against 36. Lords Grenville, Grey, Holland, Lansdowne, Lauderdale, Essex, Jersey, and Cowper entered their protest against it, as "manifestly tending to the compulsory circulation of a paper currency: a measure necessarily productive of the most fatal calamities."* Ministers thought it expedient to alter the bill, and such was the extent of their amendments that only about five lines of the original bill were left unaltered. The purport and the effect of the bill remained, however, in the main:—it declared that bank notes should be taken only at their professed value, and it deprived the landlord of his summary remedy by distress, wherever tender of payment had been made in bank notes. On the third reading of the thus amended bill, Lord King said that this law would create additional mischiefs and inconveniencies; that landlords would now refuse to grant leases; that the bill could not effect the object which it professed to have in view, or retard depreciation of bank notes, &c. Lord Chancellor Eldon insisted that the claim which Lord King had set forth in his letter to his tenants was oppressive and unjust, and that the bill was necessary to prevent such a grievous oppression. "The Restriction Act of 1797," said Eldon, "interfered so far with individual contracts, as to say that a debtor should not be arrested, if he tendered his debt in bank notes; the justice of that enactment has never been disputed, and is it now to be said, that a tenant shall have his goods or stock seized, because he cannot pay in gold which is not to be procured? . . . . Let us suppose a young professional man, struggling with the world, who has a rent to pay of 90*l.* per annum, and who has 3000*l.* in the bank, in the 3 per cents. His lordship demands his rent in gold, but the bank refuses to pay the tenant his dividend in gold. Would not the tenant have a right to say, 'As a public creditor, I am refused any other payment than in bank notes; but here is a legislator —one of those by whose act of parliament I am thus refused to be paid except in bank notes—insisting upon my paying him his rent in gold, which I cannot procure; and because I cannot procure it my goods are to be distrained?' Would not this be a grievous oppression? Surely so long as it should be expedient to continue the Cash Suspension Act of 1797, this present bill must become a part of it: for otherwise there would be no equality in the situation of different contracting parties, nor would equal justice be dealt out to those who had an equal claim to it; as there could be no justice in leaving the tenant, who had tendered bank notes, exposed to be distrained upon by his landlord, whilst the debtor in other cases, who had tendered bank notes, was exempted from arrest."† Lord Grenville, who had been himself in power, under

* Lord King himself had said in the House, "I saw no course left but to give up my property, or hold it at such value as the bank, in its good pleasure, might put upon it; or to avail myself of the means which the law yet affords me for its preservation."

* Lord Holland added to his protest, that "he made it also, because, in his judgment, the repeal of the Cash Suspension Act was the only means which could cure the inconvenience already felt, and avert the yet greater calamities which were impending, from the present state of the circulation of the country."

† Lord Eldon also said, "I am peculiarly situated with respect to this question, having the official care of twenty-five millions of the property of His Majesty's subjects, and without the means of enforcing the payment of any part of that sum except in bank notes."

his relative Pitt, when the original Suspension Act was passed, declared that he had then considered it as a necessary, but only *temporary*, measure; and, though the necessity was greater now than it had ever been, he renewed his hostility to the present bill. It was however passed, on the 8th of July, by 43 against 16. In the Commons the bill was opposed at every stage by Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Peter Moore, and others; but it was eventually carried through that House by majorities of about four to one. The bullionist landlords were by this time perfectly well convinced that they must take payment from their tenants in bank notes at par, or get no rent at all; the credit of the bank was not injured; and things went on as before, all cool and rational men believing that it would be soon enough to talk of the resumption of cash payments when the country should get specie to make them, or when the war should be well finished. But on the continent the report of the Bullion Committee, the letter of Lord King to his tenants, and the discussions thereon in parliament and in the public prints, made impressions which were thought to be, and which probably for a time were, very injurious to the credit and the *prestige* of England. Warned by two or three of the most enlightened or the most honest of his advisers, struck by an appearance of discontent even in France, besieged by importunities and representations from Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, Holland, the Hanse towns, and the whole of the north of Germany, which all agreed in representing that they were sinking fast into poverty, and that his continental system was doing far more hurt to the continent than to Great Britain; and being at the same time startled at the altered and almost menacing tone of his late friend and admirer the Emperor Alexander, who was compelled by the interests of his nobility and landholders, whose superabundant produce could be sold to advantage only in the English markets, to set his face against the Berlin and Milan decrees; the Emperor Napoleon had seriously thought of abandoning, or at the least relaxing, his unhappy system. But now he took fresh heart; and, taking our parliamentary reports and debates as good evidence to the facts, he thought that England was only two fingers' breadth from her ruin—*à deux doigts de sa perte*—that she had suffered far more than the continent, and that another year or two's perseverance must witness her bankruptcy and the triumph of his system, when it would be an easy and simple operation to invade her shores, march an invincible French army into London, change the selfish and anti-social constitution of the country, and declare that the dynasty of Brunswick had ceased to reign. Long before this the members of the parliamentary opposition, and the opposition newspapers, had assured the world that Great Britain was altogether incapable of continuing a struggle which was draining all her resources—that Great Britain was exhausted and impoverished, and that every effort she made against the power and the will of France only hurried on her final ruin; but it might be said, as it had been said, that this was but the voice of a faction, and the hackneyed argument of their paid journalists. But here was a voice of another kind; here a committee of the House of Commons, composed of men of name and reputation, and some of whom had recently belonged to the ministry, had declared in a report to parliament and to the whole country that the paper currency was depreciated, was becoming every day more and more like the assignats of the French revolutionists, and that the only remedy that could be proposed was the impracticable, impossible resumption of cash payments; here a noble lord, who was lately prime minister, supports the principles laid down in the report of the committee; here another noble lord tells his tenants that he will not take depreciated bank notes as payment for rent, and repudiates the paper currency, and finds other peers ready to back him, and support the argument that a national bankruptcy is imminent and inevitable: these men have a large stake in the country; these men must know better than we the real state and prospects of their country. *Allons*, then! let us persevere a little longer; let us burn all British merchandise wherever found; let us punish as traitors all those who attempt to introduce British goods into any part of the continent; and, for the triumph of this great system, which is now working its effects, let us brave and despise the remonstrances and the enmity even of the Czar Alexander! The perfidious Albion has built upon a foundation of credit which has crumbled under her: she has trusted to paper, and presently it will be as easy to rend her in pieces as to tear up one of her flimsy bank notes. At the same moment Bonaparte certainly found another encouragement to persevere, in the rage and hostility of the United States against Great Britain. In his metaphorical way he talked of the leopards of England being chased from the seas by the eagle of France and the stripes and stars of America. Yet, after all, the bullionists may be said, without perhaps intending it, to have done a fatal injury to the Emperor of the French: for, through them, and the discussions they provoked, he was encouraged to persevere, and even to attempt to coerce the czar, and hence followed the Russian campaign, and the disastrous retreat from Moscow.

The debates on Catholic emancipation—a subject which was again agitating Ireland in the most violent manner—will be noticed in our Chapter on the history of Religion.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 24th of July. The speech expressed the regent's warm approbation of the wisdom and firmness which the two Houses had manifested in enabling him to continue the exertions of the country in the cause of our allies, and to prosecute the war with increased activity and vigour.

Acting at their own discretion, and on their own responsibility, our ministers had sent out reinforcements and other succours to Lord Wellington, at the moment when nothing was settled, and when it

seemed doubtful whether they might not be displaced in four-and-twenty hours by their opponents, who had certainly induced people to believe that their first important proceeding would be the recal of our army from the Peninsula. In many particulars Perceval was not to be considered as a good war minister, and his cabinet was censurable for delay and indecision, and a proneness to adopt half measures; but their manly conduct at this critical moment entitles them to the admiration and gratitude of those who believe that it would have been disgraceful and ruinous to abandon the Spaniards and Portuguese, and that the only chance, not only for the continent of Europe, but also for England herself, lay in the prosecution of the war. If the contest in the Peninsula, which was draining the life-blood of France, had been given up at the beginning of 1811, there would have been no Russian war in 1812; the Emperor Alexander would have temporized, and would have endeavoured to avert hostilities by complying with the will of Napoleon.

Lord Wellington's difficulties, with respect to the wilful Portuguese regency, and the provincial and other constituted authorities acting under it, had increased rather than diminished. The prince regent, who knew little at Rio Janeiro of what was passing at Lisbon, and who had never been distinguished by perspicacity or political wisdom, seemed inclined to take the part of Principal Souza, with whom his lordship had declared he could not act, and, at the same time, to drive from the Lisbon regency the only man in it with whom Wellington had reason to be satisfied. The ill humour and pique of these incompetent statesmen were betrayed in a variety of petty annoying acts, which would scarcely be credible if not related by the British general himself. Wherever they could they thwarted Lord Wellington, and insulted the troops he commanded, though these troops and this general were the only real defences of the country, and though the British government was sending millions of money to the Portuguese. If, during the inclement weather, the English soldiers cut down a few trees to convert into fuel to cook their meat, or to warm and cheer them in their dreary bivouacs, the regency, who had engaged to furnish the army with these and other comforts and indispensable materials, but who actually furnished nothing, raised a clamour almost as loud and fierce as that which proceeded from the poor peasants when the French army swept through the country, ravaging and ravishing, plundering or burning, or otherwise wantonly destroying, whatever lay in their way; and, when Wellington was advancing from his winter cantonments to drive Massena back into Spain, these gentlemen of the Portuguese regency pestered the English general with complaints about the soldiers having cut some firewood in the prince regent's park, in Salvaterra, and about some olive-trees having been cut down, several months before, on the estate of a Portuguese, at Bucellas—the said olive-trees having in fact been used in the making of abattis for those lines of Torres Vedras which had saved Lisbon from invasion and plunder, and the members of the regency from captivity or a flight across the Atlantic.* At the beginning of the year his lordship saw good grounds for believing that that very perverse and troublesome man the Patriarch of Oporto was assisting Souza in getting up an anti-English party, not only in Lisbon and Oporto, but also in other towns of the kingdom, which had been preserved solely by English armies and English money from French conquest and devastation; and on the 5th of January he expressed to our ambassador at Lisbon his decided opinion that there was a regular plot on foot against the English, and that at the head of it were the patriarch and Souza, who wanted to be able to show that they protested against the pretensions of his lordship and Marshal Beresford to command the Portuguese army. His lordship thought also that the continued absence of Souza and the patriarch from the councils was a consequence or rather a branch of this plot. These two men, who counted upon popular support, withdrew the very day the regency agreed to re-model and increase the taxes, and to introduce various economical reforms into the various departments of government, by discharging some of those swarms of *employés* who were living in absolute idleness in Lisbon, by curtailing the salaries of others, &c., in order to employ the money thus saved in the defence of the country. But the capital ground of quarrel and hatred was the appropriation of the English subsidies, the regency claiming the entire control and distribution of that money, and Lord Wellington insisting that it should be under the control of the English ambassador, who should see that it was strictly applied to the purposes for which parliament had voted it, namely, to pay and support the Portuguese army of 30,000 men. The subsidy this year was raised from one to two millions; and an additional sum of 130,000*l.* per annum was granted to make up a certain amount of additional pay to

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches; two dispatches to Charles Stuart, Esq., dated 16th March.

In one of these letters to our ambassador, who was almost as much embarrassed by the regency at Lisbon as our general was in his operations in the field, Wellington says, with his characteristic calmness, "In respect to the charge of cutting barren wood in the royal park for firewood, I have to reply, that I suppose his royal highness does not propose that his Majesty's troops shall want firewood in Portugal. It is reasonable that his royal highness, as well as other proprietors, should *be paid* for the wood cut upon his demesnes; but either the troops must be allowed to cut firewood, *paying* for the same, wherever the defence of his royal highness's dominions renders it necessary that they should be stationed, or they must be removed to the places where they can cut firewood, by which his royal highness's interests must suffer. I cannot avoid adverting to the disposition manifested by the Portuguese government to complain of the conduct of the British troops, certainly, in this instance, without foundation. Acts of misconduct, and even outrage, I admit, have been committed, but *never with impunity* in any instance in which the complaint could be substantiated; *but I have not yet been able to obtain the punishment of any individual of this country, be his crimes what they may.* If the British soldiers have committed, as all soldiers will commit, acts of misconduct, they have at least fought bravely for the country. They have besides recently shown commiseration for the misfortunes of the people of this country, *and actually fed the poor inhabitants of all the towns in which they were cantoned on the Rio Mayor river.* Yet I have not heard that the Portuguese government have expressed their approbation of this conduct, very unusual in people of this class and description: nor do I find that their bravery in the field, their humanity, or their generosity, can induce those whom they are serving to look with indulgence at their failings, or to draw a veil over the faults of the few, in consideration of the military and other virtues of the army."

all the officers of the Portuguese army: yet through misapplication of funds, and through other proceedings in the highest degree discreditable to the regency, whole brigades of Portuguese continued to be left very frequently without bread, while the troops who were brigaded with the English, and who ought to have been supplied by their own government (by means of the money which our government sent them), were left to be fed by the English commissariat. It was impossible for the English to see these last brave and faithful companions in arms perish with hunger by their side, and so long as the English fed them the regency seemed determined to take no heed. "I do not believe," says Wellington, a few months later, "that there is any peculation amongst the heads of the government, but there is a gross misapplication of funds. The junta de viveres (board for regulating provisions) and the junta of the arsenal are connected, possibly in trade, but certainly by friendship or acquaintance, with all the merchants and dealers of Lisbon, and those who could best afford to wait for their money are and have been invariably paid regularly; while the dealers in the country and the officers and troops wait, and the former are never paid. . . . I have not leisure to read long papers, which are called documents, but which contain not one syllable of truth. I have no money to give to the Portuguese government, and I believe it was never intended by our government that they should have the increased subsidy, till they shall make the necessary alterations in their military system to render it efficient."* At the same time the co-operation or the diversion which was to be made by the Spaniards proved any thing rather than effectual. In the course of two months the Spaniards lost, without sufficient cause, three strongly fortified cities, together with various towns and posts of less consequence; and in the same period Marshal Soult, whose army of Andalusia did not then exceed 30,000 men, took or destroyed above 22,000 Spanish troops.† Nor did failure and disgrace produce any modesty or humility: the Spanish generals, with the single and very honourable exception of Castaños, appear to have occupied themselves in criticising the military conduct of Lord Wellington, instead of improving their own, or in making rhodomontades worthy of so many Sacripanti, or in intriguing against one another: to improve the discipline of their troops, to study themselves the art of war, or any one of the arts connected with it, seemed to be held as an occupation unworthy of a Spanish Don.

During the months of January and February, the armies of Lord Wellington and Massena in Portugal remained in the same respective positions; the low lands being flooded, so as to render field operations almost impossible, and the English general being determined to husband the health and strength of his men and horses. The French marshal was reinforced by the ninth *corps d'armée*, under General Drouet, who entered Portugal by the valley of the Mondego, bringing with him a large convoy of provisions. About the same time Soult received direct orders from Bonaparte to act in concert with Massena by attacking Portugal south of the Tagus; and a new French army was formed in the north of Spain, consisting of about 70,000 men, and placed under Marshal Bessières, who was ordered to support and furnish all necessary assistance to the army of Portugal. "Make a bridge across the Tagus, and let Massena and Soult form a junction: in the mean time keep the English in check, and make them lose men every day by engagements of advanced guards: their army is small, and they cannot afford to lose many men; besides, people in London are much alarmed about their army in Portugal; and when the season becomes favourable let the main operations be carried on on the south bank of the Tagus." Thus privately and confidentially wrote the Emperor of the French to his marshals, as if he had yet to learn that Lord Wellington would not waste away his army in affairs of advanced guards, or in any useless skirmishes or operations whatever, and that, with his good generalship and with such men, the small British army was equal to the duties of a very large one. All the reinforcements which Perceval and Lord Liverpool had determined to send at their own peril did not exceed 7000 men, and these did not arrive until the beginning of March.

Leaving a large force to maintain the blockade of Cadiz, and other forces under Sebastiani to keep the ground which had been won on the side of Granada and Murcia, Soult moved with 20,000 men towards the southern frontier of Portugal; but, before crossing that frontier, he deemed it indispensable to reduce Badajoz, which otherwise would have been left in his rear with a considerable Spanish garrison. Soult, who began to move nearly two months before Lord Wellington received his reinforcements, captured the fortress of Olivença on the 22nd of January, marched forward for Badajoz, defeated a Spanish army under General Mendizabal on the 19th of February, and then, without further hindrance, sat down to besiege Badajoz. Massena's army had so eaten up the country that he could not remain where he was. His troops too were sadly demoralised (in the military sense of the word); above 10,000 of them were sick; and, counting what remained of the convoy which Drouet had brought, there were no more provisions than would serve during a quick retreat to the frontiers of Spain. Massena therefore moved his sick and baggage by degrees to the rear, and, after demonstrations made in other directions, all the divisions of his army filed off in the direction of Pombal. Santarem was evacuated in the night of the 5th of March, and was the next morning entered by the English. But Massena had got a good start, and his army was not overtaken till the 10th, when it was concentrated on a table-land in front of Pombal. There was

* Dispatches; Letters to Charles Stuart, Esq., written in May.
† Id.; Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.

some skirmishing with our foremost light division; but the French, having gained time for their baggage to file off, retreated on the 11th through the town of Pombal. They were closely followed. On the next day, the 12th of March, the English advance found Ney with Massena's rear-guard posted on a high table-land in front of the village of Redinha.* The French—some of the choicest troops in the service of Bonaparte—were greatly favoured by the nature of the ground, which, besides being steep in front, was flanked by some woods, which prevented the English from discovering the real amount and disposition of the force. As Ney seemed disposed to make a stand, Lord Wellington attacked the wooded heights upon his right flank with a brigade of the light division, headed by Sir William Erskine, and ordered Picton to ascend the heights upon his left flank; and, when both Erskine and Picton had completely succeeded in their movements, as Ney continued to keep his ground, his lordship formed a great mass of troops in line, and pushed on to the attack in front. The French now made one general discharge of musketry, which hid them in smoke, and thus veiled they fell back in full retreat through the village of Redinha, and joined, that evening, their main body at Condeixa, whence there branch off two roads, one leading to Coimbra, and another ascending the valley of the Mondego. Massena had sent Montbrun to secure the bridge of Coimbra, intending to seize that city, and, if possible, Oporto also, and there wait until he should be joined by reinforcements from Spain. But Lord Wellington had foreseen his plans, and had ordered Colonels Robert Wilson and Trant with the Portuguese militia to protect Oporto, and to abandon the line of the Mondego, which river was fordable in many places, and to retire across the Douro. This Wilson and Trant did, taking care to remove all the boats and rafts to their own side of the river. Coimbra thus seemed abandoned to the French retreating army; but before quitting that place Trant destroyed one arch of the bridge, placed guards at the fords, and a small force in the town, calculating that if Coimbra could but parry a *coup de main*, Massena, with Wellington close at his heels, would not venture to stay long on the left bank of the Mondego. Montbrun appeared in the suburb of Santa Clara and made an attempt to force the bridge of Coimbra, but he was repulsed by grape-shot, and believing that the Portuguese militia had been reinforced by some English troops sent by sea, he gave up the attempt in despair. Upon this failure Massena changed his plan, and began to retreat along the left bank, by the rough road which leads to Ponte de Murcella. Thus was Coimbra as well as Oporto preserved. From this moment the retreat of the French was hurried and disastrous: their left was all but turned by Picton's division, which crossed the mountains of Ancião by a path which in other days would have been considered impassable; their stragglers were cut off by the vindictive peasantry; their rear was often arrested and sometimes thrown into confusion by the British advance. They augmented the already boundless fury of the Portuguese by the merciless measures they adopted. In order to stop the British artillery and train, Ney, who was still in the rear, set fire to several towns and villages; but our light division, pressing forward through flames and smoke, or avoiding the conflagration by quitting the road and crossing fields and groves, pressed hard upon the retreating enemy, and penetrated between their columns. On a hill near Casal Nova, Ney attempted once more to check the pursuit; but he was driven from that position to another by Picton and Cole's divisions, and was then beaten from hill to hill, until he came close to the strong defile of Miranda do Corvo, where the main body of the French army was already posted. Massena, apprehending that the two British divisions were getting behind that strong defile,* set fire to the town of Miranda by night, and passed the river Ceira, an affluent of the Mondego. "They destroyed at this place a great number of carriages, and burned or otherwise destroyed the ammunition which they had carried; they likewise burned much of their baggage; and the road throughout the march from Miranda was strewed with the carcases of men and animals, and with destroyed carriages and baggage."† But Ney remained behind on the left bank of the Ceira, to gain time for the main army to file off; and, with his usual ability, he took up a strong position in front of the village of Fons de Arronce. Here, on the afternoon of the 15th of March, he was most vigorously attacked by Pack's brigade, Picton's division, a regiment of hussars, the 16th dragoons, and some horse artillery. Ney's people soon gave ground and fell into a panic: many of them were drowned in attempting to discover some fords, and many were trampled to death on a bridge: in all 500 Frenchmen were lost, and our troops took much baggage and some ammunition. Lord Wellington's attack had been delayed by a dense fog; and it was dark night before the French were driven from their last position. Ney succeeded in blowing up the bridge by which he had crossed over; and, leaving a small guard on the bank of the river, he retreated in the track of Massena. The pursuit of the British was stopped by various

* "The whole country," says Lord Wellington, "affords many advantageous positions to a retreating army, of which the enemy have shown that they know how to avail themselves. They are retreating from the country, as they entered it, in one solid mass, covering their rear on every march by the operations of either one or two *corps d'armée*, in the strong positions which the country affords; which *corps d'armée* are closely supported by the main body. Before they quitted their position they destroyed a part of their cannon and ammunition, and they have since blown up whatever their horses were unable to draw away. They have no provisions excepting what they plunder on the spot, or, having plundered, what the soldiers carry on their backs, and live cattle."—*Dispatches; Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Villa Seca, 14th March.*

* Massena's fear was not unfounded. Wellington had as good as turned his formidable position. His lordship says: "Major-general Cole had joined Major-general Nightingall at Espinhal, and this movement, by which the Deixa was passed, and which gave us the power of turning the strong position of Miranda do Corvo, induced the enemy to abandon it in the night."—*Dispatches; Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, dated 16th March.*

† Id., id.

causes: the Ceira was not fordable, the troops had undergone great fatigue for several days, and there was a great want of supplies. Some of the Portuguese who had just joined the main body of the allied army were starving; for the Portuguese regency, in spite of the urgent representations of Wellington and Beresford, had neglected to provide the means for carrying provisions forward along with the army. Nothing could be got from the country where they were acting, for that country had been already ravaged and exhausted by the enemy.* The night of the 15th, and the whole day and night of the 16th, were lost to the pursuit; but on the 17th, having received some supplies, and having constructed a trestle bridge, the British crossed the Ceira, the guard which Ney had left there having withdrawn during the night. Wellington was mortified, and Massena proportionately encouraged, by the intelligence that Badajoz had made a dastardly or treacherous surrender to Marshal Soult. Yet neither did the French general cease from flying, nor did the English general cease from pursuing him. Massena, after destroying the bridge of Murcella, attempted to make a stand on some high ground behind the river Alva, another affluent of the Mondego, which was then swollen by the spring rains. Wellington threw forward three divisions, which traversed mountains by goat-paths, and menaced Massena's flank and line of retreat, and thus compelled him to withdraw hastily, by Moita, towards Celorico. Lord Wellington crossed the Alva, and collected his army near Moita on the 19th; thus compelling Massena to destroy more of his baggage and ammunition, and to forsake the foraging parties which he had sent out. Of these parties above 800 men were intercepted and made prisoners. They were famishing when taken, and their captors had little food to give them. This want of provisions, and the want of draught mules, obliged the main body of the allied army to halt at Moita for several days, to wait the arrival of the provisions which were now coming round by sea from Lisbon to the Mondego. Wellington's light division and cavalry, however, continued to follow the enemy, who reached Celorico on the 21st of March, and re-opened their communications with the garrison they had left at Almeida, and with the Spanish frontier near Ciudad Rodrigo. At Celorico the headlong retreat of the French and the hot pursuit of the allies may properly be said to have terminated. The whole retreat had occupied about a fortnight, and had been attended by an amount of misery, horror, and crime rarely surpassed—by devastation to the country, by destruction to the country people, but by a still more terrible destruction to Massena's troops. It was altogether a more terrific affair than the retreat of 1809, for Marshal Soult had exerted himself in checking the ferocity of the French soldiery, while Massena, himself ferocious and ruthless, had not merely left the demoralised troops to follow their own evil instincts, but had also expressly ordered many of their worst deeds. A vast deal of the mischief committed was wilful and unnecessary. It was by express orders from Massena's headquarters that the town of Leiria and the abbey of Alcobaça, the richest and most beautiful ecclesiastical edifice in Portugal, and one of the rarest and most beautiful in the world, were given to the flames.* "But every horror that could make war hideous attended this dreadful march. Distress, conflagration, death in all modes! from wounds, from fatigue, from water, from the flames, from starvation! On every side unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance!"† Lord Wellington himself bore testimony, in his official dispatches, to the brutality of the French. "Their conduct throughout this retreat," said he, "has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, and Pernes, in which the head-quarters of some of their corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been invited, by promises of good treatment, to remain, they were plundered, and many of their houses destroyed, on the night the enemy withdrew from their position; and they have since burned every town and village through which they have passed. . . . . There is not an inhabitant of the country, of any class or description, who has had any dealing or communication with the French army, who has not had reason to repent of it. This is the mode in which the promises have been performed, and the assurances have been fulfilled which were held out in the proclamation of the French commander-in-chief, who told the inhabitants of Portugal that he was not come to make war upon them, but, with a powerful army of 110,000 men, to drive the English into the sea. It is to be hoped that the example of what has occurred in this country will teach the people of this and of other nations what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances; and show them that there is no security for life, or for anything which makes life valuable, excepting in decided resistance to the enemy."‡

On the 25th of March Massena abandoned Celorico, but retained the strong position of Guarda, fondly expecting that Soult, after capturing Badajoz,

* "It is literally true," says Lord Wellington, "that General Pack's brigade, and Colonel Ashworth's, had nothing to eat for four days, although constantly marching or engaged with the enemy."—*Id., id.*

At the same time the mules of the artillery were unable to draw the guns for any length of time through want of food; the baggage mules of the army were nearly all dead of famine, and the drivers had neither been paid nor fed. Many of the Portuguese in Pack's brigade had dropped out of their ranks through hunger and exhaustion: three of them were known to have died of actual famine in one day; and it was supposed that most of those who had lingered behind must perish. "It is still," said his lordship, "a favourite notion with some members of this government, that the Portuguese troops can do with very little or no food! . . . . . This is the state of the army at the commencement of the campaign; and I see clearly that, unless this government change its system, no remedy will be applied, and the whole burden of defending this country will fall upon Great Britain."—*Id.; Letter to Charles Stuart, Esq.*

* For a description of this truly regal monastery and of the magnificent monks who inhabited it, of the exquisitely beautiful country in which it stood, of its earliest Norman cloisters, of its endless corridors, of its panels of jasper and porphyry, its paintings, antique tombs, and fountains—all as they were in the year 1794, before the storm of those French wars burst over Portugal—we refer the reader to *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha, by the Author of 'Vathek,' London*, 1835.

† Napier, Hist. of War in the Peninsula.

‡ Dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool.

would advance through Portugal, and dreading the responsibility of abandoning that country altogether without orders from his emperor. A quarrel broke out between Massena and Ney: the French garrison left in Almeida was cut off from communication and threatened with destruction by the British and Portuguese; and Ney, after vainly urging an immediate march upon Almeida, threw up his command in disgust and went to Salamanca. On the 29th of March Wellington appeared in force, and moved his columns up the steep hill of Guarda, and manœuvred the French out of that formidable position. Massena went off towards Sabugal without firing a shot, but with his rear-guard in admirable order. On the 2nd of April the British army came up with the French, who were then posted on the right bank of the Coa. The next day there was some hard fighting, which ended, after several vicissitudes, in the enemy's being driven from the bank of the Coa. This was called the combat of Sabugal. Our light division lost about 200 men; but the French suffered far more severely, and were obliged to abandon more of their baggage. Finding that Soult could not come, and that he could not maintain himself even on the extreme frontier of Portugal any longer, Massena retired by Alfayates, Aldea da Ponte, and Aldea Velha, and on the 6th of April crossed the Agueda into Spain.*

Thus terminated the third French invasion of Portugal. Their total loss had been immense: including the sick and wounded, Lord Wellington calculated it at not less than 45,000 men.† Massena, however, still counted 40,000 men when beyond the Spanish frontier, besides the garrison left in Almeida. Having placed his army in cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda, and given his instructions for the blockade of Almeida, Lord Wellington set out for the south to see the state of affairs on the Guadiana and the country near Badajoz. When his lordship first began to follow the retreating army of Massena, he had written to the Spanish governor of Badajoz beseeching him to make a good stand, and promising him speedy assistance. But unfortunately General Menacho, the governor, was killed by a cannon ball; and the command of the garrison devolved upon General Imaz, a man unworthy of the trust. On the morning of the 9th of March, Wellington—who was then at Thomar, and who had caused it to be announced by signal and otherwise that Massena was retreating, and that he had made all the arrangements necessary for detaching a strong relieving force—received accounts of a most favourable nature from Badajoz, which induced him to believe not only that the place was in no danger, but that it was in fact untouched; that its fire was superior to that of the besiegers; that it was in no want of provisions or ammunition; that it had sustained no loss except that of General Menacho, and that General Imaz was a worthy successor to the deceased governor, and enjoyed the full confidence of the Spaniards; in short, that Badajoz, even unaided, was both able and likely to hold out for a whole month, which delay must have proved very disastrous to Marshal Soult. On that very day—the 9th—the French made a breach in the place about eighteen feet wide, but which was by no means practicable: also on the same day Governor Imaz acknowledged by signal the receipt of the message which Wellington sent him; and on the very next day, the 10th of March, he held up the white flag and suspended hostilities. And on the 11th Badajoz was surrendered, the garrison becoming prisoners of war, but having idly bargained to be allowed to march out with the honours of war, honours which they had basely

* The toil which Lord Wellington underwent in following up this retreat of Massena was immense, having been necessarily increased by the strange conduct of some of his general officers, who had chosen a very unseemly moment to plead important private business and to return home. This conduct was resented and criticized as it deserved.

"I assure you," wrote his lordship, "that the departure of the general officers from the army was as much against my inclination as their arrival in England was injurious to the public interests. I did everything in my power to prevail upon them not to go, but in vain; and I acknowledge that it has given me satisfaction to find that they have been roughly handled in the newspapers. The consequence of the absence of some of them has been, that in the late operations I have been obliged to be general of cavalry, general of the advanced guard, and the leader of two or three columns, sometimes on the same day.

"I have requested Colonel Torrens (then secretary to the commander-in-chief the Duke of York) not to allow any general officer to come out in future who is not willing to declare that he has no private business to recall him to England, and that he will remain with the army as long as it shall stay in the Peninsula."—*Private Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, dated 23rd March.*

† A great part of this loss was from the Portuguese peasantry, who killed every straggler whom they could lay their hands upon before the heads of the British columns came up. A writer of ability and unquestionable veracity, then a young officer serving with our light division, a man of humanity and sensibility, whose heart had not been hardened by witnessing many horrors in other countries besides Portugal, has drawn a fearful picture of the scenes he saw with his own eyes during Massena's retreat:—

"The Portuguese peasants killed those who fell behind from sickness, as well as those who straggled for the purpose of marauding or seeking for food; they killed the wounded who were left behind for want of means of transport, as well as those who dropped down from weakness and fatigue; they killed them with their knives, or dashed out their brains with stones, or with the long knobbed sticks which the Portuguese peasantry carry on their shoulders. The appearance of the British advance (for the British army always protected the prisoners) made the Portuguese leave their work of death at times unfinished, and they left their victims, whom they generally left stark naked, to die in the fields right and left of our line of march. The writer of this article, then a very young man, speaks from recollection. It was on the 10th of March, on the road from Payalva to Pombal, that he saw the first dismal traces of the disastrous defeat of the French: bodies of dead soldiers, carts broken down on the road, carcases of horses and mules: and from that time till he arrived at Celorico, on the 29th of March, there was hardly a day on which he did not see numbers of dead bodies scattered about the fields right and left of the road, generally naked, most of whom had no mark of wounds from fire-arms, and had either died of disease, of which many of them bore evidence, or had been finished by the peasantry. One day he remembers counting them, and in a few hours of the march he reckoned between 100 and 200, till he felt too sick to reckon any more. . . . . Some of the poor creatures seemed to have crawled or to have been dragged out of the road to die behind the loose stone walls with which the fields are enclosed; and on looking over the stone walls into the fields, they were seen lying in clusters of three or four, or more, in all sorts of positions. A few were still breathing. It was a horrid sight. He also remembers once or twice seeing Portuguese villagers, men and women, insulting and kicking the bodies of dead Frenchmen on the road, when they were properly reproved and driven away by a British non-commissioned officer. 'A Portuguese farmer in the Estrella showed him the uniforms of four or five Frenchmen whom he had surprised singly and killed in his neighbourhood during the winter. It was chiefly in the mountains of the Estrella that the work of destruction had been carried on during the winter of 1810-11. The French marauding parties went hunting for provisions in those sequestered valleys, and when they fell upon a hamlet or farm-house they showed no mercy to the inmates. Sometimes in the mountains they pounced upon several families huddled together in a cave, with a provision of Indian corn or pulse to last them for the winter. The males were soon dispatched, the females spared for a time, but not in mercy. It happened, however, at times that these marauding parties were small, and were overpowered by the peasantry, who then gave no quarter."—*A. Vieusseux, Military Life of the Duke of Wellington.*

forfeited, and which no capitulation or compact and no earthly power could restore to them after their despicable conduct. Nine thousand Spaniards surrendered to a besieging army which did not at that moment exceed 9600 infantry and 2000 cavalry! The place was still strong, and there was still an abundance of ammunition and artillery. Cowardice and imbecility were not deemed sufficient to account for the conduct of Imaz. The British general had urged him to keep secret the intelligence of Massena's retreat, lest by means of deserters it should reach the enemy, whom his lordship was in hopes of finding engaged in the siege; yet Imaz published the intelligence as soon as he received it, stating moreover that he did not believe it, that it was incredible that Massena should be flying before Wellington, and, going still farther than this, he communicated the news to the French general.* The indignation and astonishment of Lord Wellington were great. Marshal Beresford, who commanded the allied troops in the Alemtejo in the absence of General Hill, who had gone home on leave, was daily expecting reinforcements from our main army, and had prepared for a rapid march which must have forced the French to raise the siege. After the unexpected fall of Badajoz (it was as unexpected to the besiegers as it was to the English), Soult put his troops in motion to cross the Guadiana and the southern frontier of Portugal; but intelligence reached him from Andalusia which induced him to give up the command to Mortier, and to repair with all haste to Seville. And, while Soult had been engaged in Estremadura, General Graham † (now the veteran and venerable Lord Lynedoch) had issued from Cadiz with the greater part of the British and Portuguese garrison, and had embarked with the intention of landing on the Andalusian coast and of throwing himself upon the rear of the French blockading army, which was reduced by the draughts which Soult had made upon it to some 16,000 men. The British and Portuguese, about 4000 strong, got to sea on the 21st of February. Graham had intended to land somewhere between Cape Trafalgar and Cape de Plata on the Atlantic, or at the old and still essentially Moorish town Tarifa, on the straits of Gibraltar; but, finding it impracticable to effect a landing either from the ocean or in the straits, he went farther off, passed through the narrow straits altogether, and, entering the bay of Gibraltar, landed at Algeciras, which town, with its Moorish aqueduct, faces the impregnable rock. From Algeciras Graham had to go back by land to Tarifa. The road between these two old towns, running over mountains and along the edge of precipices, is about as bad as any in Europe—difficult in the winter season even to the traveller who has no other incumbrance than a light portmanteau. As it was impassable for wheeled carriages of any description, Graham sent his artillery stores and provisions back to Tarifa by sea; and they were conveyed in boats, and safely landed by our seamen in spite of wind and weather. A Spanish force 7000 strong, under the command of General Lapeña, came into the straits to co-operate with the English and Portuguese; and after being thrice driven back the Spaniards reached Tarifa, and disembarked on the 27th of February. General Graham consented to yield the superior command to Lapeña, and to serve under him during this expedition. But, with one or two exceptions, it had never yet been found possible for a British commander and British troops to agree with a Spanish general and Spanish troops: differences of opinion arose immediately, misunderstanding of intentions followed, and these evil influences appear to have increased during the march from Tarifa to the neighbourhood of the French positions. The road continued to be execrably bad: after the mountains (high offshoots from the Sierra de Ronda) had been crossed, the army had to traverse a spacious plain, which, in many parts, may be compared to the Pontine marshes, for it is intersected with innumerable streams running in all directions; it has an immense mere (called the lake of Junda), a lake at this time of the year, but in summer, for the greater part, a muddy, slimy, pestiferous bog, across which a highroad runs over an artificial causeway. In this plain, at Veger, about midway between Tarifa and the bay of Cadiz, the French had an outpost of infantry and cavalry; and a little further on, on the road to Medina Sidonia, they had a small fort. Lapeña intended to surprise both these posts; but his measures were so ill taken that there was no surprise at all. The posts were, however, carried by fighting, and at the fort the French lost sixty or seventy men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and abandoned their two cannons and all their stores. At this point Lapeña was joined by 1600 men from the so-called army of St. Roques. The whole allied force now amounted to 11,200 foot and 800 horse; but, instead of being kept united, it was divided into three or four columns, which pursued different lines of road, or marched at considerable distances from each other. They had twenty-four pieces of artillery; but this good train was divided like the rest of the force. Victor, who was in command of the French army in front of Cadiz, was alarmed at the approach of the enemy on his rear; but this approach was far from being so rapid as it might have been, even after making every allowance for the difficulties of the road; and the French general appears to have had timely notice of the whole plan, and of every movement of the allies. He reinforced General Cassagne, who occupied the town of Medina Sidonia, and he took post himself, with ten battalions, between Medina

* Lord Wellington's Dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool, dated 16th March.

† General Graham had good claim to both epithets veteran and venerable even at this time. In 1811 he was in the sixty-first year of his age. Yet in the battle of Barrosa, and in the dreadful marches which preceded it, he displayed all the activity, all the spirit, of youth, and underwent every hazard and fatigue. In crossing the lake of Junda he dismounted from his horse to guide and encourage the foot soldiers, and traversed the whole of the inundated causeway on foot, with the water to his waist, and at times almost to his chin.

Sidonia and Chiclana. As Victor made this movement, the Spanish camp-marshal, de Zayas, quitted the Isle of Leon, threw a body of troops over the Santi Petri, and menaced the extreme left of the French lines; and, although vigorously attacked by the French general Villatte, de Zayas kept his ground manfully, repulsing his assailants with loss. Upon this Victor marched back towards Chiclana, and ordered Cassagne to join him; for he now expected nothing less than that the allied army, united and led on by Lapeña, would make a concentrated and vigorous attack on the left of his positions, break through his lines, give the hand to de Zayas, receive supplies and further reinforcements from the Isle of Leon and from the city of Cadiz, and thus compel the French to raise their siege, or blockade, for good and all. But an excess of caution made Lapeña slower even than he had been before; much time was lost in crossing the lake of Junda by the narrow wretched causeway, which was then three or four, and in some places more, feet under water; the allied army was not concentrated; and, when General Graham reached the heights of Barrosa, he found them abandoned by a Spanish division which ought to have held them, and in possession of Marshal Victor, who was covering them with 8000 men and a formidable artillery. It was imperatively necessary to recover these heights, for if they remained in the hands of the French there could have been neither an advance nor a safe retreat, but the allied forces must have been involved in one common ruin. Graham therefore boldly marched up the slopes of Barrosa, in the teeth of a terrible fire of artillery and musketry, and, with 4000 British and Portuguese, joined battle on the narrow ridge of the hill with double the number of veteran French troops. The combat was fierce and bloody, but not of long duration: the hill top and the hill sides were swept by the British bayonets; an imperial eagle (the first which the English had taken) was captured from one of the most famed regiments in Bonaparte's army. The French, after being driven down the heights, were pursued across a valley; the reserve which they had formed beyond that valley was broken and completly routed; the French general Ruffin (whose proper name would have been Ruffian) was wounded and taken, General Bellegarde was killed, General Rousseau was mortally wounded, and in less than an hour and a half Victor was in full retreat. The victory had been dearly bought; out of Graham's 4000 men, 1243 were killed or wounded. But the French loss, including 440 that were taken prisoners, was estimated at more than 3000. During this terrible and heroic struggle, Lapeña was lying three or four miles off, and was sustaining a not very formidable attack from General Villatte; the cavalry was engaged at a distance, or was manœuvring in another direction; thus the British received no support from the Spaniards during the unequal combat, and at its glorious termination the want of horse prevented Graham from giving a pursuit which must have proved very destructive to the French.* But, except the honour gained to our arms, no important result followed the battle of Barrosa, which was fought on the 5th of March. Lapeña would undertake nothing against the retreating disheartened French; and Graham, in disgust, marched to the bridge which de Zayas had thrown over the Santi Petri, and retired into the Isle of Leon. Lapeña now professed a great eagerness for action, but he declared that he could do nothing unless Graham should quit the Isla and join him, and he remained in his camp doing nothing at all. In this interval Admiral Keats landed some of his British seamen and marines, and these brisk fellows stormed two French redoubts, and dismantled all the sea-defences and batteries on the bay of Cadiz, from Rota to Santa Maria, except Catalina, which was found too strong to be carried by a *coup de main* by only two or three hundred men. At last Victor, who, after his defeat at Barrosa, had fully expected to be obliged to raise the blockade of Cadiz, or to find all his works destroyed or rendered useless, returned to his old lines; and thereupon Lapeña crossed over to the Isle of Leon, destroyed the temporary bridge which de Zayas had erected, and left the French, without hindrance or molestation, to re-establish the blockade. But, when Soult so hastily quitted Badajoz and the banks of the Guadiana, he saw little prospect of such a termination to the expedition of Graham and Lapeña: from Seville he ordered Sebastiani, who had turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of Victor, to reinforce the blockading army; and he called upon the French government at Madrid, and upon Marshal Bessières in the North, to strengthen, at one and the same time, the forces in Andalusia and in Spanish Estremadura, and the army of Portugal under Massena, who had now retreated as far as Salamanca. Mortier, to whom Soult had left the command of the *corps d'armée* in Estremadura, advanced from Badajoz, crossed the southern frontier of Portugal, and laid siege to Campo Mayor, an old weak place garri-

* Lord Wellington thus expressed his opinion of the battle of Barrosa, in a warm, friendly letter addressed to General Graham on the 25th of March:—"I beg to congratulate you and the brave troops under your command on the signal victory which you gained on the 5th instant. I have no doubt whatever that their success would have had the effect of raising the siege of Cadiz, if the Spanish corps had made any effort to assist them; and I am equally certain, from your account of the ground, that if you had not decided with the utmost promptitude to attack the enemy, and if your attack had not been a most vigorous one, the whole allied army would have been lost. You have to regret that such a victory should not have been followed by all the consequences which might reasonably be expected from it; but you may console yourself with the reflection that you did your utmost, and, at all events, saved the allied armies; and that the failure in the extent of benefit to be derived from your exertions is to be attributed to those who would have derived most advantage from them. The conduct of the Spaniards throughout this expedition is precisely the same as I have ever observed it to be. They march the troops night and day, without provisions or rest, and abusing everybody who proposes a moment's delay to afford either to the famished and fatigued soldiers. They reach the enemy in such a state as to be unable to make any exertion or to execute any plan, even if any plan had been formed; and then, when the moment of action arrives, they are totally incapable of movement, and they stand by to see their allies destroyed, and afterwards abuse them because they do not continue, unsupported, exertions to which human nature is not equal. I concur in the propriety of your withdrawing to the Isla on the 6th, as much as I admire the promptitude and determination of your attack of the 5th; and I most sincerely congratulate you and the brave troops under your command on your success."—*Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

soned by only a few hundred men. But the commandant, a Portuguese officer of artillery, made a better stand in this weak place than the Spaniard Imaz had made within the strong defences of Badajoz: he defended himself bravely for eleven days, until his few serviceable guns were dismounted and a wide practicable breach made in the walls; and even then he demanded and obtained from Mortier four and twenty hours more to wait for succour, for the true-hearted Portuguese knew that Marshal Beresford was coming fast down to that frontier, and that every day, every hour gained, was of importance. Rapidly as he was moving, Beresford could not arrive in time to prevent the surrender of Campo Mayor; but Mortier had scarcely established himself in that place, when Beresford, having received the reinforcements which Wellington sent him from the north, appeared in the neighbourhood at the head of 22,000 men; and at this unwelcome appearance the French (on the 25th of March) hastily evacuated Campo Mayor and retreated to Badajoz, pursued all the way by the British cavalry. Beresford's orders from Wellington were to invest Badajoz before the French could provision it, and repair and improve its works. His lordship had repeatedly represented to the authorities on either side of the frontier—to the Spaniards as well as the Portuguese—the necessity of collecting boats or materials wherewith to construct a movable temporary bridge across the Guadiana; but these representations had met with the usual attention, and on this account the safety of the whole allied army was repeatedly put in jeopardy. After Mortier and our cavalry in pursuit of him had crossed, the river suddenly rose from three to four feet, thus rendering the fords impassable, and the construction of a trestle bridge more difficult. The neighbouring country too was so bare of timber, that none but small spars could be procured. With almost incredible pains Marshal Beresford did, however, construct a sort of bridge, partly made of boats and block-tin pontoons, and partly of trestles; and on the 5th of April, in the afternoon, the troops began to cross over, a very few men at a time. So slow was this operation, and so precarious the bridge, that it took the army more than three days to get over; for, although there was not an hour's intermission, it was not until midnight on the 8th that Beresford collected all his troops on the opposite bank. If the French had kept their ground or had returned from Badajoz, the operation must have been altogether impracticable, and a part of the allied army must have been captured or destroyed; but the invaders seemed to have lost all spirit and confidence, and just at this moment Mortier withdrew from the contest, and gave up the command to Latour Maubourg. Between the 9th and the 15th of April the British recovered the fortress of Olivença, and two or three important positions on the Valverde river. It was expected that the enemy would have made an attempt either to cover or to relieve Olivença; but they merely gathered at Albuera, and then retired from that ground at the first approach of the British army. It was on the 20th of April that Lord Wellington arrived from the northern frontier at Beresford's head-quarters: he lost no time in reconnoitring Badajoz, and he ordered immediate operations against that place, which must be taken quickly or not at all. The loss of Badajoz (that shameful loss!) had been a most unexpected and very severe blow to his lordship, and he considered its recapture as essential to his future operations; for so long as the French held that fortress the southern frontier of Portugal lay open to them; and his lordship, besides, had formed the plan of advancing boldly into the heart of Spain, so as to force the French to abandon at least Andalusia. He knew the uncertainty and the danger of the siege, but for so important an object something must be risked. While making the necessary preparations for the siege of Badajoz, which he would have directed in person, if it had been possible, Wellington was recalled to the north by the intelligence he received of Massena's movements. Something, though not much, had been expected from the Spaniards, who had a regular army—or what they called such—in Gallicia and Leon, and numerous bands of guerillas in the country behind Salamanca and in other parts of the north-western provinces of their kingdom; and these forces might have been competent to interrupt the arrival of Massena's reinforcement and supplies, and to cause him some loss, if not some serious delay on his march from Salamanca back to Ciudad Rodrigo and the northern frontier of Portugal. But the Spanish forces did nothing, or nothing that was of any avail; and the defeated French marshal, having been allowed to recruit and do what he chose at Salamanca, was now in full and undisturbed march for the ground he had quitted on the Coa, holding it as important to relieve the French garrison left in Almeida as Wellington and Beresford held it to recover Badajoz. The British commander-in-chief was back again on the Coa by the 28th of April, making the best dispositions to prevent the relief of Almeida, and to drive Massena back once more.

On the 2nd of May the French marshal, having been joined by some fresh cavalry sent to him by Bessières, moved from Ciudad Rodrigo, crossed the Agueda, and entered Portugal with 40,000 foot, 5000 horse, and 30 pieces of artillery. He had declared to Bessières that it would be a shame and disgrace to allow Almeida to surrender to the English in the presence of two marshals of the empire. Lord Wellington, fully aware of the intention of relieving Almeida at all hazards, determined to fight another battle rather than give up the blockade of that place. The reinforcements sent down to the south to Marshal Beresford had so weakened our main army, that his lordship had only 32,000 foot and 1200 horse to oppose to Massena. The country, too, near Almeida was in good part very favourable to the operations of cavalry, in which arm Wellington was most defi-

cient. Moreover, in order to maintain the blockade and prevent all access to or egress from the Portuguese fortress, his lordship was obliged to leave a mass of troops under Almeida, and to extend his lines for seven long miles, from the river Turones to the river Das Casas (two affluents of the Agueda), having his left on Fort Concepcion, his centre opposite the village of Almeida, and his right at the village of Fuentes de Onoro. This extended position was on a low and open tableland, between the two parallel streams, the Turones and Das Casas: the river Coa, which had been crossed, flowed in the rear, and there was only one bridge whereby to cross it in case of a retreat —the bridge of Castello Bom. The ground was openest on the side of Fuentes de Onoro, which village soon merited its name—"the Fountains of Honour,"—and there Massena resolved to attack in great force, hoping to gain the village, turn Lord Wellington's right, push it upon its centre, and then drive the whole of that army back upon the Coa and the one narrow and perilous bridge. Towards evening, on the 3rd of May, the French left, under cover of a hot cannonade from a ridge which commanded the village, made a resolute assault upon Fuentes de Onoro. They carried the lower part of the village, and drove the English to the upper part, where the defence was, for a time, confined to a few strong houses and a chapel that stood upon a rock. But Wellington, at the opportune moment, sent down a fresh brigade, and the confident assailants were driven back at the point of the bayonet. Massena fed his column of attack with more and more reinforcements, and the struggle in the narrow streets of the village was tremendous. Repeatedly bayonets were crossed (that very rare occurrence in war), the French and English being occasionally intermixed. But no French troops ever yet stood such a contest; and the assailants were soon driven out of the lower part of the village and across the Das Casas river. Completely foiled in this effort Massena passed all the following day in reconnoitring and in making plans of attack, which were all foreseen by Wellington and provided for. In the course of that day Marshal Bessières, who had joined Massena with a body of Bonaparte's imperial guards, reconnoitred also, declaring to his impatient and irritated colleague, that great caution and circumspection would be necessary against a commander so skilful and troops so steady as those now before them. On the morrow, the 5th of May, as early as three o'clock, the French columns were in motion, and at about six Massena made a grand attack on the British right with the greater part of his army, including the entire mass of his cavalry. In executing some necessary movements upon the open ground the British light division suffered rather severely from the charge of the French horse, led on by Montbrun, and there was one terribly critical moment; but General Craufurd got his division into squares, Montbrun drew his bridle-rein, and the French horse wheeled round on the plain and retired from the compact masses and the murderous fire of the British infantry; and, though Massena commenced a heavy cannonade which did great execution, twelve British guns were plied with such vigour that his fire soon slackened. After this the French marshals were foiled in everything they attempted; no feint, no movement or manœuvre whatsoever, produced any visible effect. All the troops which Wellington considered it necessary to withdraw from his extreme right and centre to concentrate on his right, the object of Massena's grand attack, were withdrawn and concentrated, a new front was formed, and it was so deeply lined with troops as to strike Massena's heart with despair. The village of Fuentes de Onoro, again attacked with excessive fury and obstinacy, was again defended as stoutly as it had been on the 3rd. Again there seemed different shiftings and changes of fortune: early in the contest that noble Highlander, Colonel Cameron, was mortally wounded, and three brave regiments were driven from the lower parts of the village by an attacking column of tremendous strength: at one time the very chapel on the rock above the upper part of the village was abandoned; but Colonel Mackinnon came up with his brigade;—"Wild from the plaided ranks the yell was given;"—the Highlanders rushed on to take vengeance for the fall of Cameron, and the entire village was recovered and cleared of all the French, save their dead and their badly wounded. The battle was prolonged in and round the village till the fall of evening, when the French again crossed the stream and retired the distance of a cannon shot from its bank. Their generals had committed various military blunders, but on the British side there does not appear to have been a single mistake. Our total loss was 235 killed, 1234 wounded, and 317 missing or prisoners. The loss of the French was much greater: 400 of their dead were counted in the village of Fuentes de Onoro alone, strewing the streets or piled upon one another; many prisoners were taken, and intercepted letters showed that as many as 2000 or 3000, or by some accounts 4000, had been wounded either in the attacks on the village on the 3rd or in this more general affair of the 5th. The battle of Fuentes de Onoro was of importance in the eyes of the world and to the military fame of our country, by being a regular pitched battle, fought by the British in a position (forced upon Wellington, unless he left Almeida open to Massena) of no particular strength, and, indeed, weak at one point, and with a very inferior force. A good part of the disciplined Portuguese were away in the south with Beresford, so that the great majority of the troops engaged were British. The British 5th and 6th divisions were posted on the left to protect the blockade, and, being observed all the time by an entire French *corps*, they could take no part in the engagement. There were only four British divisions of infantry, one Portuguese brigade, and about 1000 horse actually engaged against three French corps of infantry and nearly 5000

cavalry; for Montbrun, expecting to decide the battle by that one *coup*, charged with all his squadrons and with almost every horse he had.* Massena fought the battle for the purpose of relieving Almeida, but he failed completely, and, a few days after, that place was evacuated by the French garrison, who blew up some of the works, fled by night, and, getting across the Agueda, joined their main army, though not without the loss of 400 men, the third part of their entire force, and the loss of their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and everything they possessed except the ragged clothes on their backs, their side-arms, and muskets. Many prisoners also were brought in, and, but for some negligence on the part of our blockading divisions, scarcely a man of that garrison could have escaped.† Bonaparte, before this, had become convinced that Massena was not the man to drive Wellington out of Portugal, and he had sent Marshal Marmont to supersede him. The order by which the former favourite of fortune was ordered to give up the command to a much younger and less celebrated officer was harsh, ungenerous, unfeeling; but Massena had but slight claims to the sympathy of any one, and this measure was what was meted by Bonaparte to nearly all his unsuccessful generals. The ex-commander-in-chief of the army of Portugal was allowed to take with him to France only his son and one aide-de-camp.‡ Nearly at the same time Marshal Ney, General Junot, and Loison repaired to Paris, whither King Joseph had gone before them. These generals all left behind them evil names, and carried with them jealousies and fierce recriminations of one another, loud accusations of Joseph's ministers and advisers, softer complaints against the government of Paris and even the emperor himself, and the common determination to excuse, every man of them, his own conduct, by imputing misconduct to others. *La guerre d'Espagne*, a word of ill omen before their return, took a more sinister sound and signification before Massena, Ney, and the very rash and talkative Junot had been a week in the French capital. Marmont had been ordered to take the command of the army of Portugal with a firm hand; but this marshal, finding that he could do nothing more than continue the retreat which Massena had begun after the battle of Fuentes de Onoro, retired to Salamanca, and put the disheartened, half-naked, and half-starving army into cantonments.

As there was nothing more to apprehend on the northern frontier Lord Wellington returned once more to the south. But before he could arrive on the Guadiana great events had taken place, and a battle had been fought far more bloody than that in which he had triumphed on the Coa. A few days after the 25th of April, the day on which his lordship had left him in order to go and meet Massena, Beresford had quitted his quarters on the Valverde and advanced against Badajoz. Latour Maubourg called in all his detachments and outposts; and by the 4th of May Badajoz was invested. But Soult was now marching back from Seville to relieve and then reinforce the garrison of that important place. The departure from Madrid of Joseph Bonaparte had left disposable a considerable French force, which that intrusive king had considered necessary for the protection of his own person and flitting ephemeral government; some troops, too, had been drawn from the corps of General Sebastiani, so that the best or most skilful of the French marshals was bringing a great accession of strength to the army which he had been compelled to leave two months before by the movements of General Graham. In the same interval, however, communications had been opened between Wellington and Beresford and some of the Spanish generals, and a Spanish army had gradually collected in Estremadura to co-operate with Beresford in pressing the siege of Badajoz, clearing that country of the French, and opening the road into Andalusia and the rear of Victor's blockading army. General Castaños had readily and cheerfully agreed to serve under Beresford, and to leave the entire command of the allies to that marshal; but it was understood that Blake and one or two other Spanish generals had none of Castaños's modesty, and that they looked with a jealous eye upon the British officers; and, what was still more discouraging, it was known and seen that hardly any improvement in discipline had been introduced among these Spanish troops. If Marshal Beresford had been properly supplied with the *matériel* and means of pushing the siege vigorously, he might—as the French had then had but little time for preparation—have possibly breached and taken Badajoz before Soult could get near it; but Beresford had hardly anything that was needful except courage and good-will; he had hardly any intrenching tools; his train of artillery was contemptible, his cannon-ball did not fit the breaching-guns which had been furnished to him, the howitzers were too small for his shells,

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.—Napier, Hist. of War in the Peninsula.—Major Sherer, Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington.—A. Vieusseux, Military Life of Wellington.

A few days after the battle, in a letter addressed to Mr. Perceval, the premier, thanking him for his attention to his recommendation in favour of his friends the Portuguese, "who really deserved the generosity of the people of England," Lord Wellington again mentions the humanity and generosity of his common English soldiery. "My soldiers," says his lordship, "have continued to show them every kindness in their power, as well as to the Spaniards. The village of Fuentes de Onoro having been the field of battle the other day, and not being much improved by this circumstance, they immediately and voluntarily subscribed to raise a sum of money, to be given to the poor inhabitants as a compensation for the damage which their properties had sustained in the contest."

† Lord Wellington was exceedingly annoyed at this negligence or oversight, and he did not fail to express his sentiments to some of the commanding officers, who ought to have been better prepared for the sortie of the French, who had no alternative but to make a desperate attempt to fly by night, or surrender.

‡ On his homeward journey through Spain Massena narrowly escaped falling into the avenging hands of Mina and the fierce guerillas led by that famous chief.

In Navarre, Mina, the most active and able of the guerilla leaders (with the exception perhaps of Porlier), defeated, on the 22nd of May, at the Puerto de Arlaban, near Vitoria, 1200 men, who were escorting a convoy of prisoners and treasure to France. Massena, whose baggage was captured, was to have travelled with this escort, but, disliking the manner of the march, he had remained in Vitoria, to wait a better opportunity, and so escaped. These guerilla bands were almost always merciless: after the fight they murdered in cold blood six Spanish ladies who, in defiance of patriotism, had attached themselves to French officers.—*Colonel Napier, Hist. of War in the Peninsula.*

and it should seem that he had with him no very skilful artillery or engineer officer. The soil was hard and rocky, and Beresford's people, besides being insufficient in number, were but little accustomed to trenching, mining, and the other operations of sieges. In these particulars the whole British army was defective, for it had not at the time a single corps of sappers and miners. [If the government had thought of sending out from England a few hundred of the men called *navigators*, with their proper tools, this work would have been done in perfection and with a rapidity which no soldiers, or sappers and miners, or labourers of any other class or country could have equalled.] Very little progress had been made in the siege, but the allies had lost, through sorties of the enemy and their rash pursuits of them, from 400 to 500 men, when Beresford received intelligence that Soult was rapidly advancing upon Badajoz. This was on the night of the 12th of May; and on the following morning Beresford, far too weak to attend to two objects at once, raised the siege and prepared to fight Soult in a pitched battle and on an open field.

Having removed their artillery, stores, &c., the allies took post on the memorable ridge of Albuera: they were between 7000 and 8000 British infantry, several of the Portuguese brigades which Beresford had so admirably disciplined, and the Spanish corps of Blake and Castaños, and about 2000 cavalry; in all about 27,000 men: but the Spaniards, who formed above 10,000 of this total, had scarcely been disciplined at all, and were but little to be depended upon. Another Spanish brigade, under Don Carlos d'Espagna, arrived at Albuera on the 14th; and on the evening of the 15th, after a day of heavy rain, Soult came up with about 19,000 chosen infantry, about 4000 cavalry, and 50 guns. As at Fuentes de Onoro, the ground was very favourable for cavalry. The French marshal immediately reconnoitred Beresford's position, and determined upon an attack in force on the right flank of the allies, which was occupied by Blake's Spanish corps, the British occupying the centre. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th of May the French troops were seen in motion, dense masses of infantry and clouds of cavalry rolling towards Blake's position, while two heavy columns of infantry and some horse, marching out of a wood, pointed towards the front of the allied position as if to attack the bridge and the unroofed, ruined village of Albuera. Other demonstrations were made, as though Soult intended to attack the British centre in front; but Beresford saw that this was but a feint, and he immediately sent orders to Blake to change his front so as to face the French marching upon his right. Blake refused, saying that the real attack of Soult was against the centre by the bridge of Albuera. The truth appears to have been that Blake knew very well that, if he attempted, with his undisciplined rabble, to change front or to make any other movement in the presence of an active and highly disciplined enemy, they would fall into irremediable confusion, and either throw down their arms or fly—to be pursued and cut to pieces. But, when the attempt to manœuvre had become infinitely more difficult than it was when Blake got his orders from Beresford, that presumptuous self-willed man (his pride was greatly increased since his election by the Cortes to be one of the members of the Regency), when the French were actually appearing on the table-land on his right, and getting ready to enfilade nearly the whole position of the allies, consented to change his front, and thereupon his Spaniards gave way in disorder, leaving, for a moment, the British centre entirely exposed, and too truly telling the English soldiers what little assistance was to be expected from such allies. Beresford now ordered the brigades of the 2nd British division to advance to the right and check the assailants. The first of these brigades (General Colborne's), while in the act of deploying, under a heavy fire of French artillery from the ridges of the hill which Blake and his Spaniards ought to have held, was attacked in flank and rear by the French cavalry and the fierce Polish lancers, who committed a dreadful havoc. Wherever these Poles had served the French—whether in Italy, Egypt, Germany, Spain, or Portugal,—they had distinguished themselves, even in armies not remarkable for humanity, by their savage ferocity as much as by their bravery and their skill or address as light cavalry. On the present, as on other occasions, these lancers, with their blood-red flags shaking under the heads of their spears, rode madly over the field to spear the wounded and to finish them where they fell. The tremendous slaughter made upon Colborne's brigade would, however, have been still greater if these Poles had not thus lost their time in gratifying their unsoldierlike appetite for blood and death; or if, instead of scattering themselves over the field, they had kept together with the French dragoons, and pursued their first advantage, which had been chiefly owing to surprise. Two British regiments were almost annihilated; but the 31st regiment, the left of Colborne's brigade of three regiments, escaped the charge, and, under nearly every possible disadvantage, it manfully kept its ground under Major L'Estrange.* Houghton's brigade, the next of the two brigades, which Beresford had ordered forward to recover possession of the ridge on his right, reached the summit soon after, and maintained a most desperate struggle against an immensely superior force and against all arms—artillery, infantry, cavalry, both light and heavy. When we shall see a well-authenticated instance of the troops of any other nation gaining and keeping such a position against such

* In liberally recommending to the Duke of York for promotion a number of officers who had distinguished themselves at Albuera, Lord Wellington says: "But there is one officer, Major L'Estrange, of the 31st, whom I must recommend in the strongest manner for promotion in some way or other. After the other parts of the same brigade were swept off by the cavalry, this little battalion alone held its ground against all the *colonnes-en masse*."—*Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.* The major is now General Sir Guy L'Estrange, K.C.B.

fearful odds, then we may qualify or waver in our national faith, that the British infantry is the best in the world. Houghton's men, however, fell fast, and his ammunition began to fail. Beresford began to think of a retreat, which would have been ruinous, when the gallant Colonel Hardinge (now General Sir Henry Hardinge) suggested that General Cole's division should be hurled against the French. An order to this effect was instantly given, and Cole, with the fourth division, which consisted only of the English fusileer brigade and of one Portuguese brigade, promptly advanced to drive the French from all the heights. It was this British fusileer brigade that restored the fight and saved the allied army. While the Portuguese brigade under General Harvey moved round the shoulder of the hill on the right, and some troops under Abercrombie moved round on the left, Cole himself led the matchless fusileers straight up the fatal hill, which was now completely crowned by the French masses and their artillery. Two or three flags of regiments and six British guns were already in the enemy's possession, and the whole of Soult's reserve was coming forward *en masse* to reinforce his columns on the ridge, from which Houghton's thinned brigade seemed on the point of being swept at last. On the ridge and on the slopes the ground was heaped with dead, and the Polish lancers were riding furiously about the captured English guns on the hill top. But General Cole, at the head of his fusileers, moved steadily onward and upward, dispersed those savage lancers, recovered our six guns, and appeared on the summit of the hill and on the right of Houghton's brigade, just as Abercrombie took post on its left. The military historian of these exciting events has given a perfect picture of the scene which ensued. His description has often been quoted; but it would savour of presumption to attempt to give another:—"Such a gallant line, issuing from the midst of the smoke, and rapidly separating itself from the confused and broken multitude, startled the enemy's heavy masses, which were increasing and pressing onwards as to an assured victory: they wavered, hesitated, and then, vomiting forth a storm of fire, hastily endeavoured to enlarge their front, while a fearful discharge of grape from all their artillery whistled through the British ranks. Sir William Myers was killed; Cole, and the three colonels, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawkshawe, fell wounded, and the fusileer battalions, struck by the iron tempest, reeled and staggered like sinking ships. Suddenly and sternly recovering, they closed on their terrible enemies, and then was seen with what a strength and majesty the British soldier fights. In vain did Soult, by voice and gesture, animate his Frenchmen; in vain did the hardiest veterans, extricating themselves from the crowded columns, sacrifice their lives to gain time for the mass to open out on such a fair field; in vain did the mass itself bear up, and, fiercely arising, fire indiscriminately upon friends and foes, while the horsemen, hovering on the flank, threatened to charge the advancing line. Nothing could stop that astonishing infantry. No sudden burst of undisciplined valour, no nervous enthusiasm, weakened the stability of their order; their flashing eyes were bent on the dark columns in their front; their measured tread shook the ground; their dreadful volleys swept away the head of every formation; their deafening shouts overpowered the dissonant cries that broke from all parts of the tumultuous crowd, as foot by foot, and with a horrid carnage, it was driven by the incessant vigour of the attack to the farthest edge of the hill. In vain did the French reserves, joining with the struggling multitudes, endeavour to sustain the fight; their efforts only increased the irremediable confusion, and the mighty mass, giving way like a loosened cliff, went headlong down the ascent. The rain flowed after in streams discoloured with blood, and 1500 unwounded men, the remnant of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, stood triumphant on the fatal hill." *

The day was now won, and, Beresford ordering the Portuguese and Spaniards to advance, the French retreated in dismay and confusion across the Albuera river. At three o'clock in the afternoon the firing, which had begun hotly at about nine o'clock in the morning, ceased. The allies had lost in killed and wounded about 7000 men, of whom more than two-thirds were British. The French lost, or were computed to have lost, not less than 9000 men, including two generals killed and three generals wounded. If censure was showered upon the head of Marshal Beresford for his management of this battle, and for his fighting it at all, it was certainly not by his considerate and generous-minded commander-in-chief. Wellington praised Beresford for having raised the siege of Badajoz without the loss of ordnance or stores of any description, and for having collected the troops under his command and formed his junction with Blake and Castaños skilfully and promptly; and he did not hesitate to call the battle of Albuera a signal victory gained by Beresford and his British officers and soldiers in the most gallant manner. He joined to his admiration of it his cordial concurrence in the favourable reports made by Beresford of the good conduct of all. He attributed the great sacrifices which the battle had cost us, and the unmolested condition of the French after they had crossed the river, to the right cause —"it was owing to the Spaniards, who could not be moved." "I should," says his lordship, "feel no anxiety about the result of any of our operations, if the Spaniards were as well disciplined as the soldiers of that nation are brave, and if they were at all movable; but this is, I fear, beyond hope! All our losses have been caused by this defect. At Talavera the enemy would have been destroyed, if we could have moved the Spaniards:

* Colonel Napier, Hist. of War in the Peninsula. "It was observed that our dead, particularly the 57th regiment, were lying as they had fought, in ranks, and that every wound was in front."—*Marshal Beresford's Dispatch to Lord Wellington, dated Albuera, 18th May.*

at Albuera the natural thing would have been to support the Spaniards on the right with the Spaniards who were next to them; but any movement of that body would have created inextricable confusion; and it was necessary to support the right solely with British, and thus the great loss fell upon our troops. In the same way, I suspect, the difficulty and danger of moving the Spanish troops was the cause that General Lapeña did not support General Graham at Barrosa." *

On the evening of the 15th, the day which had witnessed one of the most murderous conflicts of modern times, considering the number of troops engaged, Beresford improved his position; his freshest troops were placed in the first line, and some hundreds of spears and flags, taken from the Polish lancers, who had paid dearly for their barbarity, were planted in defiance along the crest of the hill.† On the morrow, the 16th of May, the two armies remained in their respective positions, and Beresford waited in anxiety for another attack, with hardly British soldiers enough to furnish his piquets and to take care of his thousands of wounded. If Soult, who is said to have acknowledged that in the whole course of his long service he had never seen so desperate a battle, had not seen that the French army was lopped and maimed and spiritless, he would assuredly have renewed the attack this morning before Beresford could be reinforced by any British troops. But the morning passed, and the afternoon, and the evening, and the night, without any movement on the side of Soult; and on the 17th Kemmis's brigade of 1500 English came up and joined Beresford on the ridge of Albuera, and then, late at night, Soult began to move off his wounded under cover of the wood, and to prepare for his retreat upon Seville, which he commenced on the morning of the 18th, leaving behind him 800 soldiers severely wounded to the generosity and humanity of the English. The French marshal had no doubt heard of the approach of Lord Wellington from the north. On the very next day, the 19th, his lordship arrived at Albuera with two fresh divisions, and gave directions to resume the siege of Badajoz. Through our deficiency in cavalry Soult's retreat was not so much molested as it might otherwise have been; but, nevertheless, he lost some hundreds of men, and our weak horse defeated his strong rear-guard of cavalry at Usagne, and killed, wounded, or took about 150 of them. Soult had almost stripped Andalusia of troops, yet, instead of having accomplished the haughty boasts with which he had harangued his men on beginning his march from Seville, he now returned thither with a curtailed army and a diminished reputation.*

Trenches were opened before Badajoz, and on the 5th of June, a breach being made in Fort St. Cristoval, the assault was given. Through various wants and deficiencies † this failed completely, nor did another attempt, which was made on the 9th, prove more successful. Altogether our storming parties lost in killed and wounded

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.
† Southey, Hist. of the Peninsular War.

* Marshal Beresford, Dispatch to Lord Wellington.
† "The poverty of the means at Lord Wellington's disposal for carrying on this siege was a subject of much merriment to the soldiers employed. General Picton remarked that 'Lord Wellington sued Badajoz *in formâ pauperis*;' and he was answered that, 'instead of *breaching*, the operations appeared more like *beseeching*. Badajoz.' In fact, everything was wanting to bring the siege to a rapid termination. The means were deficient for the reduction of the place in *any* time; but to do so with expedition appeared, with such a force, to be impossible."—*H. B. Robinson, Memoirs of Lieut. Gen. Sir Thomas Picton.*

BADAJOZ.

more than 400 of our very best men. On the 10th Lord Wellington received certain intelligence that Marmont, the successor of Massena, was marching from Salamanca to the south to join Marshal Soult, with the whole of the so-called army of Portugal, and that Drouet's corps was marching from Toledo, and would probably join Soult that very day. His lordship therefore fell back, and took up a position near Campo Mayor along the frontiers of Portugal. Although the French brought together from 60,000 to 70,000 foot and 8000 horse, and although Wellington, counting Portuguese and some Spaniards, had not more than 56,000, of which only 3500 were horse, the two French marshals would not venture to attack him on these heights; they merely made reconnaissances which were of no use, and feints and demonstrations which never deceived their quick-sighted opponent; and, about the middle of July, Marmont, perceiving that his army of Portugal was not destined to force its way into Portugal by that frontier, and that its presence was required in other quarters, separated from Soult, recrossed the Tagus at Almaraz, where he had crossed it on his advance, and marched back to Salamanca. This rendered indispensable a corresponding movement to the northward on the part of Wellington; and his lordship, leaving General Hill (now returned from England) with one British division and the Portuguese in the Alemtejo, and giving up for the present the siege of Badajoz, crossed the Tagus with the rest of his army, marched to his old line of the Agueda, and established his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo. Here he was at no great distance from Ciudad Rodrigo, and, aiming at the recovery of that fortress, he caused it to be watched and surrounded. Towards the end of September, Marmont having dissipated a storm which had seemed brewing in the north of Spain, and having received large reinforcements from France, moved forward upon the Agueda, and by his superiority of numbers, and especially of cavalry, obliged Wellington, after a partial engagement at El Bodon, to withdraw his army, which he did in beautiful order to his old position on the Coa, whither Marmont did not choose to follow him.*

Shortly after these movements in the north General Hill obtained some signal successes in the south. Soult had gone back again to Seville and to Cadiz, to have an eye upon the blockade of the latter city, which seemed as though it would never end. The French general, Girard, was left near the Guadiana, in Spanish Estremadura, at Arroyo Molinos, in the neighbourhood of Caceres; and here, on the 28th of October, he was surprised, surrounded, and completely routed by Hill, who took 1500 men and several officers of rank prisoners, together with the whole of his artillery, ammunition, stores, and baggage, with a loss to himself too trifling to be mentioned. General Hill then advanced to Merida, where he placed his troops in cantonments. Thus the whole of that part of Estremadura was delivered from the enemy, who had no good footing anywhere in the province except within the walls of Badajoz.

No other attempt was made by the French upon or near to the Portuguese frontiers during the remainder of the year 1811. Lord Wellington, in the course of this year, besides having firmly established his complete possession of Portugal, had, by his operations within the Spanish frontiers, given employment to two French armies, and prevented the French from acting with vigour either against Gallicia in the north or against Cadiz in the south. He had more than redeemed his pledge and promise that he would be able to retain possession of Portugal, and to make it a *point d'appui* for future operations against the French in Spain. His confidence was neither greater nor less now than it had been two years ago, or when he first announced (to the scorn and laughter of certain politicians at home) that with a moderate-sized British army and the Portuguese troops and militia he could defend and maintain that kingdom: he never lost sight of the varying chances and disastrous accidents which attend all military plans and operations, and it was never in the power of good fortune to elate him over-much. His wondrous equanimity had as much to do with his final successes as his military genius and sagacity. His chief apprehension this year was that the impatient English public would expect him to do too much at once, and that the perplexed government might be induced to give up the struggle in the Peninsula altogether. In the month of March, when he scarcely knew whether the regent had determined to retain for good his father's administration, or whether the powers of the state would not be intrusted to men decided upon discontinuing our efforts on the Continent, and when he was following Massena's track of retreat and devastation in the midst of burning towns and villages, he wrote to the secretary of state for the war-department: "I shall be sorry if government should think themselves under the necessity of withdrawing from this country on account of the expense of the contest. From what I have seen of the objects of the French government, and the sacrifices they make to accomplish them, I have no doubt that, if the British army were, for any reason, to withdraw from the Peninsula, and the French government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the Continent, they would incur all risks to land an army in his majesty's dominions. *Then, indeed, would commence an expensive contest; then would his majesty's subjects discover what are the miseries of war, of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had no knowledge; and the cultivation, the beauty, and prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants, would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of the military operations.*"* His lordship

* A. Vieusseux, Military Life of the Duke of Wellington.

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches; letter to Lord Liverpool, dated 23rd March.
In the same dispatch Wellington adds, "God forbid that I should

was making the Peninsula the battle-field and bulwark of Great Britain; the withdrawing of his army would have led to despair and submission on the part of the Spaniards, and to a re-conquest and almost an extermination of the Portuguese; it would have changed the temper of the Emperor Alexander, and have cast a damp over the popular spirit of all the nations of Europe; and, if we had not maintained our army in the Peninsula—where it was acquiring, in the most active service, an unrivalled degree of perfection,—we must have doubled or trebled our army at home, which could not have found so good a school in mere coast and garrison duty.

With all the encouragement the British could give them, the Spaniards, left to themselves in the eastern provinces of their kingdom, seemed fast succumbing to the French. They had lost one important fortress after another, and not being yet cured of their mania for fighting pitched battles under the most unpromising circumstances, they had been repeatedly beaten in the field. Suchet, who had assumed the command in Catalonia, which several generals of reputation had given up in disgust or despair, was a man of great skill and determination and still greater cruelty. After a siege which lasted three months and which cost the besiegers a great loss, Suchet took Tarragona by storm on the 28th of June, and perpetrated a most atrocious butchery. His soldiery rushed through the breach and through the streets of the bravely defended town, shouting, "*Grace aux militaires, mort aux paysans!*" and, as the place had been mainly defended not by regular troops, or by combatants with uniforms on their backs, but by burghers, the common townspeople, and the peasantry of the neighbourhood, nearly every head within those walls was devoted to destruction; and the massacre, once begun, went on indiscriminately, without regard to military or non-military, age or sex. The total amount of the slaughter has been stated at 6000; and every enormity of which human nature is capable was practised in that hapless city. Attempts have been made, and that, too, in quarters where they ought not to have been expected, to palliate these infernal excesses and the general ferocity which Suchet exercised during his command in Catalonia; but the damning evidence on the other side is too great and positive to allow of any doubt on the subject.

The Spanish regent-general, Blake, whose forces had been so ineffective in Estremadura, at Albuera, marched an army into the province of Valencia, and on the 25th of October encountered Suchet in the open field. Being thoroughly beaten Blake shut himself up in the city of Valencia with the whole of his army, the only Spanish army now on foot; and, being besieged there, he, in the beginning of January, 1812, capitulated with 18,000 soldiers, 23 general officers, and between 300 and 400 guns! Wellington, who had thrown away his arguments on Spanish pride and obstinacy, said there was no man who knew the state of affairs in that province, and had read Suchet's own account of his action with Blake in October, who did not believe that if Blake had not fought that action the city of Valencia would have been safe.* Between Blake's stupid battle and disgraceful capitulation Suchet reduced Murviedro and other fortresses, and established the French authority in Valencia as well as in Catalonia.

In the course of the year the arms of England found occupation in many other parts of the world. In the month of March the unfortunate and humiliated King of Sweden issued a proclamation, signifying that on account of ill health he found it necessary to withdraw from public affairs, and to transfer the whole royal authority to Bernadotte, the crown prince whom the nation had elected. This fortunate, politic, and adroit Gascon—a man of very different temperament and powers to the pacific and timid Louis Bonaparte, and placed in a country stronger and more remote from France than Holland—no sooner found himself the real sovereign of Sweden than he determined to adopt Swedish interests, and to act not as a French marshal and prince of the Napoleonic empire, but as a Swede. At a very early period he entered into some secret negotiations with Russia, his nearest and most formidable neighbour, made indirect overtures to the court of St. James's, and relaxed in his dominions the severity of the Continental system, which Bonaparte had engaged him to carry out rigorously. The gentle and prudent conduct of Sir J. Saumarez, the admiral of our Baltic fleet, encouraged Bernadotte in this line of conduct. During the summer our admiral entered into a negotiation with the Swedish government concerning some detained ships with colonial produce; and in this correspondence it was made apparent that there was a mutual desire of being upon amicable terms. Sir J. Saumarez now permitted the coasting vessels of the country to pass unmolested, and to renew the trade in the Baltic, the suspension of which had caused great distress; and, going still farther than this, our admiral, when danger was to be apprehended, gave the Swedish merchantmen convoy and protection. Thus Sweden, though she had declared war against Great Britain, remained *de facto* in a state of truce. The moment was not yet come for Bernadotte to declare war against his late master; but the interests of the country, the wise policy he had adopted, and his personal hatred of Bonaparte were sufficient pledges of his future intentions.

While this born-Frenchman, this soldier of fortune, aggrandized by the Revolution, this close connexion of the Bonaparte family (for Bernadotte

be a witness, much less an actor, in the scene; and I only hope that the king's government will consider well what I have above stated to your lordship, and will ascertain as nearly as it is in their power the actual expense of employing a certain number of men in this country beyond that of employing them at home or elsewhere; and will keep up their force here on such a footing as will at all events secure their possession, if it does not enable their commander to take advantage of events and assume the offensive."

* Lord Wellington, Memorandum of operations in 1811, as given in Colonel Gurwood's Dispatches.

had married the sister of Joseph's wife), was thus amicably disposed towards Great Britain, the ruler of Denmark, a prince of the old legitimate stock, a nephew of George III. of England, continued firm in his enmity, or more subservient than ever to the will of France. He enforced the Continental system wherever he could; he sent a great proportion of his Danish sailors to enter Bonaparte's service, and the remainder of his seamen were chiefly employed in privateers and gun-boats against the British trade. A political miscalculation had, no doubt, more effect upon him than his antipathy to England: he thought that everything must yield to the Man of Destiny, and that only those nations and governments could be safe which conciliated his good-will. In the month of March he suddenly sent a Danish flotilla with 3000 or 4000 troops on board to recover the small island of Anholt, in the Kattegat, between the shores of Jutland in Denmark and Helmstad in Sweden, of which the English had obtained possession. Our garrison consisted of no more than 350 men; but the Danish commanders conducted their operations so badly that they lost a great many men in fruitless attempts upon the works, and when they re-embarked in despair they left behind them, for want of a sufficient number of boats, some 300 or 400 men who had no provisions, and who were obliged to surrender as prisoners of war.

In the East Indies, the capital of the Dutch East India settlements, Batavia, together with the entire island of Java on which it is situated, was reduced in the month of August by a British and Sepoy army sent over from Madras. The small island of Madura also submitted, and thus not a vestige was left of the once extensive and splendid Eastern dominion of the Dutch—now Gallo-Batavians.

In the West Indies, from which Dutch, Danes, and French had been completely driven, the British governors of islands and commanders of troops and squadrons found work to do in suppressing conspiracies and insurrections, and in checking the very revolutionary spirit which was constantly emanating from the free, independent, and very turbulent negroes of San Domingo, not without encouragement from certain Creoles of partly French extraction. In Martinique the free people of colour joined the negroes in a plot for setting fire to the town of St. Pierre, massacring all the whites, and making a black republic after the manner of San Domingo; but their plot was discovered in time, and, when they began to move, the military and the militia (old French planters and settlers as well as English settlers) were fully prepared to receive them. About 500 slaves, led on by five black chiefs, were defeated outside of St. Pierre, and were dispersed with great loss. Many were taken prisoners, and fifteen of them were hanged.

Although it was only by occasional surprises that the British navy could perform any achievements, there were several brilliant frigate fights and in-shore operations. In the narrow and dangerous Adriatic sea, Captain William Hoste, the pupil of Nelson, and one who bade fair, should opportunity serve, to emulate the fame of that hero, obtained, on the 13th of March, off the island of Lissa, on the Dalmatian coast, with four English frigates, a complete and most brilliant victory over five French frigates and six smaller vessels with 500 land troops on board.* Another desperate action was fought by Captain Schomberg, near Foul Point, Madagascar. The French, unwilling to leave us in undisturbed possession of the Indian seas, had collected three frigates and some land troops on the African coast, in the Mozambique channel, and recovered possession of Tamatava. Schomberg, who had three frigates and a sloop, but who lost the service of one of his frigates by damage done to her masts at the beginning of the action, captured the French commodore's frigate, made another strike, recovered Tamatava, and captured all the vessels in the port, including a 44-gun frigate which had escaped from the action. A glance at our naval history, or at the dispatches and reports printed in the Gazette, will show that 1811 was not an idle year on the seas, and that, counting the conflict which was now beginning with the United States of America, our fleets and squadrons were engaged in all the four quarters of the globe.

In the interior of France, nearly everything, according to outward appearance, still favoured the Corsican emperor. On the 20th of March the Empress Maria Louisa was safely delivered of a son, who forthwith received the names and titles of Napoleon Francis Charles Joseph, Prince of the French Empire, and King of Rome.† Congratulatory addresses were poured in from all the departments, and all the principal cities of France, from Belgium, Holland, the Hanse towns, the Confederated States of the Rhine, and from Italy, albeit in the last country the ominous title of King of Rome, bestowed on the heir of the French empire, irritated those blind and obstinate political dreamers who continued to believe in Bonaparte's promise to separate Italy from France, and to unite her as one great and independent country. On the 16th of June Napoleon opened the session of that constitutional mockery, the *Corps Législatif*, telling those legislators, who could do nothing but record his will and echo his words, that his *son* would answer the expectations of France, and bear to their children the sentiments which his father

* James, Naval History.—Memoirs and Letters of Sir William Hoste, edited by his Widow.

† When Lord Wellington and the British army were watching the miserable retreat of Massena in Spain, they heard a *feu de joie* of 101 guns. This was the royal salute firing for the birth of the King of Rome.

"The child was baptized by Cardinal Maury, who was now in high favour, and had just been named Archbishop of Paris. On this occasion all forms and processes of flattery were exhausted. All the *corps de l'état*, the senate, the council of state, let themselves be presented to the King of Rome, then a few days old; they addressed to him discourses to which his nurse or governess replied; then they defiled before his cradle making their reverences. People in Paris amused themselves much with this scene. The birth of this infant was welcomed with real enthusiasm only by those whose fortunes depended on the empire of Bonaparte; these men saw in it the conservation of the imperial dynasty, and a guarantee to themselves for the future. Nevertheless the child brought with him at his birth the germs of the malady which caused his death. But the world was kept ignorant of this."—*Hist. Parlementaire.*

now bore to them; that the French people must never forget that their happiness and glory were dependant on the prosperity of the throne which he had raised, consolidated, and aggrandized by them and for them; that he desired that this should be properly understood by every Frenchman, and that, happen what might, or in whatever position Providence and his will should place them, the love of France was their first duty. In this session several new members or deputies made their first *triste* appearance. These were Dutchmen from Holland and the other United Provinces, Germans from the Hanse Towns, Swiss from the Valais (now formally incorporated with France), and Italians from the confiscated states of the Church. They had all been named by the French senate, without any election by the people they were sent to represent, and by whom they were reported to be fairly and freely chosen. "Alas!" says a French writer, "we still kept playing farces! but how could we hope to deceive anybody by such fictions and lies as these?" It was pompously reported that France had been augmented by sixteen new departments, containing altogether 5,000,000 of population, yielding 100,000,000 of francs of revenue, and adding 300 leagues of coast. After ministers had presented a budget as fictitious and deceptive as all the rest, and after these hollow shadows of legislators had voted addresses and whatever else was demanded or expected from them (sanctioning, as they had done before, the forestalling of the annual conscription, and the execution of severe laws against such as were shy of the murderous Spanish war, and endeavoured to escape this forced enlistment), the short session was closed on the 25th of July by the Comte de Ségur, counsellor of state. Ségur, in his closing discourse, repeated that France had 800,000 men under arms, and that 350,000 of these troops were in Spain or on the frontiers, ready to act in that country. But in this number the count certainly counted a great many more men than were really effective, while he or his master overlooked the exhaustion, discontent, and downright disaffection which was caused by the merciless conscription. Already, in many of the districts of France, young men and men in the prime and vigour of life had almost disappeared, leaving, to supply their places, only aged and infirm men, children, or beardless boys; and already the practice had become common of seizing mere boys, draughting them into regiments, and sending them across the Pyrenees to perish of fatigue which they had not strength to bear. The great question of the church was another source of distraction and uneasiness. It was found infinitely more difficult to subdue and control the Roman Catholic clergy than to kidnap or imprison the helpless old pope; and all the devout Catholics in Italy, in southern Germany, and even in France, looked with more reverence and obedience to the dungeon of Pius VII. than to the throne of Napoleon. Even his own maternal uncle, Cardinal Fesch, fell from his side in this holy war, and took part with the pope or with the canons of the church. Bishoprics were falling vacant; the pope refused to institute successors, and none but the most discredited of the churchmen would fill the vacant sees without the papal institution. In a moment of wrath Bonaparte spoke of making a schism in the church, saying that he knew he could divide France and turn half or more of it into a protestant or some other community. "Sire," said Comte Louis de Narbonne, who had not lost his wit and causticity in becoming one of Bonaparte's chamberlains, "I am afraid there is not enough religion in all France to stand a division!" There was, however, religion and belief in the south of France, in the Vendée, in many other remote departments, and it certainly lingered still in some corners of all the great towns, not excepting Paris itself, that great Temple of Reason; and such religion as there was was an unmodified fanatic Catholicism. Putting out of the account that scarcely visible minority the Huguenots, or Calvinists, all the Frenchmen who were not bigoted Catholics were atheists, or deists, or materialists, in whose eyes every religious faith was about equally despicable. It was by conciliating the Catholics that Bonaparte had tranquillised the interior of France; and he knew full well that the zealots would relight the flames of civil war and brave his power, great as it was, rather than submit now to receive uncanonical bishops and unordained curés. In the month of June, while his submissive *Corps Législatif* was sitting, Bonaparte assembled what he called a French National Ecclesiastical Council. More than a hundred prelates and dignitaries of the church assembled in the palace of the Archbishop of Paris (Maury), and thence proceeded in solemn procession to the church of Notre Dame, to invoke the celestial spirit to preside over their deliberations. After high mass a sermon was preached, and this was followed by the reading of the decree which convoked the council, and of the profession of faith adopted by the Council of Trent. This over, Cardinal Fesch, who had officiated, and who had been named president, repeated the oath prescribed for bishops, &c., by the bull of Pius IV., which began with these words: "I promise and vow a true obedience to the Roman pontiff," &c. All the archbishops and bishops repeated the oath after him. Three days after this—on the 20th of June—this council proceeded to organize itself and to deliberate, Bonaparte's minister of worships, *ministre des cultes*, being present, to issue, in case of need, the temporal bulls of his master. This lay minister, in fact, opened the deliberations himself by reading an imperial decree, which was but badly received by the churchmen. Cardinal Fesch, as president, read an imperial message, by which the council was called upon to decide on the means of settling canonical institutions. Forthwith a committee was appointed to examine this great question and report upon it. The members of this committee, after various communications with the emperor,

adopted a report *which he himself had dictated.** The majority of the council was not, however, so docile: when the committee presented their report, and the draught of a decree in conformity with it, the council voted that the said decree could be of no avail until sanctioned by the pope. This was on the 10th of July. Immediately an imperial decree came forth dissolving the council, and orders were issued for arresting the bishops of Tournay, Troyes, and Ghent, who had been very energetic in their opposition to the will of the real kidnapper and gaoler of the pontiff. These three prelates were shut up in the castle of Vincennes, and they only obtained their liberty by resigning their sees. Bonaparte then ordered his minister of worships to call together not a council but a commission or a congregation of bishops; but, notwithstanding the timidity or time-serving of a certain number of prelates, nothing could be settled, and the helpless old pontiff, who had been brought from Savona to Fontainebleau, continued from his prison to defy all the threats, violence, and prepotency of the master or dictator of Europe, and his excommunication against all such churchmen as should submit to the will of the lay monarch, and thereby break the canons of the church, was left unrevoked. The tyrant in the Tuileries was checked and humbled by the captive of Fontainebleau; and great were his apprehensions lest some attempt might be made by the faithful to carry off Pius. These thoughts caused Bonaparte much disquietude, as well while he was meditating his Russian war, as when he was absent on that disastrous campaign. If the pope had been carried across the Alps, at a time when nearly every French soldier in Italy, and a great part of the native Italian armies, were drawn out of that country to perish beyond the Vistula, the whole of that peninsula would have been convulsed.

We have incidentally alluded to some of the causes which rendered the continuance of the friendship between France and Russia, or between Napoleon and Alexander, an impossibility. Other causes of rupture existed; nor, excepting the youthful admiration of Alexander for the military genius and success of the great soldier of fortune, would it be easy to discover any good ground for sympathy or good-fellowship. On both sides there was a proneness to trickery and duplicity, the Russian cabinet being quite equal to Corsicans and Frenchmen in a contest of this kind. After promising, or at least inducing the czar to believe that he promised, to leave the sultan to his fate, or not to interfere for the preservation of the Turkish dominions in Europe, Bonaparte had encouraged and assisted the Turks, who continued their war, and, though often beaten, cost the Russians enormous sacrifices. By creating the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, by uniting to it Western Gallicia and Cracow, and (when it suited his purpose) by talking oracularly of the possibility of re-constructing the old and once vast Polish nondescript (it can neither be called a monarchy nor a republic), Bonaparte gave occasion to great distrust and uneasiness; for such a reconstruction of Poland must interpose a barrier between Russia and the civilised nations of Western Europe, and tend to throw her back to her original condition of an Eastern power, with free communications only with semi-barbarous countries. Even if placed in the condition of a truly independent state, strong enough to support herself by herself, and exempt from any foreign dictation, whether from France or from any other power, Poland, from the whole nature of things, and from what had passed in her wars and partitions, could never be the friend or the quiet neighbour of Russia; but the idea of Polish national independence, and of her freedom from French control, was not to be entertained by any rational man for a single moment. Europe was too full of proofs of what Bonaparte meant by the *independence* of the nations or states he protected or created. If he had re-united all the territories, from the shores of the Black Sea to the shores of the Baltic, which once belonged to her, still Poland would have been and could have been only a dependence of France, with a submissive king and government, who must have received their orders and instructions from Paris. Such a reconstruction was impracticable; but, take the Duchy of Warsaw as Bonaparte had constituted it, take the submissive character and habits of the King of Saxony, on whom he had conferred this Grand Duchy, take the decided French predilections of the largest or most stirring part of the Poles, their rancorous hate of the Russians, their readiness to serve in any war wherein Bonaparte might choose to employ them, and the rapture with which they hailed every prospect of an opportunity to serve under him against their hereditary foes, and no surprise need be felt at the fact that this ephemeral state was, as long as it existed, a sharp thorn in the side of Russia. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw was little else than a vast garrison for Bonaparte, or a vanguard to his prodigious armies; or, if it were more than this, it was a centre of intrigues and machinations all hostile to Russia. Bonaparte too had given no slight offence to the czar by dispossessing his near family connexion the Duke of Oldenburg of his territory, contrary to the treaty of Tilsit. But, perhaps, the cause which contributed most of all to the quarrel, or which most hastened on the open rupture, was the Continental System, to which Russia could not submit without ruin, and to which Alexander could not have attempted to adhere without incurring the risk of some of those summary proceedings wherewith the Russians had been accustomed to remedy the mischievous polity of their sovereigns. The nobility and great landholders of the country soon discovered the unchangeable truth that nations cannot sell unless they buy; that this excluding con-

* It is said that Bonaparte resorted to one of his stratagems—that he duped the members of the council's committee by presenting to them a letter (though not signed) from the pope, which seemed to recommend compliance.

tinental system, which prohibited the purchase of British manufactures, colonial produce, &c., shut them out from the best market they had for their own produce, and prevented their exporting by sea what they grew on their own vast estates. The complaints of his powerful subjects had induced Alexander to issue, on the 31st of December, 1810, a ukase, by which colonial and other goods were allowed to be introduced into the ports of Russia, unless they clearly appeared to be the property of subjects of Great Britain. Such a restriction was futile, and was, as a matter of course, intended by the government of Alexander to be so: it was evaded with the greatest ease, and the trade with England might almost be said to be re-opened once more. The conduct of Bernadotte, as crown prince, or *de facto* king, of Sweden, coincided very perfectly with this Russian system, and aggravated the choler of Bonaparte. Complaints uttered by the French ambassador at St. Petersburgh were soon followed by arrogant and most insolent menaces. Some of the Parisian *littérateurs* in the pay of Bonaparte, who had formerly been employed in writing eulogiums of the just and magnanimous Emperor Alexander, were now set to work to traduce him, his whole family, his court, his country, and his people; and, between the autumn and winter of 1811 and the spring of 1812, as many and as atrocious calumnies were produced against the czar as had been issued against the unfortunate Queen of Prussia just before the opening of the Prussian war of 1806. Besides indulging his spite and malice, Bonaparte considered this as a very proper way of preparing the minds of the French people for a tremendous contest. A pretended history of the Russian empire—a revolting libel from the first page to the last—was published in Paris, and widely circulated under the secret auspices of the police. In this once well known book nearly every vice and crime which Suetonius attributes to the Roman emperors were attributed to the Russian czars; and Alexander himself was charged, not merely with being privy and consentient to, but an actor in, the murder of his own father, the crazed Paul. As the French press continued to be in shackles, as nothing was allowed to be printed and published of which Bonaparte and his police did not approve, the Russian Emperor was justified in holding the Emperor of the French responsible for these outrages. They were proof, and more than proof, enough that Bonaparte had fully made up his mind to undertake a Russian war; and some considerable time before the close of the year 1811 most men in France clearly saw that the most gigantic preparations were making for an unprecedented campaign.

Bonaparte had driven from his presence Talleyrand and every other able and acute statesman, together with almost every man that presumed to entertain or express opinions opposite to his own; yet still it is said that a few sensible counsellors, men attached to his interest as it involved their own, ventured gently to remonstrate against his present mad project, to represent the undecided state of the warfare in Spain, the frightful drain made upon the population of France, as well as upon that of Italy and other dependent states, by that warfare, the sullen aspect of all the north of Germany, the spirit displayed particularly by the students in the German universities, the progress making by patriotic political societies in nearly all parts of Germany, the doubtful attitude assumed by Bernadotte, the insecure nature of the tie which bound Austria to him, and the wonderful and sudden influence which might yet be exercised on the continent of Europe by English subsidies. But the Man of Destiny frowned down these prudent advisers, or silenced their remonstrances with tranchant argument or vapid declamation. We look in vain for any new encouragement which he could have found anywhere except in the predicted bankruptcy of England and the now manifested intention of the United States of America to brave the maritime power of Britain, and rush into a war against the country to which they owed their origin, their language, and every high quality which distinguished them as a people. He considered that this American war must inevitably act as a capital diversion in his favour; and he hastened to negotiate an intimate alliance between the United States and France—between the model republic of modern times and the destroyer of republics old and new; between a people who had laid it down as a fundamental principle of their constitution and government that conquest by force of arms was unjustifiable and inadmissible, and a people and a man who had been conquering or overrunning not only their neighbours, but nearly all the countries of Europe for eighteen years.

A.D. 1812. The parliamentary session was opened on January the 7th, with the speech of the prince regent, delivered by commission. The speech dwelt upon the favourable military events of the past year, and upon the circumstances which encouraged hope and perseverance. It applauded the consummate talents of Lord Wellington, the persevering bravery of the Spanish people, and the extension of the guerilla system of warfare. With reference to the subsisting differences between Great Britain and America it was stated that the discussions had not been brought to an amicable close; but that no measure of conciliation should be left untried, which might be found consistent with the honour of the empire, and the commercial and maritime interests of the country. The addresses were carried in both Houses without a division, but not without debate and censure. In the Lords, Grenville and Grey pronounced a sweeping condemnation on all the measures of government at all connected with the war or foreign policy, making new predictions of calamities which must follow any rupture with our brethren beyond the Atlantic. In the other House Sir Francis Burdett declared that Englishmen for the last eighteen years, nay, ever since the war of the American revolution, had been

daily losing their liberty; that a detestation of French liberty had first produced the present war; that nothing had been done for the Spanish people; that, even if the cause of Spain should be honestly undertaken by the British government, it had now become perfectly hopeless; that the victories won by our armies were altogether barren, &c.: and then came the baronet's prescription of parliamentary reform.

The regent's speech had intimated that no change had taken place in the indisposition of the king. On the 16th of January, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee to consider the question of the king's household, Mr. Perceval, the premier, laid before it the measures proposed to be adopted. He stated that, according to the opinions of his physicians, the expectation of his majesty's recovery was diminished; and as, according to the regency bill, the restrictions of which were limited to one year, the entire sovereign authority must soon devolve on the prince regent, and with it the civil list, he called attention to the arrangements which it might be proper to make for the royal household. Several objections were taken to the ministerial plan; but, in the end, the two following resolutions were carried—"1. That, for making provision for the due arrangement of his majesty's household, and for the exercise of the royal authority during the continuance of his majesty's indisposition, and for the purpose of enabling the queen to meet the increased expenses to which, in consequence of such indisposition, her majesty may be exposed, there be granted, out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, the additional yearly sum of 70,000*l.* 2. That it is expedient that provision be made for defraying the expenses incident to the assumption of the personal exercise of the royal authority by his royal highness the prince regent, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty."

The bills framed upon these resolutions, though they underwent some discussion, encountered no very strenuous opposition. Some members urged that any such addition to the queen's income was unnecessary; and that the proposed grant to cover the expenses of the regent, being meant to apply retrospectively, did away with the merit of the prince's having declined burthening the country with any additional charge when he first took the reins of government into his hands. Upon this last point, however, that very important part of the Whig opposition who had been accustomed to call themselves, or to be considered, the Prince of Wales's friends, were quite silent. It was made apparent that there was again a deficiency in the civil list; and, while this was to be made up, it was represented that two courts and households must be maintained, the one for the queen, who would keep together the servants to whom the king was most attached, and one for the regent, who was bound to support the splendour of the throne. Virtually the civil list, chargeable with the additional 70,000*l.* to the queen, was vested in the regent, who was allowed also to retain his revenue as Prince of Wales.*

The bill for prohibiting the grant of offices in reversion being about to expire, Mr. Bankes introduced a new bill in order to render the measure permanent. On the second reading of this bill, on the 7th of February, Perceval, without giving any previous notice of his intention, opposed it, although on former occasions the bill had passed the Commons almost without objection; and it was rejected in a thin House by a majority of two. After this defeat Mr. Bankes proposed a bill for the same purpose, but limited to two years. This met with no opposition in the Commons; and it was carried through the Lords after the rejection of an amendment proposed by Earl Grosvenor for continuing its operation to the year 1840. Early in the session notice had been taken of an appointment conferred upon the regent's confidential servant, Colonel Mac Mahon. The place was that of paymaster of widows' pensions, which had been long held by General Fox, the brother of the deceased statesman Charles Fox, but which had long been considered as a mere sinecure. The reports of two committees of the House of Commons, one as far back as the year 1783, and the other as recent as the year 1808, recommended the abolition of the office, as well as that of a deputy-paymaster, as being unnecessary, the holder of the one having very little to do, the holder of the other nothing at all. Upon the death of General Fox,† it had been recommended to ministers to do away with the office the general had so long held. But, during the recess of parliament, ministers, to gratify the prince, had conferred the paymastership upon Colonel Mac Mahon, with the intimation that the colonel was to hold it subject to any future arrangement by parliament. But the foes to sinecures now represented that the place had not been granted to General Fox for life any more than to Colonel Mac Mahon; yet, that on turning to the report of the committee of 1783, it would be seen that no reason had been given for not immediately abolishing the office, save that it was then held by General Fox. And they argued that, *if* ministers had acted consistently with that recommendation, they would certainly have abolished the place at the general's death, instead of making a new grant of it to the colonel, in whose behalf it might also be pleaded that it would be hard to deprive him of what had been given to him and enjoyed by him. This, they said, was throwing discredit upon the prince regent, and insulting parliament. On the other side, ministers

* Shortly after this settlement the regent, by letter to both Houses, recommended a separate provision for his sisters the princesses; and Perceval, on the 23rd of March, proposed that to each of the four princesses should be granted 9 00*l.* a-year, exclusive of the 4000*l.* a-year from the civil list, which last sum, being payable during pleasure, could not be relied upon with certainty. The minister further proposed that at the death of one of the princesses the allowance to each of the surviving sisters should be raised to 10,000*l.* per annum, that the same should continue when there should be two survivors only, and that the sole survivor should receive 12,000*l.* per annum. A bill granting 36,000*l.* per annum for these purposes was carried without any difficulty.

† General Fox had not died until the 18th of July, 1811, when the preceding session of parliament was within a few days of its prorogation.

praised the character and talent of Mac Mahon; said that his case was that of a person whose services merited public remuneration; that the power of giving pensions instead of sinecures had not yet been granted to the regent, and that, under these circumstances, the *quasi* sinecure having become vacant, it had been given to as worthy an individual as the government could have selected. The House, however, on the motion of Mr. Bankes, refused by 115 against 112 to vote the money to pay the salary of the office. This was equivalent to a vote for the abolition of the said office. Mac Mahon was remunerated by the post of private secretary to the regent. This produced a fresh storm from the opposition benches, whose occupants had now become thoroughly convinced that there was no hope nor chance of the regent's changing the administration, and who were thereby led to change the policy in which they had persevered so many years, of lauding the prince and defending his conduct on all occasions. Mr. Wynne immediately called the attention of parliament and of the country to the novel and extraordinary appointment, of which the representatives of the people knew nothing more than what they learned from the Gazette. He declared that no regent or king had any right to keep a private secretary; that the only proper secretaries were the secretaries of state; that the secretary of state for the home department was the sovereign's private secretary; that William III. had no private secretary, nor George I., nor George II., nor even George III., until after his majesty's deprivation of sight, when Colonel Taylor was employed in that capacity. He asked whether it was proper to have a private secretary to read to the regent the communications of his ministers; and he raised other difficulties in the way of the new appointment. Ministers represented the immense increase of public business, and maintained that the appointment of a private secretary was neither unlawful nor inexpedient, unless the House were prepared to make the regent one of the greatest slaves in his own dominions. The motion for an inquiry was rejected by 176 to 100; but it was thought expedient to adopt the suggestion of Wilberforce, that the private secretary's salary (2000*l.* per annum) should be left to be paid out of the regent's privy purse.

Unfortunately for the opposition, some of their leaders got entangled in the economy web of Mr. Bankes, and in the labyrinth of the anti-sinecure and reforming propositions of the party. The stormy discussions about Mac Mahon's affair were scarcely finished, when Bankes brought in a bill for utterly abolishing many sinecure places; and ministers, who opposed the bill, were left in a minority.* Three days after this, on the 7th of May, Mr. Creevey rose to recommend great savings instead of small ones, and called the serious attention of the House to the tellerships of the exchequer, now and for a very long series of years held by the Marquess of Buckingham and Lord Camden, each of whom was in the receipt of more than 1000*l.* for every 100*l.* that Mac Mahon would have received as paymaster of widows' pensions.* These tellerships were as ancient as the exchequer itself, and, like other offices bestowed by the crown, they conferred upon the holders a vested right, with which, it was held, parliament could not interfere. The emoluments arose out of certain fees charged on the issue of the public moneys, and they increased, of course, with the increase of the public expenditure. Thus every year of this war, which added to the taxation of the country, swelled the emoluments of the two noblemen, who, in the last year, were said to have divided between them the enormous sum of 54,000*l.* A poundage on all sums issued for the army, navy, ordnance, &c., and a fee of 2½ per cent. on pensions and annuities, were charged by the tellers.† Parliament, however, had upon several occasions interfered to a certain extent with these emoluments of the tellers. Thus, quite recently, the annuities conferred on the four princesses had been exempted from the fee of 2½ per cent., and indeed from any deduction whatever to the tellers. The subsidies granted to foreign powers had always in practice been exempted; and, although the tellers had formerly claimed 5*s.* per cent. on all sums issued for the *extraordinary* expenses of the army, parliament on one occasion, when the sum of 100,000*l.* had been granted under this head, stepped in, and reduced the fee to 3*s.* 9*d.* per cent. Upon these grounds Mr. Creevey founded a series of resolutions, the last of which declared: "That it is the duty of parliament, in the present unparalleled state of national expenditure and public calamity, to exercise its rights still farther over the fees now paid out of the public money at the exchequer, so as to confine the profits of the two tellers to some fixed and settled sum of money, more conformable in amount to the usual grants of public money for public services, &c." In their dread of further inroads upon vested rights, and out of other motives apparently unconnected with any particular affection or regard for the two noble tellers, ministers opposed both the original motion, and an amendment proposed by Mr. Brand for appointing a committee to inquire into precedents; and—what seemed stranger—the greater part of the opposition joined the ministers, both Ponsonby and Tierney not only voting but speaking at length on the same side as Perceval. Thus the original motion was lost without a division, and Brand's motion was rejected by 148 against 40. A distinguished member of the opposition, who had voted with the minority, says: "On this occasion Ponsonby, Tierney,

* There voted for the third reading of Bankes's bill 131; against it 123.

* The place which General Fox had held so many years, and which Mac Mahon had held only a few months, was calculated as worth 2700*l.* per annum; but it is doubted whether it afforded 2000*l.* The tellerships of the exchequer had risen to 26,000*l.* or 27,000*l.* per annum each.]

† From a report of the Commissioners of Public Accounts in 1782, it appeared that the profits of this office, which in time of peace had not hitherto amounted to more than 2700*l.* per annum to each of the tellers, had risen to 7000*l.* per annum for each, in consequence of the expenses incurred during the American war. From the report of another committee, made in 1808, it appeared that the emoluments of the tellers amounted at that time to 23,000*l.* per annum each.

and the greatest part of the opposition, joined the ministers. Lord Grenville, indeed, had said that he considered the motion as aimed personally at himself, his family, and his friends; and therefore most of the firm adherents to the opposition party voted accordingly, or staid away. In the minority, however, were Whitbread, General Fergusson, Lord Tavistock, Lord Archibald Hamilton, and Brougham."* What between his own auditorship, and these tellerships, the exchequer was or ought to have been rather fatal to Lord Grenville's patriotism or popularity. One of these tellers, the Marquess of Buckingham, was the Mr. George Grenville, the prime minister of former times, and the uncle of Lord Grenville. The Grenvillites asked whether the opposition would destroy the Whig aristocracy, and the weight of their arguments or of their influence may be judged of by the conduct of that opposition at this critical moment. Ministers, and those who spoke with them against any interference with the vested rights of the two tellers, said that, although their office was certainly obnoxious on account of its enormous profits, it could not continue very long; that one of the holders was above sixty years old, and the other nearly of the same age, so that parliament would, at no very distant period, be enabled to regulate or abolish the office without injustice to individuals. In November of this year the two noble tellers, in a conjoint letter to the chancellor of the exchequer, intimated their intention of contributing to the public service a third of their salary and fees from the 5th of January next to the end of the war. The Marquess of Buckingham died on the 11th of February of the following year. Lord Camden, now the Marquess Camden, is still alive, but in 1814 voluntarily resigned all the extraordinary emoluments of his office, amounting to about 9000*l.* a year, reserving to himself only the salary of 2700*l.*.

Before the session closed an attack was made by the opposition upon another patent place, the emoluments of which seemed disproportionate to the duties and services of the office. In the session of 1810 Mr. Perceval himself had brought into parliament a bill to regulate the office of Registrar of the Admiralty and Prize Courts. This most lucrative office, while his father was first lord of the admiralty, had been granted in reversion to his elder brother Lord Arden (who now enjoyed it), and after Lord Arden's death to Mr. Perceval himself. The regulations proposed in Perceval's bill were not to take place at present, and no reductions of emolument were to be made till after the expiration of the existing present and reversionary interests, or until after the death of Lord Arden and Perceval; and it is said, that no regulations would have been proposed at all, if the subject had not been forced upon the premier by the reports of the finance committee. The bill declared that the registrar should be entitled to only one third part of the fees of his office; and that the remaining two-thirds should go to the consolidated fund. Sir Samuel Romilly objected that, where the fees of an office relating to the administration of justice were too large, the proper course to be taken was to diminish the fees for the benefit of the suitors, and not, as was here proposed, to continue the abuse and let the public in to share the spoils. The bill was, however, carried as Perceval had framed it. But now, in June 1812, another bill for regulating the office of Registrar of the Admiralty and Prize Courts was brought in by Mr. Henry Martin. It was opposed by all the crown lawyers. Sir Samuel Romilly supported the bill, the main principle of which was to prevent the registrar from making profit for his own use of the suitors' money deposited in his hands, and to establish regulations similar to those adopted in the Court of Chancery when the office of accountant-general was created. Sir Samuel said he could have no doubt that an officer of a court intrusted with the suitors' money could not legally make interest of it for his own benefit; that one of the articles of impeachment against Lord chancellor Macclesfield was, that he had encouraged the masters in Chancery to make profit of, and traffic with, the suitors' money; and that if the House rejected this bill they would themselves be guilty of the same crime of which they had formerly accused Lord Macclesfield—they would permit and encourage the registrar to employ and traffic with the money of the suitors. The bill, however, was rejected, in a thin house, by a majority of 38, the numbers being 65 against 27. It was made to appear that Lord Arden, the registrar, whose fees averaged about 12,000*l.* a-year, had made 7000*l.* a-year more by interest and profits of suitors' money, and that he had sometimes above 200,000*l.* of such money employed at interest.* These public revelations injured the effect of the praise for disinterestedness which had been given to the late premier.

The Marquess Wellesley, who was dissatisfied with some of his colleagues, and who was supposed to have contracted some engagements with the opposition, signified his intention of resigning almost as soon as parliament had met. He was induced, however, to remain in office till the expiration of the year to which the restrictions on the regent were limited. But when, on the 18th of February, that period arrived, and the regent still seemed determined to retain the ministers his father had left in power, the marquess declared that, though upon certain principles he would be ready to comply with the regent's wishes and serve *with* Mr. Perceval, he could never serve *under* him. His resignation was accepted on the 19th of February, and thereupon Lord Castlereagh returned to office, and succeeded the marquess as secretary for foreign affairs. Six days before the Marquess Wellesley's resignation, the regent wrote a letter, which was purposely made public, to his brother the Duke of York. The regent began with alluding to the fast approach-

* Sir Samuel Romilly, Diary of Parliamentary Life, in Memoirs.

* Sir Samuel Romilly, Diary of his Parliamentary Life, in Memoirs and Correspondence edited by his sons.

ing expiration of the restrictions; he stated again that motives of filial affection had induced him to continue his father's ministers; he adverted to the success of his first year's administration, and expressed a hope that a new era was arriving. After saying that he had "no predilections to indulge," the prince concluded with these words: "Having made this communication of my sentiments, I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I should feel, if some of those persons with whom the early habits of my public life were formed would strengthen my hands, and constitute a part of my government. With such support, and aided by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis, I shall look with additional confidence to a prosperous issue of the most arduous contest in which Great Britain was ever engaged. You are authorized to communicate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who, I have no doubt, will make them known to Lord Grenville."

The Duke of York, who had certainly no political partiality for either of the two lords, and who was strongly opposed to them on the great Catholic question, did what he was desired to do, and showed the regent's letter to Grey and Grenville, who flatly refused to join the Perceval administration. The prince's letter, and that of Lords Grenville and Grey to the Duke of York, were published in all the newspapers in the kingdom. From this moment (with the exception of a moment or two of party hope and expectation) the Whigs began to revile the Prince of Wales whom they had so long flattered and applauded, and to applaud the Princess of Wales whom they had so long reviled, or treated with contempt or indifference. On the other side, the Tories seemed to renounce all their old sympathies for the princess, and to be determined to drive that unhappy, ill-advised, and imprudent lady, not only from court and the society of her daughter, but also from the country. The old charge of there being something behind the throne stronger than the throne itself, and subversive of the constitution, was revived, and was pressed with as much vigour, or with as loud an outcry, as ever it had been in the early part of the reign of George III.; and the charge as regarded the regent was made the more odious by the introduction of the name of a lady. Even Earl Grey declared in the House of Lords that the ministry depended for its existence upon an unseen influence which lurked behind the throne —a power alien to the constitution, but become unhappily too familiar to the country—a disastrous and disgusting influence which consolidated abuses into a system, and which prevented either public complaint or honest advice from reaching the royal ear—an influence which it was the duty of parliament to brand with signal reprobation. Within the doors of parliament it was hinted, and out of doors it was openly proclaimed through the opposition journals and other channels, that Lord Castlereagh owed his restoration to office to a certain lady and the auspices of the Hertford family.

On the 19th of March Lord Boringdon in the House of Lords moved for an address to the prince regent, beseeching him to form an administration, so composed as to unite the confidence and good will of all classes of his majesty's subjects. This was asking the regent to do what had never been possible, and what was rendered more than ever impossible by the present state of parties: but Lord Boringdon only meant that the regent should form a Grey and Grenville administration. We have noticed in our account of the transactions of the preceding year some of the causes and obstacles which rendered even this measure an impracticability and a dangerous experiment; and certainly all the causes which kept those two noble lords from taking office either with or under Perceval and Lord Liverpool were not fully stated at this moment, when it was asserted that their refusal proceeded from Perceval's decided hostility to the Catholic claims, from a difference of opinion as to the matters which were involving us in a war with the United States, from a most decided difference of opinion on the subject of bank notes and bullion, and from a great diversity of opinion on the expensive war carrying on in the Peninsula. Lord Boringdon's irregular if not unconstitutional motion was got rid of by an amendment, proposed by Lord Grimstone, which was carried by more than two to one, the numbers being 165 against 72. Every division was about equally unfavourable to the coalesced parties in opposition, and the administration seemed to be gaining strength rather than losing it, when the premier died by the act of a madman.

On Monday, the 11th of May, about five o'clock in the afternoon, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, a man, bearing the outward appearance of a gentleman, shot at him with a pistol: the ball entered his left breast and pierced his heart: he staggered, fell to the ground, and expired in less than ten minutes. At first there was a terrible consternation, and a half belief in the existence of some political plot to destroy a ministry which had so unexpectedly retained office, and disappointed so many hopes. But the assassin did not attempt to escape; he went calmly to the fire-place, laid down his pistol on the bench beside him, and acknowledged to every one that he was the person who had done the deed, saying that it was perfectly justifiable, and that no man save himself had ever known of his intention. And indeed it appeared immediately that no other person had been concerned with him, and that there was no mixture of political feeling in his motives. The name of the man was Bellingham, his condition that of a decayed merchant and unprosperous Liverpool broker. In a commercial visit to Russia some considerable time ago he had undergone serious losses, which he attributed to violence and injustice; he had repeatedly addressed Lord G. Leveson Gower, who had been our ambassador at Petersburg; and he had presented memorials to the treasury, soliciting a compensation for losses which, not having been incurred in the

course of any public service, were considered as affording him no title to compensation. Perceval had refused, as was his duty, to listen to these applications; "but he could hardly have accompanied his refusal with any harshness, for few men had ever less harshness in their nature than he had; and yet this seems to have been all that had provoked this most savage act."* The murder was committed on the Monday; on the Friday following (it being session time) Bellingham was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, and convicted of the murder; and on the Monday morning of the next week, before nine o'clock, the murderer was hanged, and his body in the hands of the surgeons for dissection, his heart, it was said, still beating faintly. Thus the whole of this dismal tragedy was enacted within one short week. At the bar of the Old Bailey, as in the lobby of the House of Commons, in the secretary of state's office, and in prison, Bellingham was perfectly cool and collected, and the court and jury, who do not appear to have thought of that species of madness which wears, in all its stages, "a reasoning show," could not believe that he was insane—a plea which he himself rejected with scorn, and controverted both with ingenuity and eloquence, even as other madmen had done before him, and others have done since. He urged that he had suffered neglects and wrongs from government which justified what he had done; and he startled Lord G. Leveson Gower, who was present as a witness, by declaring that, if the opportunity had offered, he would have preferred shooting him to shooting Mr. Perceval. His counsel, however, applied to the court to put off his trial, in order to allow time to bring up witnesses from Liverpool, where he had resided, and where his family now were, to prove that he was insane. But, as he had been living for the last four months in London, and as it was held that, if he had been disordered in his intellect, he must during that period have given proof of it, the chief justice (Mansfield) and the rest of the court rejected the application for delay. This, we believe, would not happen in our day, when medical jurisprudence is supposed to be more studied and better understood, and when the preference for rapid trial and summary punishment is much (and some say too much) abated. But a learned lawyer of the day, who took a deep interest in the whole matter, says that, though no person could have heard what the conduct and demeanour of Bellingham had been since he committed the crime, or could have read his defence, without being satisfied that he was mad, yet "it was a species of madness which, *probably*, for the security of mankind, ought not to exempt a man from being answerable for his actions." Such was the opinion of Romilly, who did, and was actually at this moment doing, more than any man to diminish the amount of capital punishments, and clear the statute book of its sanguinary laws. He goes on to say, "There certainly has been no acting in that calmness and steadiness of opinion uniformly manifested by him, that what he has done was perfectly justifiable, and that he has set an example which will be highly useful to mankind. The application, however, to put off the trial was surely very reasonable, and it might well have been postponed, though but for a few days. It was not possible that a letter, giving information of his crime and his apprehension, could have reached Liverpool, where his family and all his friends resided, and an answer to it have been received by the day of his trial."*

The public character of Perceval was much underrated, and his private character little understood. As a minister he had shown courage at a moment when courage was most wanted, and when timidity and hesitation must have brought on the most ruinous and degrading effects. His private character seems to have been not only without a blemish, but rich in some of the high and generous virtues; and, with qualities like these, his public character could not possibly be—what faction represented it—unmanly, vile, treacherous, and every way base. Though bitterly assailed for his steady opposition to the claims of the Roman Catholics, he was so from an honest conviction that the granting of what was termed emancipation would be succeeded by some new and equally stormy agitation for the repeal of the union; and, if his alleged bigotry and intolerance be candidly examined, it would be found to shrink into a very small compass. His disinterestedness seemed to be proved by the poverty in which he died. Romilly, who had known him well, and had associated most intimately with him, was not prevented by a divergency in politics, and by opinions and theories strongly opposite, from paying a generous tribute to the merit of the man.†

* Sir Samuel Romilly, Diary of Parliamentary Life. Romilly, after stating the absence of all political motive in the assassin, adds, "Among the multitude, however, whom the news of so strange and sudden a catastrophe had soon collected in the streets, and about the avennes of the House, the most savage expressions of joy and exultation were heard; accompanied with regret that others, and particularly the attorney-general (Sir Vicary Gibbs), had not shared the same fate." Romilly was induced to think that the English character must have undergone some unaccountable and portentous change. But we cannot believe that the national character was much committed. The savage cries in ... have proceeded from the veriest rabble of Westminster. We remember well walking through the populous streets and suburbs of the capital on that afternoon and evening, and seeing the mixed feelings of horror and pity expressed on almost every countenance. There may possibly have been among the hooting rabble some few individuals above the common condition, whose heads had been turned by inflammatory party harangues, and scurrilous party newspapers, which, if addressed to a more excitable and more sanguinary people, would have induced some men not merely to applaud the deed when it was done, but to have themselves undertaken the assassination of the minister, as a foe to the people, a betrayer of his country, and the meanest and most hypocritical slave that had ever served an immoral, depraved, and tyrannical prince.

* Sir Samuel Romilly, Diary. We have been assured by persons well acquainted with Liverpool, and with Bellingham's family, that positive proofs could have been procured in that city, of the wretched man's madness, and of the taint of insanity having existed in his progenitors. We have also been assured that a son of Bellingham (who with the rest of his family changed his name), after being brought up to the medical profession, without betraying any worse symptoms than those of an occasional eccentricity, became decidedly insane as he approached his father's time of life, and is now, or recently was, living under restraint.

Sir James Mackintosh, who had just returned from India, and who had received a very friendly communication from Perceval the very day on which he was shot, describes Bellingham as "a bankrupt ship-broker in Liverpool, *who had formerly been confined for lunacy in Russia*." *Private Diary, in Life by his Son.*

† "As a private man I had a very great regard for Perceval. We went the same circuit together, and for many years I lived with him in a very delightful intimacy. *No man could be more generous, more friendly, or more kind than he was. No man ever in private life had a*

On the 13th of May, two days after the assassination, a message was delivered by Lord Castlereagh from the regent, who requested to be enabled to grant 50,000*l.* for the children, and an annuity of 2000*l.* for the widow of Perceval for life. This was immediately and unanimously voted, Sir Francis Burdett and his friends quitting the House rather than vote for or against the motion. Wilberforce and some of the best friends of the deceased minister thought that this was liberality enough; but shortly after another pension was moved for Perceval's eldest son, and a monument in Westminster Abbey was proposed for the deceased. This disturbed the unanimity, and provoked some angry discussions; but both propositions were carried by a great majority.

Again some men's hopes were elated, and it was pretty generally believed that the death of Perceval must bring about an entire change of administration. Lord Liverpool, upon whom nearly the whole weight of government fell, was instructed by the regent, not to make new overtures to Lords Grey and Grenville, but to attempt to reinforce the cabinet by bringing back the two former members of it, whose loss had been severely felt. Liverpool accordingly applied to Mr. Canning and to the Marquess Wellesley, who both declined his overtures, alleging the continued difference of opinion upon the Catholic claims, and upon the scale on which the war in the Peninsula ought to be carried on. Many members of both Houses, though hitherto friendly to the existing government, regretted the failure of this negotiation. In the Commons Mr. Stuart Wortley (the present Lord Wharncliffe), who had supported Mr. Pitt's, and afterwards Perceval's, administration uniformly, rose on the 21st of May, and moved, pursuant to a notice given the day before, that the House should address the regent, praying that he would take such measures as would enable him, under the present circumstances of the country, to form a strong and efficient administration. Rather unexpectedly this motion was carried against ministers by a majority of four (174 against 170). Some parliamentary manœuvres were resorted to, to cover this defeat; but they promised no success, and but little honour;* and on the very next day all the ministers tendered their resignations to the regent.

A week passed, and no administration was formed. Lord Wellesley and Lord Moira saw the prince several times, but nothing was settled, or seemed likely to be settled, on the 30th of May. And, although the address of the Commons was presented to the regent the day after it was voted, and although the prince said, in answer to it, that he would take it into his immediate consideration, it was not till Monday the 1st of June that he gave authority to any one to submit to him the plan of a new ministry. The interval had been spent in audiences given to Moira, Wellesley, Eldon, the lord chancellor, and to other members of the *present* or *late* administration. Though willing, and now even anxious, to get back Wellesley and Canning, it was evident that the regent had not the least wish to try the experiment of a Whig cabinet. On the 1st of June he authorised Wellesley to form an administration; but on the 3rd of June that nobleman announced in the House of Lords that he had resigned the commission with which he had been honoured into the regent's hands, without having been able to effect the object of it. It was understood that the Marquess Wellesley had been authorised to make the same sort of overtures to Lords Grey and Grenville which had been made to them by the Duke of York in virtue of the regent's letter; but that the proposition now to be made by Wellesley, under the prince's commands, was more explicit; namely, that the marquess himself should be first lord of the treasury, that the prince should name four members of the cabinet, that four more should be named by the marquess, and four by Lords Grenville and Grey; or, if, upon farther consideration, it should be thought expedient that the cabinet should consist of thirteen members, then that five out of the thirteen should be named by Grenville and Grey. The members to be named by the prince were the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Moira, Lord Erskine, and Mr. Canning. Whatever was the precise proposition, it is certain that Lords Grenville and Grey rejected it. After the failure of the marquess a similar commission to form an administration was given to Lord Moira. It should appear that this old Whig nobleman had employed some propositions or arguments of more avail with the two great Whig leaders than those which had been offered by Lord Wellesley, for Lords Grenville and Grey entertained the project of forming a part of a mixed ministry, until they questioned Moira about the household appointments, and received the assurance that no sweeping changes in that respect could be submitted to by the regent. Though it had not been always or invariably so, Lords Grenville and Grey could show something like an established precedent for the practice that the household of the sovereign was dependent on the ministry, was named by ministers, and was changed when ministers were changed. And it was now upon this ground that the two noble lords placed their refusal to accept office. But, unless Grey or Grenville was

*nicer sense of humour. Never was there, I believe, a more affectionate husband or a more tender parent."—Diary.*

Wilberforce, who had more points of agreement and sympathy with the late minister, but who yet disapproved of much of his policy, says—"Perceval had the sweetest of all possible tempers, and was one of the most conscientious men I ever knew; the most instinctively obedient to the dictates of conscience, the least disposed to give pain to others, the most charitable and truly kind and generous creature I ever knew."—*Private Diary.*

* Lord Yarmouth, George Rose, Bragge Bathurst, and some more friends of ministers, happened to be out of the House at the time of the division (which we should say was clearly hurried on), and came in the moment the doors were unlocked. On seeing this accession of strength, Charles Yorke and Lord Castlereagh endeavoured to defeat the address, by opposing the motion that it should be carried up by such members as were privy councillors. On this division the ministers had a majority of two (176 to 174). "But they were soon ashamed of this kind of victory; or, I believe, some other friends of ours had come into the House, and they saw that ultimately they should be beaten, and they therefore consented to a motion that the address should be carried up by the mover and seconder, Stuart Wortley and Lord Milton."—*Sir Samuel Romilly, Diary.*

to have been premier, and unless there was to have been not a patched-up but an entirely new cabinet—which never was intended—they could scarcely with propriety have claimed the right of dismissing the regent's household and of placing comparative strangers about his person. Lord Moira warmly resented their pretension as unnecessary and presumptuous, and recommended the prince not to yield—nay, not to permit the dismissal of a single member of his household. And other men, less attached to the prince than was Moira, considered it harsh, illiberal, and unwise in Grey and Grenville to attempt or to pretend to attempt to coerce the regent on this delicate point. The time is not come for telling or even understanding the secret court history of the day, which is said to have exercised a commanding influence on all these arrangements and essays and experiments; and we question whether it will ever be a profitable or elevating subject of study and contemplation. Those who have attempted to give explanations have done little more than explain their own party feelings, and have, in the end, lost themselves in a labyrinth of contradictions.* On the 7th of June, after several parliamentary discussions on the failure of Lord Moira, and after various explanations in which Sheridan made a lamentable appearance, Mr. Stuart Wortley (Lord Wharncliffe) pronounced some severe strictures on the conduct of Lords Grenville and Grey, in putting an end to the treaty with them merely on account of a difference concerning the household; and he moved for an address to the regent, expressing the regret of the House that their expectations had not been realised, and entreating his royal highness to form without delay such an administration as might be entitled to the support of parliament and the confidence of the nation. In the course of this debate still more ample explanations were given; and Mr. Canning made several curious statements concerning the last negotiation and the causes of its failure, being authorised so to do, and being fully informed upon all points, by Lord Moira himself. Mr. Stuart Wortley's motion was negatived without a division.

Nothing therefore was left—and perhaps nothing better was desired, not merely in the court, but also in the country (taking the sense of the latter as represented by a great majority),—but for the regent to go on with the old ministers, and to fill the post of premier with one of that body. The warmest of the Whigs were compelled to confess that general opinion was at present decidedly against their party. On the 8th of June the Earl of Liverpool acquainted the House of Lords that the prince regent had been pleased to appoint him first lord of the treasury, and to authorise him to arrange and complete the cabinet. Thus Liverpool became premier in lieu of Perceval. Earl Bathurst succeeded Liverpool in the double and onerous offices of secretary for the colonies and secretary at war: Lord Sidmouth (Addington), who had been so long out of office, and who had once figured as premier, was brought back as secretary for the home department. The Earl of Harrowby became president of the council in lieu of Earl Camden (who, however, remained in the cabinet, without office, and was elevated to the rank of marquess); Mr. N. Vansittart became chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Melville (the son and successor of the old lord who had held that office so long, and on the whole so much to the benefit of the navy) succeeded Mr. C. Yorke as first lord of the admiralty; the Earl of Buckinghamshire took Lord Melville's place of president of the board of control; Lord Castlereagh remained secretary for foreign affairs; Earl Mulgrave master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Eldon lord high chancellor. In the non-cabinet appointments and in the law appointments there were several changes: George Rose, that steady and tenacious placeman, made room for Mr. F. Robinson as treasurer for the navy and vice-president of the board of trade; Castlereagh's friend Lord Clancarty became president of the board of trade; Sir Vicary Gibbs, who had had the felicity of irritating or displeasing all parties, was succeeded as attorney-general by Sir Thomas Plumer, whose previous post of solicitor-general was filled by Sir William Garrow. In the ministry of Ireland the Duke of Richmond continued lord-lieutenant, and Lord Manners lord high chancellor; but the chief secretaryship, which had been held by Mr. W. Wellesley Pole, was now conferred upon Mr. Robert Peel. Some of these changes and arrangements were not completed until some time later; but this was the construction of the Liverpool cabinet in the month of September, when parliament was dissolved.*

On the 17th of June Mr. Vansittart, the new chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward the budget, not as his own work or plan, but as that of his lamented predecessor. The plan intimated the design and the determination of giving more

* The Whig opinion, after the failure of the negotiation, was that there had been a depth of intrigue on the part of the court which it was impossible to fathom; that, although the result had probably been an unfortunate one for the country, because an administration with Grenville and Grey included in it might perhaps have brought about successfully some very desirable changes, both in our foreign and internal policy, yet at the same time the public voice would have seconded them so reluctantly in those measures, and would have been so much upon the catch to disappoint them, wherever any difficulty occurred, that neither Grey nor Grenville—without either court favour or a popular cry—could have kept their ground:—that there was a previous determination on the part of the prince that Lords Grey and Grenville should not be in power; that the conduct of Lord Chancellor Eldon, who had been repeatedly closeted with the Duke of Cumberland, proved all along, and beyond the reach of a doubt, that he never thought either of resigning the seals or of witnessing the dismissal of any of his friends or colleagues; that things would have been much worse if Lords Grey and Grenville had not been deterred from taking office by the obstacles which were purposely thrown in their way; that they would have been suffered to remain in the ministry but a very short time; that some pretext would have been anxiously watched for, and eagerly seized, to turn them out with loss of character; or a new cry against popery would have been raised, and they would have been made the victims of that.—*Francis Horner, Correspondence.—Romilly, Diary of Parliamentary Life.*

* On the 18th of June Lord Wellington, then at Salamanca, and ignorant and perplexed about the ministerial arrangements, writes to a private friend:—"Affairs appear to be in a strange state in England; however, I trust that at last some government will be formed. I always detested home politics, and late occurrences have not given me a relish for them."—*Letter to General Sir A. Campbell, in Gurwood Dispatches.*

vigour to the war. In the preceding year the supplies proposed and voted amounted to 56,021,869*l.*; but now the total proposed and voted was 62,376,348*l.* A number of petty new taxes were imposed, and two more enormous loans were raised.

On June the 27th the regent sent a message to each House of Parliament, acquainting them that he had ordered copies to be laid before them of the information received relative to serious riots in the cotton-manufacturing districts of Lancashire and part of Cheshire, the clothing districts of Yorkshire, &c., confiding in their wisdom to adopt the proper measures for restoring tranquillity. These papers were referred to a committee of secrecy in each House; and the result was the introduction by Lord Castlereagh of a severe bill for the preservation of the public peace in the disturbed districts, where much machinery and other property had been destroyed, where many lives had been threatened and a few sacrificed; and where secret societies of men, bound together by oath, were seizing and concealing arms, and training themselves in the use of them, and in military evolutions. Some members denied the extent of the danger, and questioned the policy of this coercive bill; but it was carried through both Houses by large majorities: its duration was however limited to March 25th, 1813. The debates on the Catholic question will be noticed elsewhere. On the 30th of July the parliament was prorogued by commission; and on the 20th of September it was unexpectedly dissolved.

We turn to the conflict of arms, which was more extensive, more terrible, and more decisive than in any preceding year. Great as were the British interests involved in that quarrel, and strange as is the history of the new American war, it was a mere episode in a grand epic, a bye-scene in a busy drama. We shall not therefore depart from the usual order of our narrative, but proceed to the great events passing in the Peninsula.

Lord Wellington, who had found necessary rest and tolerably good quarters for his fatigued troops, put himself in motion as soon as it was time to move. He had not been idle during his stay on the Coa—there might be rest for the army, but there was none for him. During the latter months of 1811 he had been preparing with all possible silence and secrecy the means of re-capturing Ciudad Rodrigo, the possession of which still served the French as a basis of operations on one of the frontiers of Portugal. Under the appearance of repairing and fortifying Almeida, which the French had damaged much less than they intended, he collected there a battering-train and abundant stores. A good portable bridge on trestles was also constructed in the same place; and, still bestowing that attention on the provisioning of his army, without which all armies must be useless or lose their morality and discipline, he effected the formation of a commissariat waggon-train, with several hundred strong but light waggons made for the purpose, in order to supersede the heavy, clumsy, screeching, barbarous carts of the Portuguese which had been hitherto used, but which would have proved altogether insufficient without the services of a large body of Spanish mules and muleteers which followed all the movements of the divisions of the British army.* By the exertions of our engineer officers the river Douro was rendered navigable for boats as far as the confluence of the Agueda, which was forty miles higher than boats had ever before ascended. All this and a great deal more had been done with so little bustle and show, that Marshal Marmont never guessed the intention to fall upon Ciudad Rodrigo in the midst of winter. That general had placed his "army of Portugal" in extensive cantonments about Plasencia and Talavera, and in his pleasant confidence he had detached part of it to the eastward towards La Mancha, and sent two divisions to the north to occupy the Asturias and disperse the guerillas. On the 6th of January Wellington suddenly moved his head-quarters forward to Gallegos, and on the 8th part of his army crossed the Agueda and invested Ciudad Rodrigo without encountering any obstacle. An external redoubt called the great Teson was stormed by a party of the light division that very evening, and the first parallel was rapidly established. There were two convents situated outside of the walls, but strong in themselves, and fortified by the French with their usual skill: one of these, Santa Cruz, was taken by surprise on the night of the 13th; the other, San Francisco, was carried by assault on the 14th. The second parallel was then completed and fresh batteries were established. By the 19th two practicable breaches were made, and that very evening orders were given to storm the place. There was no time to lose, for it was known that Marmont was now hastening forward to the relief. But for this circumstance Ciudad Rodrigo might have been reduced with very little loss to the besiegers. As it was, and though the place was carried and the garrison surrendered in less than half an hour from the time the assault commenced, the British suffered a very severe loss. General Mackinnon and many of his brigade were blown up by the accidental explosion of a powder-magazine on the ramparts; General Craufurd, the gallant commander of the light division, was mortally wounded; General Vandeleur and Colonel Colborne were also wounded, as well as Major George Napier, who led one of the storming parties, and who belonged to a brave and intelligent family, who were always forward in the hour of danger, and generally unfortunate in getting wounded. The total loss of the British and Portuguese amounted to about 1000 killed and wounded. The loss of the garrison was about the same, besides 1700 prisoners. A large battering-train and a vast quantity of ammunition and stores were found within Ciudad Rodrigo. Marmont,

* A. Vieusseux. For a sketch of a Portuguese cart, with its rude, solid wheels, see View of Almeida, *ante* p. 443.

who was still a good way off when the place was stormed and taken, said that there was something quite incomprehensible in the matter. The Spanish Cortes, who had frequently criticised his military conduct, and censured delays and measures which they could not comprehend, now unanimously passed a vote of thanks to Lord Wellington, and conferred on him the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. In England his lordship got a step in the peerage (he was made Earl of Wellington), and an annuity of 2000*l.* annexed to the title, and thanks were voted by parliament to him and his brave army.

Having recovered Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington resolved to attempt to recover Badajoz also before the French should be in force to oppose him. Here again the greatest secrecy and caution were required. The artillery for the siege of Badajoz was embarked at Lisbon for a fictitious destination, then trans-shipped at sea into small craft, in which it was conveyed up the Setubal river to Alcacer do Sol, whence it was carried by land across the Alemtejo to the banks of the Guadiana. Stores were collected with the same caution. When all was ready, his lordship, leaving one division of his army on the Agueda, marched with the rest from the northern to the southern frontier of Portugal. On the 16th of March, after a rapid and orderly march, the army crossed the Guadiana, and Badajoz was immediately invested. On the 25th the Picurina, an advanced work separated from the body of the place by the small river Ribillas, was taken by storm, and on the 26th two breaching batteries opened on the town. Again expedition and the resolution to achieve a great object, though with important sacrifices, were needful; for Marshal Soult was collecting all his disposable forces at Seville in order to march to the relief of Badajoz; and Marshal Marmont, in the hope of effecting a diversion, had entered Portugal, and was ravaging the country east of the Estrella. The weather, for the most part, was very bad, the battering-train and the besieging-tools were not very good, and the number of troops actually engaged on the siege was but small, as it was necessary to advance several divisions to Llerena and Merida to cover the besiegers. What the energy of man could do with defective means and within a short space of time, was done: on the 6th of April three breaches were reported to be practicable, and Wellington gave his orders for storming the place at ten o'clock that night; but, when the storming parties passed the glacis under a murderous fire, descended into the ditch, and ascended the breaches, they found that their work was but to begin. The French were generally ingenious in extemporizing defences and modes of annoyance; but General Philippon, the governor of Badajoz, seems to have surpassed all that had hitherto been done in this way. Strong planks and beams studded with iron spikes like harrows, and chevaux-de-frise formed of sword-blades and broken bayonets, effectually stopped the way; the ramparts behind the breaches and by the sides of them, and the tall stone houses which overlooked them, were occupied by French light infantry, who poured their volleys upon the narrow strips of ground or of ruins upon which the assailants were crowded and made to pause; shells, hand-grenades, burning compositions, and missiles of every sort were hurled down upon their heads! The loss was becoming so dreadful,—for one storming party followed another till after twelve o'clock at night,—that Lord Wellington ordered the fourth and light divisions to retire to the ground on which they had been first assembled for the attack, finding that success was not to be attained at that point, and learning that General Picton had carried and established himself in the castle. Soon after the last piece of good news General Walker's brigade succeeded in entering the town by escalade in an opposite direction. The other divisions now formed again for the attack of the breaches; and, these being no longer defended by the distracted French, who saw the castle and a good part of the city in possession of the red-coats, the beams and planks were cleared away, our storming parties poured in, and soon the last attempt at resistance ceased. General Philippon, with a few hundred men, escaped across the Guadiana, and threw himself into Fort St. Cristoval, where he surrendered on the following morning. The loss of the allies had been dreadful: including the Portuguese, 72 officers and 963 men were killed, and 306 officers and 3480 men wounded.* Covered as they were, the French lost from 1200 to 1500 men during the siege and in the assault; the rest of the garrison, which Philippon reported to Lord Wellington to have consisted of 5000 men when the siege commenced, surrendered to the British, and gave up from 3000 to 4000 prisoners, Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, who had been collected in Badajoz as a safe depôt. Though our troops spared the conquered foe, or very soon moderated that vindictive fury which generally accompanies assaults and storms, and which never had been provoked by greater loss or crueller sufferings—thousands of men were writhing or shrieking with agony in the deadly breaches or in the ditches below—they made a rush to the wine-cellars, and,

* In writing to Colonel Torrens, the day after this dearly bought triumph, Lord Wellington says:—"Our loss has indeed been very great; but I send you a letter to Lord Liverpool which accounts for it. The truth is that, equipped as we are, the British army are not capable of carrying on a long siege."

This letter to the Earl of Liverpool has not been found; but, from documents in the Ordnance office and from other sources, it appears that it recommended the immediate formation of a corps of sappers and miners; the want of such an establishment with the army being the chief cause of the great loss in our sieges.—*Note by Colonel Gurwood in Wellington Dispatches.*

Colonel Napier has warmly and ably vindicated Lord Wellington's sieges, showing the relation those operations had with other transactions, and with numerous and distant considerations:—"Many of Lord Wellington's proceedings," he observes, "might be called rash, and others timid and slow, if taken separately; yet, when viewed as parts of a great plan for delivering the whole Peninsula, they will be found discreet or daring, as the circumstances warranted: nor is there any portion of his campaigns that requires this wide-based consideration more than his early sieges, which, being instituted contrary to the rules of art, and unsuccessful—or, when successful, attended with a mournful slaughter—have given occasion for questioning his great military qualities, which were, however, then most signally displayed."—*History of the War in the Peninsula.*

in the darkness and confusion of the night and of drunkenness, they disgraced themselves by committing many outrages and some atrocities. It was not until daybreak on the 7th of April that Wellington was completely master of Badajoz. On the 8th Soult had collected his army at Villafranca, between Llerena and Merida; but, hearing of the fall of the place he had intended to relieve, he began, on the morning of the 9th, long before daylight, to retreat once more to Seville. Again the French were warmly pursued by the British cavalry, who cut up Soult's rear-guard at Villa Garcia.*

At another place, where the French were, not the besieged, but the besiegers, they suffered discomfiture and loss, if not shame. Since General Graham's expedition with Lapeña, which had terminated unprofitably, but for the British not ingloriously, at Barrosa, some attention had been paid to garrisoning Tarifa, the old town on the straits of Gibraltar, where Lapeña had with so much difficulty effected his landing. Marshal Victor, who still commanded the army which was so fruitlessly blockading or watching Cadiz, not wishing for another affair like that of Barrosa, and apprehending that another expedition might pass through Tarifa to fall upon his far-extending lines, determined to reduce that place, and to superintend the important operation in person. In the last days of the year 1811, Tarifa was invested by about 5000 men, whose operations were covered by another strong corps posted at Vejer. The place was garrisoned by about 1800 men, under the command of Colonel Skerrett, a distinguished British officer. It appears that about 1000 of the men were British, the rest being Spaniards. There was an old Moorish castle and a weak crumbling wall also originally built by the Moors, who began their conquest of Spain at this point; but contiguous to Tarifa there is a small island, without which the town is (in a military sense) entirely useless; and the French were not supposed to have the means of gaining possession of this isle. The Spanish general Ballasteros had collected some troops in the neighbouring mountains with the object of interrupting Victor's siege; and General Hill, who crossed the Guadiana some months before the siege of Badajoz was commenced, was advancing into Spanish Estremadura with the intention of diverting the enemy's attention both from General Ballasteros and from Tarifa. It therefore behoved Victor to make all speed; and, hoping to carry the place by a vigorous effort, and apparently not reflecting upon the military importance of the small island to which Colonel Skerrett could retire, and from which he could batter the town to pieces, he brought up his heavy artillery, opened a tremendous fire upon the place, and almost immediately effected a breach. On the last day of the year 1811, the French attempted to carry this breach by storm; but, numerous and bold as they were, they were beaten off by the gallant troops within. From that day till the evening of the 4th of January, the French kept up a continual fire: the walls were knocked to pieces, the little town was laid completely open; but they would not venture to try another assault and on the night of the 4th of January they withdrew hastily, humbled and disordered, leaving behind them seven pieces of cannon, two heavy howitzers, and all the carriages and stores collected for the siege. The hurry was chiefly owing to the dismay caused by General Hill's rapid and daring movements in Estremadura, and almost upon the frontiers of Andalusia.*

As soon as he obtained possession of Badajoz (on the 7th of April), Lord Wellington endeavoured to put the place into a good state of defence, greatly fearing that, if anything were left for the Spaniards to do, both Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, "through the habits of indolence and delay in this nation," would be lost again before the summer was over.† But his lordship had short time to bestow upon these cares, for Marmont was making himself strong in the north, and was blockading both the Spanish fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo and the partially ruined fortress of Almeida. Leaving General Hill in the south, his lordship, on the 13th of April, moved the main body of his army back to the north. Upon this Marmont gave up his two blockades, collected his troops within the Spanish frontier, and retreated to Salamanca. By a happy combination of rapidity, daring, and skill, General Hill attacked, and carried, by a brilliant *coup de main*, the strong forts which the French had erected at Almaraz on the Tagus to protect a bridge of boats which secured the communications between their armies of the north and south. By this operation Marmont was cut off from Soult and Soult from Marmont. On the 13th of June Lord Wellington, after the most wearying exertions and many mortifying delays, proceeding from causes which need no explanation, completed his preparations for an advance into Spain, and broke up from his cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda with about 40,000 men, leaving General Hill on the Tagus near Almaraz with about 12,000 more. General Ballasteros had engaged

* Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

* Colonel Skerrett was deservedly applauded for his gallant defence of the old town, one of the most Moresque in all Spain, and the one in which we saw more remains of the manners and customs of the Moors than in any other town in Andalusia that we visited.

From the accounts which he had received of that place, it appeared to Lord Wellington quite impossible to defend it, and that the utmost that Skerrett could do would be to hold the island.

Before Tarifa was invested, several brilliant affairs took place between the piquets of the British and Spanish infantry and the French piquets; and Colonel Skerrett, in co-operation with the Spanish troops, made a dashing sortie from Tarifa, in order to oblige the enemy to show their force: and on this occasion the French sustained considerable loss.

† Dispatches.—His lordship had left money to carry on the works at Ciudad Rodrigo, yet on the 28th of April, 1812, we find him complaining that very little had been done since he was there last—that a great deal of valuable time had been thrown away entirely! He says—"I have sent Alava over to the place to point out to the principal officers how much their indolence and their indulgence of the indolence of their men affect the cause; and I have told them that I should give no assistance in English soldiers to work, unless the demand for such assistance should be founded on an acknowledgment that the Spanish officers have not authority over their men to induce them to perform works for their own defence! But the indolence and apathy of their nature is terrible. Yet they boast of their activity and energy."

to co-operate with Hill or to keep up a diversion in his favour in Andalusia; but, when Wellington began his march, he feared that Ballasteros had been already beaten; and from intercepted dispatches his lordship divined that King Joseph had ordered Soult to send a great force to the Tagus, there to join other troops belonging to the army of the centre. As his lordship advanced into Spain he received reports that Marmont had been, or speedily was to be, reinforced by the division of Bonnet, 6270 strong. Even without any such accession in strength Marmont had a decided superiority in numbers, particularly in artillery and cavalry, for his infantry was counted at 44,000, his artillery at more than 3000, and his cavalry at 4000: and, what to his lordship was a more serious consideration than a numerical inferiority, was the indisputable fact that his own cavalry was deficient in tried, prudent, and skilful officers, and altogether, as an arm, vastly inferior to his infantry. Another serious consideration was, that one of his lordship's columns consisted entirely of Spaniards. On the 16th of June Wellington and the whole allied army arrived upon the Val Musa rivulet, about six miles from Salamanca. The enemy showed some cavalry and a small body of infantry in front of the town of Salamanca, and manifested a design to hold the heights on the south side of the Tormes. But their cavalry was immediately driven in by ours, and Marmont evacuated Salamanca in the night, leaving a garrison of about 800 men in some forts constructed on the ruins of the colleges and convents which commanded the bridge that crosses the river Tormes. But that river was fordable in several places above and below the bridge; and therefore on the following morning, the 17th of June, the allies forded the river, got into the rear of the French forts, and entered the town, to the indescribable joy of the inhabitants. "They have now," writes Lord Wellington, "been suffering for more than three years; during which time the French, among other acts of violence and oppression, have destroyed thirteen of twenty-five convents, and twenty-two of twenty-five colleges, which existed in this celebrated seat of learning."* The forts were immediately invested by the division of General Clinton, and, when they had been accurately reconnoitred, it was found necessary to break ground before them. This was done in the night of the 17th.

Marmont retired by the road leading to Toro, as if intending to collect his army on the Duero, between Toro and Zamora. Wellington followed him as far as St. Cristoval, a few miles beyond Salamanca, where he took up a good position. The forts by the bridge and within Salamanca were found even stronger than had been anticipated, and Major General Bowes and 120 men fell in an attempt to carry them by escalade. On the 20th Marmont returned upon his steps, and, arriving in front of the position of St. Cristoval, made a demonstration with his cavalry, which ended in a mere skirmish. The French marshal remained in Wellington's front all that night and all the next day, and on the following night established a post on the British right flank, the possession of which would have deprived Wellington of an advantage which might eventually be of importance. Accordingly, on the next morning, the 22nd, that French post was attacked by the hero of Barrosa, General Sir Thomas Graham, who drove them from the ground immediately with some loss. "Our troops conducted themselves remarkably well in this affair, which took place in the view of every man of both armies."* Marmont retired during that night; and on the following evening the French posted themselves with their right on some heights, their centre at Aldea Rubia, and their left on the Tormes. The object of the enemy in these movements being to endeavour to communicate with the garrisons in the forts at Salamanca, by the left bank of the Tormes, Wellington changed his front, and extended his troops so as to cover Salamanca completely, retaining the power of crossing and re-crossing the Tormes, and of concentrating his army at any point at a short notice. More than once Marmont made a false movement, and exposed his army to attack; but, for the present, his prudent adversary did not think it advisable to avail himself of his opportunities or risk a general action. Every effort that Marmont could make for the purpose of relieving the forts was completely baffled; those forts had all surrendered or been taken by the 27th; and thereupon the marshal retreated once more, and in the beginning of July took up a strong position on the northern bank of the Duero. Wellington followed him, and took up a line on the southern bank of that river, the British and Portuguese facing the French. Marmont, who is taxed with being rather too fond of displaying his skill in directing the movements of large masses of men, changed front repeatedly, marched and counter-marched, and perplexed his own people more than his able adversary by numerous and complicated manœuvres. In the interval the French marshal was reinforced by Bonnet's division, which had marched from the Asturias, but not without loss, having been harassed in the mountains by the guerrillas. On the 11th of July Marmont threw two divisions across the Duero at Toro, when Wellington moved his army to the left to concentrate it on the Guareña, an affluent of the Duero. On the same night the two French divisions re-crossed the Duero where they had crossed it in the morning; and then Marmont ascended the northern bank of the river with his whole army to Tordesillas. Here he again crossed over to the southern bank of the Duero, and thence, making a forced march, assembled at Nava del Rey on the 17th. On the 18th he attempted to cut off Wellington's right; but his troops were repulsed by the charges of the British and Hanoverian cavalry, and the smart advance of the

* Dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Salamanca, 18th June.

* Wellington, Dispatch.

British and Portuguese infantry. By his manœuvres, however, Marmont had now succeeded in re-establishing his communications with King Joseph and the army of the centre, which was advancing from Madrid to join him. The two armies of Marmont and Wellington were now in line on the opposite banks of the Guareña. But on the 20th the French marshal crossed that stream on Wellington's right, and advanced towards the Tormes, calculating upon cutting off his antagonist's communications with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, which would materially distress the allies. But Wellington's columns were in motion as soon as Marmont's, and during part of that day's march the two hostile armies moved towards the Tormes in parallel lines, and within half cannon-shot of each other, and in the finest order imaginable.* Occasionally there was an interchange of cannon-balls, and at every moment each army was ready to form in order of battle. Wellington's determinations were to recross the Tormes if Marmont should cross it; to cover Salamanca as long as he could; not to give up his communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; and, above all, not to fight an action unless under very advantageous circumstances, or unless it should become absolutely necessary. He saw there was nothing to be got or to be hoped for by advancing into Castile. The wheat harvest had not yet been reaped; and, even if he had had (what he had not) an abundant supply of money, he could not have procured anything from the country; for he could not follow the example of the French, who were laying waste whole districts in order to procure a scanty subsistence of unripe wheat. To the British general the keeping open of communications was almost everything, while to the French general, who had not to look to legitimate or regular supplies, it was almost nothing. Both Soult and Massena had contrived to live in Portugal when all their communications had been cut off; and now Marmont, for a certain time, could do as much in Spain. Even now he had been surrounded for the last six weeks, and scarcely even a letter had reached him. "But," says Lord Wellington, "the system of organised rapine and plunder, and the extraordinary discipline so long established in the French army, enable it to subsist at the expense of the total ruin of the country in which it has been placed; and I am not certain that Marshal Marmont has not now at his command a greater quantity of provisions and supplies of every description than we have."* By advancing even the short distance which he had advanced into Spain, his lordship had compelled Marmont to abandon the Asturias by calling to his aid Bonnet and every French soldier that was there; he had afforded encouragement to the Spaniards and an opportunity of recruiting fresh armies; he had diverted the attention of the French from several remaining provinces of the kingdom, and had compelled them to leave Madrid in a very weak state. On commencing his advance he was justified in calculating upon a chance of out-manœuvring the French marshal, whose conduct had not been calculated to impress him with any very high notion of his military genius or capacity; and any brilliant success on his part was almost sure to compel Soult to raise the blockade of Cadiz, if not to evacuate the whole of Andalusia.

On the 21st of July both Marmont and Wellington crossed the Tormes, the allied army passing by the bridge of Salamanca, the French by the fords higher up the river. The British general placed his troops in a position the left of which rested on the southern bank of the river and the right on one of two steep hills which from their similarity and contiguity are called Dos Arapiles. The French marshal nearly faced him, stretching his left towards the roads leading to Ciudad Rodrigo. Both armies were still very near Salamanca.†

In the course of the night Lord Wellington received certain intelligence that General Clausel had arrived at Pollos on the 20th with the cavalry and horse artillery of the Army of the North; and his lordship was quite certain that these troops could join Marmont on the 22nd or 23rd at latest. There was therefore no time to be lost; and his lordship determined that, if circumstances should not permit him to attack Marmont on the morrow

* This striking spectacle has been described by several British officers who were eye-witnesses:—

"A sight more glorious and more solemn war does not often present. Ninety thousand combatants marched side by side, as it were, without collision, each host admiring the array of its opponent, all eyes eager in their gaze, and all ears attent for the signal sound of battle."—*Major M. Sherer, Military Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington.*

"When the two armies were thus put in motion, they were within cannon-shot of each other, the French occupying higher ground than the allies; but the space between them was lower than either of the routes, and nothing intervened to obstruct a view of the columns of enemies that thus continued to pursue their course without the least obstacle to prevent their coming into instantaneous contact; for the slightest divergement from either line of march towards the other would have brought them within musketry distance. I have always considered this day's march as a very extraordinary scene, only to have occurred from the generals opposed commanding highly disciplined armies, each at the same time pursuing an object from which he was not for an instant to be abstracted by minor circumstances: the French marshal pressing forward to arrive first on the Tormes, Lord Wellington following his motions, and steadily adhering to the defensive, until substantial reasons appeared to demand the adoption of a more decided conduct. ..... There were occasional slight skirmishes, brought on by the routes approaching each other, or by the anxiety of French and allied stragglers to obtain right of pillage in the unfortunate villages which lay in the intermediate space between the two armies: otherwise, no spectator would have imagined that the two immense moving columns that filled the whole country, and seemed interminable—being lost to the eye in dust and distance—comprised two armies animated with earnest desires for the destruction of each other, but who, although possessed of numerous artillery and cavalry, were persevering on their way, as if by mutual consent refraining from serious hostility, until arrived at the arena destined for the great trial, to which either was now advancing with confidence and without interruption."—*Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative of the Peninsular War.*

* Dispatch to Earl Bathurst (the new secretary-at-war) dated near Salamanca, 21st July.

† The river Tormes was not crossed before darkness had closed in; and our troops had scarcely reached their bivouacs ere a tremendous thunderstorm commenced. The rain fell in torrents, the most vivid flashings of lightning were succeeded by instantaneous peals of thunder;—a more violent crash of the elements had seldom been witnessed. General Le Marchant's brigade of cavalry had halted; the men, dismounted, were either seated or *lying on the ground, holding their* horses, which, alarmed by the thunder, snorted and started with such violence, that many of them broke loose and galloped across the country in all directions. "This dispersion, and the frightened horses passing without riders in a state of wildness, added to the awful effect of the tempest; nor was the situation in which we were otherwise placed one of great brightness."—*Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative of the Peninsular War.*

Salamanca.

(the 22nd), he would move towards Ciudad Rodrigo without further loss of time, as the great difference in the numbers of cavalry might make a march of manœuvre, such as he had been making for the last four or five days, very difficult, and its result doubtful.* Marmont was favoured by some woods, which partially concealed his movements; on the morning of the 22nd some sharp skirmishing took place, and the French succeeded in gaining possession of the more distant Arapiles, by which they would have it in their power to annoy and, perhaps, turn the right of the British, and thus cut them off from Ciudad Rodrigo. This rendered it necessary for Wellington to extend his right *en potence* to the heights behind the village of Arapiles, and to occupy that village with light infantry. After a variety of evolutions and movements on the part of Marmont, which seemed to denote that he had scarcely formed a plan, and which lasted from an early hour in the morning till two o'clock in the afternoon, he opened a very heavy cannonade. This artillery-firing did the allies very little damage, but under cover of it Marmont extended his left, and moved forward his troops, apparently with an intention to embrace, by the position of his troops, and by his fire, the post on that of the two Arapiles which the allies possessed, and from thence to attack and break Wellington's line, or, at all events, to render difficult any movement of the allies to their right. "But," adds Lord Wellington, "the extension of his line to his left, and its advance upon our right, notwithstanding that his troops still occupied very strong ground, and his position was well defended by cannon, gave me an opportunity of attacking him, for which I had long been anxious."* His lordship immediately strengthened his right and made an impetuous attack. This masterly movement, which in reality decided the battle, has been praised, and that almost unanimously, by French military writers. Marmont's extended left was soon turned and beaten on the heights, and his front, being attacked, gave way, and was driven from one height to another. Marshal Marmont, being severely wounded by a shell, gave up the command to General Bonnet. Wherever the French attempted to make a stand they were charged with the bayonet. Bonnet being wounded, the command devolved upon Clausel, who had arrived on the field of battle, and who now withdrew the troops with great skill and formed them into a new position nearly at right angles with their original one. His cavalry was numerous, his artillery very formidable. But Lord Wellington directed a fresh attack, and our 6th division, ascending to Clausel's position under a sweeping fire of artillery and musketry, gained the level ground, and then charged with the bayonet; and, our 4th division coming up at the opportune moment to aid the 6th, the French abandoned the ground in great confusion, and fled through the woods towards the Tormes. They were closely pursued by the 1st and Light divisions, by General W. Anson's brigade of the 4th division, and by some squadrons of cavalry under General Sir Stapleton Cotton; but it was

* Dispatch to Earl Bathurst, dated July 24th.

* Dispatch to Earl Bathurst, dated July 24th.

now dark night, and many of the French escaped under the cover of darkness who must otherwise have been taken. The pursuit was renewed the next morning at break of day and by the same troops, only strengthened by some brigades of cavalry which had joined during the night. The cavalry came up with the French rear of cavalry and infantry near La Serna, and, after a gallant charge made by two brigades of dragoons, the French cavalry fled, abandoning the infantry to their fate; and the whole body of infantry, consisting of three battalions, were made prisoners. During their flight on the 23rd the enemy were joined by the cavalry and artillery of the Army of the North, which, through Wellington's prompt decision, had arrived too late to be of much use. On the night of the 23rd Clausel's head-quarters were at Flores de Avila, not less than ten leagues from the field of battle. Headlong as was this flight, they were, however, followed very closely the whole way from Salamanca to Valladolid. The loss of the French in this remarkable battle was very severe: 3 generals were killed, 4 wounded; 1 general, 6 field officers, 130 officers of inferior rank, and nearly 7000 men were taken prisoners; their total loss in killed and wounded could not be ascertained, but there was no disguising the fact that they left two of their eagles and six colours in possession of the British. They also abandoned 20 pieces of artillery, several ammunition waggons, &c. The field of battle was very thick with dead. The allies alone had 694 killed and 4270 wounded, out of which number 2714 were British, 1552 Portuguese, and all the rest—that is to say—*four*—Spaniards. The proportion of officers was very great; General Le Marchant was killed, and Generals Beresford, Leith, Cole, Spry, and Cotton were wounded.*

Having crossed the Duero, Lord Wellington reached Valladolid the eighth day after the battle, or on the 30th of July, Clausel clearing out of that city on his lordship's approach and continuing his retreat towards Burgos, with almost incredible speed.

VALLADOLID. View by Laborde.

The British general entered Valladolid amidst the rejoicings of the people, and there captured 17 pieces of artillery, considerable stores, and 800 sick and wounded French, left behind by Clausel in his haste. The priests would have made processions and have sung *Te Deum*, as had been done at Salamanca after the battle, but Wellington had no time to spare. King Joseph, with all the troops he could muster at Madrid and pick up on his road (in all he had about 20,000 men), had marched from the Escurial on the 21st of July, the day before the battle of Salamanca, to join Marmont. On arriving at Arevalo Joseph, to his great astonishment and consternation, heard of Marmont's defeat; and thereupon he changed his route, marching off by the right to Segovia to attempt a diversion in favour of Clausel and the retreating army. Lord Wellington, therefore, quitted Valladolid the day after he arrived at it, recrossed the Duero, and marched against King Joseph, leaving

* Wellington Dispatches; Dispatch to Earl Bathurst, before cited. General Sir Stapleton Cotton was neither wounded in action nor even by the enemy: in the darkness of the night he was unfortunately fired upon by one of our own sentries. In a later dispatch to the secretary-at-war (dated July 28th) Wellington says, "It is difficult to judge of the exact loss of the French; but it is said to be, in all, between 17,000 and 20,000 men. They all agree, that, if we had had an hour more of daylight, the whole army would have been in our hands. General Clausel, who is wounded, now commands the army. The only apprehension I have is, that, when the army of Portugal and the army of the king shall have joined, they will be too strong for us in cavalry. *I am convinced that their infantry will make no stand.*"

a force on the Duero to watch Clausel, whose army was clearly rendered incapable of speedily resuming an offensive attitude. His lordship's movements were again retarded by want of supplies;* but by great exertions some provisions were brought up, and on the 6th of August he was enabled to point the heads of his columns towards Madrid, to bar his way to which city there was nothing except Joseph Bonaparte and his weakened army of the centre. Joseph, after falling back upon St. Ildefonso, continued his retreat towards the capital. On the 9th Lord Wellington had his head-quarters at St. Ildefonso; and on the two following days his victorious troops, defiling by the passes of Guadarama and Naval Serrada, crossed the mountains, and descended into the plain on which Madrid is situated. Joseph Bonaparte did little more than flit through that city: followed by the French intruders of all classes and by their Spanish partisans, he was now flying to the left bank of the Tagus, to rally his army between Aranjuez and Toledo.

On the 12th of August Lord Wellington entered Madrid and was received with enthusiastic acclamations. He rode instantly through the town to reconnoitre the defences of the Retiro palace, where Joseph had left a garrison. On the evening of the 13th the outermost fortification of a triple line of defence was forced; on the morning of the 14th arrangements were completed for attacking the second lines, and the French commandant surrendered. The troops found in the Retiro were made prisoners of war, and an arsenal containing 20,000 stand of arms, 180 pieces of ordnance, and military stores of every description, rewarded the victors.

Don Carlos de España, who had long accompanied Wellington in his marches, battles, or sieges, was appointed Governor of Madrid, and the new constitution which the Cortes had made at Cadiz was proclaimed with great exultation and ceremony. The entire population of Madrid poured into the streets and squares; laurels and flowers were scattered about with profusion; tapestry and carpets were hung from the balconies; and, wherever the British general appeared, green boughs and flowers and shawls were strewn before his horse's feet, and the air was rent with shouts of "Long live the Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo! Long live Wellington!" To a deputation of the new council of government who waited upon him a few days afterwards with a congratulatory address, his lordship replied—"The events of war are in the hands of Providence."†

In consequence of this bold movement upon Madrid, Marshal Soult raised the blockade of Cadiz, destroying the works which the French had constructed with an enormous expenditure of money and labour, and, abandoning the whole of western Andalusia, he concentrated his forces in Granada. But the French abandoned these famed lines with so much haste, that they could not destroy the half of their stores and other *matériel;* 30 gun-boats and some hundreds of pieces of ordnance, including some cannon of portentous length which had been cast expressly for the siege of Cadiz, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and were found to be, in good part, but little injured.* Soult's retreat was very disastrous: his rear guard was attacked by an allied force of English and Spanish, who issued from Cadiz, drove it from San Lucar, and took Seville by assault, although eight battalions had been left to maintain that city. Our portion of the assailing force consisted only of a British regiment under Colonel Skerrett, the hero of Tarifa. In his march to Granada by Carmona Soult suffered further loss from excessive heat, fatigue, scarcity, and the occasional attacks of armed bands of peasantry. General Hill, in the meanwhile, had advanced from the Guadiana to the Tagus, connecting his operations with those of Lord Wellington. On Hill's approach Joseph Bonaparte abandoned the line of the Tagus: and fell back from Toledo to Almanza in Murcia, to keep himself in communication with Soult in Granada and Suchet on the borders of Valencia and Catalonia. By the close of August Hill occupied Toledo, Ypez, and Aranjuez, thus covering the right of the allied main army, and guarding all the roads which led from the south to Madrid.

The situation of Lord Wellington in the Spanish capital was, however, very critical. A very important part of the grand scheme for the year which he had proposed to ministers (who had agreed thereto), and which he had arranged with his usual nice attention to details, had been very imperfectly executed. He had been promised that an Anglo-Sicilian expedition should be sent from Sicily early in the summer to the eastern coast of Spain, and in sufficient force to clear that coast, if not the whole of Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia. Much less than this would have compelled the French to withdraw altogether to the Ebro. But, after the plan had been settled and agreed to, there arose various misunderstandings and differences of opinion. Lord William Bentinck, now our commander-in-chief in Sicily, would have preferred employing the Anglo-Sicilian expedition on the neighbouring coast of Italy, which had been left weak by the departure of Murat for the Russian campaign, and he could not be brought to expect any successful result from the operations of this army from Sicily on the eastern coast of Spain. This last opinion appears to have been infused into the Anglo-Sicilian forces;

* Between the battle of Salamanca and his lordship's arrival at Valladolid, he stated, in a pressing letter to the noble secretary-at-war, that he was in want of almost everything. After requesting that more medical assistance might be sent out as soon as possible, he says,—"I likewise request your lordship not to forget horses for the cavalry and the artillery—*and money*. We are absolutely bankrupt. The troops are now five months in arrears, instead of being one month in advance. The staff have not been paid since February; the muleteers not since June, 1811; and we are in debt in all parts of the country. I am obliged to take the money sent to me by my brother for the Spaniards, in order to give a fortnight's pay to my own troops, who are really suffering for want of money."—*Letter to Earl Bathurst, dated July 28th.*

† Major Sherer.

* In the summer of 1815 some of these fine, long French guns were lying on the sands at the edge of Cadiz bay. The lazy Spaniards had left them there to honeycomb and spoil.

MADRID.

and when an army starts upon an expedition without hope of success it is pretty sure to fail. Lord William Bentinck, moreover, was very busy in making a constitution for Sicily, for which the Sicilians were scarcely more fit than the Corsicans had been for the constitution framed for them by Sir Gilbert Elliot. Wellington expressed his regret that his lordship should have changed his opinion after the measure had been proposed to government, and frankly told him what he expected from a discouraged army. "If," said he, "I did not hope that General Maitland (the officer who had been appointed to the command) and the staff and other officers of the Sicilian army would alter their opinion upon a nearer view of what they have to accomplish, and its effect upon the whole of this contest, I should despair of any success from persons coming on a service holding such opinions." He knew rather more than Lord William knew of what could be done in Spain by a proper Anglo-Sicilian force adequately commanded and supplied, and he told his lordship that he was quite certain that such an armament could succeed in driving the French out of Tarragona, and in opening through that city a communication between the British fleet and the Spanish army in the east—which in itself would be a service of the highest importance; that he was likewise quite certain that it could take the city of Valencia, and thereby give to the Spaniards and deprive the French of an important resource; that the war would revive again in the province of Valencia, and that if matters were well arranged in that quarter the enemy would never regain possession of the city of Valencia. "But," added Wellington, "if I should be mistaken in my expectation of success in these operations, I cannot be mistaken in their effect upon my own. I have lately beaten Marshal Marmont in a general action, and have pursued him beyond the Duero. The king is at Segovia with a corps of 12,000 or 15,000 men, and my object is to prevent him and Marmont from joining. But either the French must lose all their communications with their troops in the north of Spain, or they must oblige me to withdraw towards the frontiers of Portugal. They cannot effect this last object without bringing against me Suchet's army, or the army of Soult, or both. I cannot but think it very important that the attention of Suchet should be diverted from his supposed operations against me by the operations of the Sicilian army, which will go to such important objects as Tarragona and Valencia. I should think Suchet would be diverted from me by the operations of the Sicilian army, if they are in time, because I find that Sir Home Popham, with a few hundred marines and the guerillas of the north, has succeeded in preventing General Caffarelli from detaching anything to Marmont's assistance, excepting cavalry, notwithstanding the positive order of the king; and that he had obeyed those orders so far as to order troops to march to Marmont, which, upon hearing of Popham's operations, he countermanded. Then, if Suchet's attention should not be diverted from me, and the French should become too strong

for me in Old Castile, I shall at least have the satisfaction of reflecting, while I am retiring, that General Maitland's progress will be unopposed, and that we shall take Tarragona and Valencia."*

Lord Wellington had certainly counted, with as much confidence as he ever allowed himself to place upon arrangements not wholly under his own control, upon this promised co-operation on the eastern coast. The most urgent solicitations for aid had also been sent to the British government from this part of Spain, and none of the Spanish people had proved themselves more valiant in the field and more deserving of assistance than the brave, alert, and persevering Catalonians, who, from the beginning of this war of independence, had been left to struggle for themselves, with no other help than occasional and stinted supplies of arms and money, and the assistance of a few British ships of war. An earlier and more strenuous aid might have prevented the fall of all or most of the fortresses on that coast.

When Wellington wrote his earnest letter to Lord William Bentinck, explaining all that an Anglo-Sicilian expedition might do, an expedition of that kind was not only on its way but within sight of the eastern coast of Spain. But, most unhappily, the force sent down from Sicily was altogether inadequate to the object in view: it consisted of only 6000 men, a considerable part of whom were ill-disciplined Sicilians and such other foreigners as could be enlisted in the Mediterranean; there was no cavalry; the quantity of ordnance was miserably small, and there were neither proper siege implements nor men skilled in the use of them. General Maitland, who led the expedition, could scarcely be called a commander-in-chief, for Lord William Bentinck forbade him to risk the loss of his division lest Sicily itself should be in danger (of which there was not the remotest chance, as the south of Italy and nearly the whole of that peninsula had been almost stripped of troops for the exigencies of the Russian war), and, to avoid mischief from the winter season —such, we suppose, as the loss on the coast of transports and means of returning to Sicily:—Maitland was further instructed by Bentinck to quit the Spanish coast early in the autumn. The slovenly, inefficient state of our transport service might reasonably excite apprehensions. The last legacy of Harry Dundas (Lord Melville) to his country had not been turned to any very good account; for, though a few men-of-war had been converted into troop-ships, with proper officers, and proper discipline on board, the conveyance of troops, stores, &c. was still left to the vessels hired out to government by merchants and private speculators mainly, and the transport board, which ought to have vigilantly superintended these matters, was as indolent and short-sighted, and (through its inferior agents) as corrupt and prone to jobbing as ever; and through these causes, and this disgraceful condition of the transport service, the lives of our troops and the costly materials of war continued to be exposed to frequent peril.*

Towards the end of July, some days before Lord Wellington commenced his march from Valladolid to the Spanish capital, General Maitland and his Anglo-Sicilians arrived at Port Mahon in Minorca, exciting the hopes of the Spaniards and the fears of the French. In the neighbouring island of Majorca a so-called Spanish division had been formed; and it was now determined that this force should be joined to General Maitland's. But such a rabble had scarcely been seen in modern days as this Majorcan division: it was composed of deserters or prisoners taken from the French, of criminals who had been transported from Catalonia and Valencia, of invalids discharged from the hospitals, of runagates who had fled from their colours, and being caught afterwards had been chained or bound and shipped off for the islands. About 4500 of these fellows were reported to be in a state of efficient discipline, and were clothed and armed at our expense, and embarked to accompany Maitland's motley force of 6000 men. From Port Mahon Maitland proceeded to the coast of Catalonia; and on the 1st of August the fleet anchored in the Bay of Blanes near the town of Tosa, where the French had a strong redoubt. On that and the following day demonstrations of landing were made; but Maitland, after some conferences with the Spanish officers and others, deemed it would be rash to land

* Letter to Lord William Bentinck, in Dispatches.

* "I left Palermo on board a large transport, that was conveying a detachment of British troops to Messina. We proceeded well enough with a fair wind and a smooth sea, but on the third evening a contrary breeze obliged us to anchor under the Faro point. At midnight a violent gale caused the vessel to drive, and before sail could be got upon her we were close upon Scylla, and the French batteries were blazing away at us. For three days and nights we were knocking about at the mercy of the winds and waves in the Gulf of St. Euphemia; at times so close to the shore, that we expected the next heave of the sea would dash us on the rocks. Women and children were screaming, passengers lamenting and taking leave of each other, abandoning all hope of safety. The crew, too small for the vessel at any time, worn out with three days and nights of incessant toil, refused to work, and lay down upon deck, saying that they might as well visit his infernal majesty's abode to-night as to-morrow morning. Unfortunately, they were most of them drafted from a man-of-war for the purpose of conveying the vessel round, and, without an officer, were quite beyond control. When all hope was lost a sudden shift of wind saved us, and enabled us to reach Messina in the course of the next day. This was a good lesson for the future, never to trust myself at sea on board a large vessel, with little ballast, sent off in a hurry on what was termed a mere coasting voyage. So light was she that a very moderate breeze placed her on her beam-ends, and this was the cause of *all* our disasters: as I learned afterwards that, could we have safely carried sufficient sail, we might have entered Messina at first without difficulty, instead of coming to anchor. This is only one instance of the mode in which our transport service is conducted. Vessels are permitted to remain in harbour for long periods, and, when their services are required at a moment, it is found that they have not people on board to navigate them, although their owners are pocketing, monthly, the full and exorbitant pay for vessels well found and provided in every respect: thus is John Bull duped of his money, and not only that, but the lives of the troops, and safety of the stores are recklessly risked on board vessels actually unfit for sea. I am told that it is not uncommon for one ship's crew to serve for eight or ten vessels, at the monthly muster by the agent, or, if he happens to be strict and desirous of performing his duty to the government, the captains have the trouble and expense of providing crews for the occasion that are dismissed immediately the inspection is over. The grand point with the transport gentry is to keep well with the agent by performing various little services, such as employing their carpenters in making his furniture, or fitting up his house, presenting him with a boat that may have taken his fancy, &c. &c. This, of course, cannot be considered as bribery, but mere marks of their esteem."

One of our agents for transports was presented with a very handsome yacht of considerable burthen, and was imprudent enough to invite the head of the government to attend the launch, and to request him to name the vessel. The chief, a keen old Scotchman (Sir Thomas Maitland), with a sarcastic smile and a significant look at the craft, said—"Why, Mr....., I think we cannot do better than call her the 'Plunder.'"—*MS. Journal of a Friend.*

in a province where Suchet might soon collect 22,000 well disciplined infantry and several squadrons of good cavalry; and that to attempt the siege of Tarragona, or of any other considerable place, with the means he had would be madness. Admiral Sir Edward Pellew strongly urged a descent, and Captain Codrington, who had long been commanding a squadron off that coast, insisted that Maitland was deceived by false information, that the Spaniards who had communicated with him from shore were traitors. A council of war, however, agreed with Maitland, and that general, after two or three changes of plans or purpose, determined to run down the coast to Alicante in Valencia, an important city, the safety of which was endangered in consequence of a defeat which the Spanish general J. O'Donnel had recently sustained in its neighbourhood, in a rash attempt to drive the van-guard of Suchet's army back upon the Xucar.* The hearts of the Catalonian patriots died within them as they saw the British fleet quitting their shores. The weather was bad, the winds were contrary, and there was some of the usual confusion in the transport service; but on the evening of the 9th of August the fleet anchored in the capacious and safe Bay of Alicante, and on the following day the troops were landed. Suchet now withdrew his van-guard, which was within sight of Alicante, to the Xucar, where he constructed a bridge of boats and a *tête du pont*. Maitland, with his Anglo-Sicilians and his Majorcan division, occupied the country from which the enemy retired; but in less than a week he received intelligence that Suchet had been joined by King Joseph with a part of the army of the Centre, and that Soult was in rapid march with his army of Andalusia to join the king and Suchet; and thereupon he found it necessary to evacuate all the country he had recovered, and to fall back to Alicante. Within that town and some works in front of it the Anglo-Sicilian expedition was cooped up, without the chance of effecting any powerful diversion in favour of Wellington.

There were other potent reasons which rendered his lordship's prolonged occupation of the open capital impossible. Though he was in the centre of Spain, there existed no Spanish force upon which he could depend for field operations. The army of Galicia under Santocildes, which was now considered the most effective of the Spanish corps, after taking Astorga and advancing towards Zamora, had been beaten and driven back by Clausel, with the remnant of Marmont's army of Portugal; Ballasteros, who had kept together a force in Andalusia, haughtily refused to be directed by Lord Wellington; O'Donnel's defeated army was flying through Murcia without equipments, and without discipline, and, on the whole surface of Spain, there was nothing that, by any straining of language, could be called an army, or, at least, a *disciplined* army, in the field. Bands of guerrillas there were, but some of these seemed almost as ready to plunder friends as foes—to fall upon English convoys as upon French.* Lord Wellington, on his first arrival at Madrid, had been hailed with Vivas and expressions of good will, but no active exertions were made in the common cause; and the Vivas grew fainter as the Madrilenos reflected on the possibility of the French returning, and the good will grew cool when they were called upon to furnish supplies and assistance to the allied army. As in every other city of Spain, and as in every place on the Continent where we set foot, it was believed that the English were made of gold, and that wherever they came they must bring not only arms and ammunition, stores, clothing, and food for the armies of the country as well as for their own, but also an inexhaustible fund of gold and silver to scatter among the natives: and now whenever money was asked for from the Spaniards they appear to have thought that the predictions of Bonaparte and of our own opposition were verified, and that England was becoming bankrupt. But, apart from this unfavourable conviction which went to injure our credit, very few of these Castilians had any money to give or lend. Four years of French military occupation and forced military contribution never left full coffers anywhere. The British commander-in-chief could not realize at Madrid, by drafts upon the British treasury, a sum of money adequate to the most pressing wants of his army.† It was therefore in vain to think of remaining at Madrid, where, if the allied army had not first been starved, three or four French armies, a total of more than 100,000 men, must have closed round it and cut off all retreat. The alternative left to Wellington was either to move to the north against Clausel, or to move to the south against Soult. He determined on the first of these movements, hoping that, although Clausel had now received large reinforcements, he should be able to give him some such lesson as he had given to him and Marmont at Salamanca—the doleful remembrances of which battle were known to have taken all their confidence out of the French infantry. Leaving two divisions under Hill near Madrid, his lordship marched with the remainder on the 1st of September back to Valladolid, which he re-entered on the 7th. Continuing his march towards Burgos he fell in with the Spanish army of Galicia, which was found to be less than 10,000 men, undisciplined, ragged, and deficient in equipments. On the 19th of September the allied army entered Burgos, the French falling back to Briviesca, but leaving 2000 men, under General Dubreton, in the castle of Burgos. The possession of that fort was necessary for the security of the allied army in its present advanced and insecure position, and Wellington directed it to be

* In this wretched affair O'Donnel is said to have lost more than 4000 men, and to have seen the fugitives of his army throw away 10,000 muskets in their flight. If he had not risked this battle Alicante would have been in no danger.

* It is related that on the first day of Maitland's march from Alicante towards the Xucar a convoy with six days' supply was attacked by an armed banditti called a guerrilla, and that the convoy was plundered or dispersed and lost.—*Colonel Napier, Hist. of War in the Peninsula.*

† Wellington Dispatches.

Burgos. From Swinbourn's Picturesque Tour in Spain.

invested forthwith, though he was ill furnished with siege artillery, and well knew that the castle, strong by its natural position, had been fortified by the French with great care. A horn-work on a hill which commanded some of the works of the castle was carried by assault. The fort itself was battered, but with little effect. Sapping was then resorted to, with such bad sappers and miners as his lordship had. On the 29th, a breach having been effected in the outer wall by the explosion of a mine, an attempt was made to storm it, but failed. On the 4th of October, another breach having been effected by the same process of mining and exploding, another storm was attempted: this succeeded, but still the besiegers were only established within the exterior line of the works of the castle. In two bold sorties the French materially injured the works of the allies, and thus threw them back in their operations. But what most retarded these operations was a want of ammunition. At last, on the 18th of October, a breach was made by mining in the second line, and orders were given to storm again. The assault was gallantly made and maintained by a detachment of our German Legion and a detachment of the Guards; but the French brought such a fire to bear upon them from the third line and from the body of the castle, and attacked them with numbers so superior, before they could be supported, that the assailants were compelled to retire with considerable loss. Dubreton had made a brave stand, but no bravery or skill could have saved the castle in the face of so bold and so persevering an enemy. But, as Wellington was preparing to renew his assault, the French Army of the North advanced to raise the siege; and at the same moment he learned from General Hill that the armies of the South and Centre, or those of Soult and King Joseph, being united, mustered 70,000 strong, and were advancing from Valencia towards the Tagus, and that General Ballasteros had not assumed a position in La Mancha which the Spanish government, at his lordship's suggestion, had ordered him to take up, in order to retard the enemy's movements towards the Tagus.* The British commander was therefore under the painful necessity of abandoning the siege of the castle of Burgos, and of effecting a retrograde movement in order to draw near to Hill, who at the approach of Soult retired slowly towards Salamanca. On the 21st of October the siege was raised, and the allied army retired in good order to Palencia, where it was joined by a fresh brigade from England under Lord Dalhousie, who had landed at Coruña and marched through the northern provinces. The French army from the north, by this time under the command of Souham, was now close upon the allies, and repeatedly attacked and harassed their rear-guard until they reached the Duero at Tudela, when Souham halted, waiting to be joined by Soult from the south. Wellington halted not, but, crossing the Duero on the 29th of October, continued his retreat to the

* Ballasteros behaved in this shameless manner out of spite and jealousy, or because the Spanish regency and cortes had offered Lord Wellington the chief command of the Spanish armies.—*Dispatch to Earl Bathurst.*

Tormes, being joined, on his way thither, on the 3rd of November by Hill. After getting across the Duero and effecting his junction with Hill, his lordship congratulated himself on his success. "I assure you," he wrote to the secretary-at-war, "that, considering the numbers of the enemy (among whom is Caffarelli's infantry, as well as his cavalry), and considering the state of the Spanish troops, the great proportion of foreign troops in the divisions which I have with me, and their general weakness, and the weakness of our cavalry, I think I have escaped from the worst military situation I was ever in."* By the 8th of November his lordship had taken up his old position on the heights of San Cristoval, in front of Salamanca. On the 10th Souham and Soult joined their forces, which were now estimated at 75,000 foot and 12,000 cavalry, while Wellington's army, counting Spaniards and all, did not exceed 48,000 foot and 5000 cavalry. The two French generals now advanced; and, on the 14th, finding nearly all the fords of the river practicable, they crossed the Tormes in force some three leagues above Salamanca. Lord Wellington immediately broke up from San Cristoval and ordered his troops towards the two Arapiles; and as soon as he had ascertained the direction of the enemy's march from the fords, he moved with the second division of infantry, and all the cavalry he could collect, to attack them, leaving Hill, with some divisions, to protect this movement, and posting the third division in reserve on the Arapiles, to secure the possession of those important positions, the stronger of which had been held by the French in the battle of Salamanca. The enemy, however, were already too strong and too strongly posted to be attacked, so that his lordship confined himself to a smart cannonade of their cavalry, under cover of which he reconnoitred their position. In the evening he withdrew all his troops to the heights of the Arapiles. In the course of that night and the following morning,† having seen that Soult and Souham were determined not to attack him on the ground he had chosen, the field of his former victory, he moved the greatest part of the troops through Salamanca, detaching General Sir Edward Paget, with a division of infantry, to secure the passage of a stream and watch the movements of the enemy, who were expected to make an immediate attempt to cut off his lordship's communications either with Salamanca or with Ciudad Rodrigo. On the morning of the 15th Wellington found the French still fortifying the position they had taken up the preceding day on crossing the Tormes—so cautious had their defeats and reverses rendered them; but they were also moving masses of cavalry and some infantry to their left, as if with the intention of cutting off the allies from Ciudad Rodrigo. Wellington thereupon determined to move rapidly upon Ciudad Rodrigo; and, putting the allied army in march in three columns, and crossing the Zurguen, which Sir Edward Paget had guarded, and then turning and passing the enemy's left flank, he encamped that night on the Valmuza. On the following day, the 16th, the French followed his lordship's movement with immense masses of cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry; but they did not attempt to press upon his rear. On the 17th they took advantage of the ground to cannonade our light division, which formed the rear-guard, and which was now commanded by General Alten, on its passage over the river, and caused it some loss. In the course of the same day Sir Edward Paget, who had ridden to the rear to discover the cause of some delay in the march, was surprised, when on the top of a hill, with a spy-glass in his hand, and was taken prisoner by some Italian cavalry which had followed Joseph Bonaparte from Naples.‡ On the 18th the French kept at a cautious distance, and Lord Wellington, without let or hindrance, established his head-quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo. Soult, in fact, after he had crossed the Tormes, made no serious movement, being called upon by Joseph to send some troops into Old Castile. On the 19th part of the allied army crossed the Agueda; all the rest crossed on the 20th. The main body of the British and Portuguese were then distributed in their old cantonments within the frontier of Portugal, between the Agueda and the Coa; and Hill's corps moved into Spanish Estremadura, into cantonments near Coria, and towards the Tagus.

During the retreat from Burgos the allies had suffered severely from fatigue and privation; for the greater part of the time the rain fell in torrents, and the weather was worse than Lord Wellington had ever seen it; the roads were knee-deep with mud, the rivers and swollen rivulets breast-deep; hardly anything in the shape of provisions could be obtained from that hungry, desolated country; a great part of the army had neither bread nor biscuit, the only sustenance being a scanty ration of lean tough beef, which the men were obliged to eat half raw, from the difficulty of lighting fires in

* Dispatch to Earl Bathurst, dated Rueda, 31st October.

† "On the 15th, at day-light, the whole of our army was in order of battle; our division was posted behind the Arapiles, and every one anticipated a fierce and general engagement. The French had 90,000 men, and nearly 200 pieces of artillery . . . . . Soult, however, had no intention of fighting; he declined the challenge, manœuvred on our right, and, threatening our communication with Portugal, compelled us to retreat. It is evident that Lord Wellington, who, from the 8th to the 15th, kept all his forces concentrated on the Tormes, anxiously desired and expected a general engagement. Indeed, it has been said, and is probable, that on the morning of the 15th, could he have supposed that Soult would refuse fighting, he would himself have been the assailant, and would have marched boldly on the heights of Mozarbes. It was not until ten o'clock in the forenoon that the retreat was ordered, which, had it been the original intention of his lordship, would, no doubt, have been entered upon six hours earlier."—*Recollections of the Peninsula.*

‡ We well knew the Italian officer who had the principal share in this capture. It was Don Marc-Antonio Colonna, son of the Prince of Stigliano, a branch of the most ancient and noble family of the Colonna, long settled in the kingdom of Naples. He discovered, with his glass, an English general officer on the top of a hill, and, galloping to the spot, surrounded the base of the hill. He used to give a graphic and touching account of the behaviour of the stately and gallant veteran, who had already lost an arm, and was very short-sighted. Sir Edward, upon first seeing the dragoons, put spurs to his horse, and would have galloped down the hill, but Colonna cried out that it was surrounded, that escape was impossible, that the attempt might lead to destruction; and, as he closed upon him with several troopers, Sir Edward presented his sword and surrendered.

their wet bivouacs, and from the scarcity of fuel.* Such had been the cleanliness of Spanish quarters, that nearly all our tender-skinned men were bringing back cutaneous disorders, and all the rest were eaten up by vermin even as though they had passed through one of Pharaoh's plagues. The poorest and dullest follower of the camp was sensible of the ill-conduct of the Spanish generals and other authorities, and none could be blind to the care with which the Spanish people concealed their provisions, or to the greediness with which they overcharged every morsel of food or drop of wine they supplied to the troops who were fighting for them. On leaving Salamanca some of our retreating soldiers had been savagely murdered by Spaniards of that town. Many of our men, vowing that their friends were worse than their foes, beat the Spanish peasants and plundered their abodes wherever the opportunity offered; and other and worse irregularities were committed. Lord Wellington, however, had no hesitation in attributing these evils chiefly to the inattention and inexperience of the officers of the regiments; and, a few days after he had taken up his quarters behind the Agueda, he issued a severe admonitory letter to officers commanding divisions and brigades. He herein declared that in the late campaign the discipline of his army had become relaxed to a greater degree than he had witnessed in any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read.† This was exaggerating the fact and being over severe, and it was so felt—and very deeply too—by the whole army; but the severity of the censure (which passed over the common soldiers to fall upon their officers) was evidently calculated to produce a beneficial impression upon many of the "fine gentlemen" of the army, who still considered such details as soldiers' fuel, flesh-pots, and dinner-hours unworthy the attention of such high-bred gallants: and, when the commanding officers, the colonels and majors of regiments, and captains of companies, neglected these duties, they were pretty sure to be neglected by the subalterns, and to be very indifferently performed by the non-commissioned officers.

Apparently, one of the very first men that raised an indecent outcry against Wellington for not keeping Madrid, and for not taking the castle of Burgos, was Ballasteros, whose conduct had made the retreat from the latter place so indispensable, and whose pride and jealousy had gone far to commit the whole of his lordship's army. Fortunately the Spanish government took the command of its army from that arrogant blockhead, and gave it to General Virues; yet Ballasteros was described by Wellington as the only man among the Spaniards who ever did anything! Many people in England, particularly of the opposition party, echoed the outcry of the Spanish general, sat in judgment on the campaign, and, not satisfied with representing it as a ruinous and a disgraceful failure in Spain, derived from it the opportunity of repeating the old prediction that Wellington must be driven out of Portugal. His lordship's own brief and manly words are the best defence or explanation of his conduct. "I am much afraid," said he, "from what I see in the newspapers, that the public will be much disappointed at the result of the campaign, notwithstanding that it is, in fact, the most successful campaign in all its circumstances, and has produced for the common cause more important results, than any campaign in which the British army has been engaged for the last century. We have taken by siege Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca, and the Retiro has surrendered. In the meantime the allies have taken Astorga, Consuegra, and Guadalaxara, besides other places. In the ten months elapsed since January this army has sent to England little short of 20,000 prisoners; and they have taken and destroyed, or have themselves retained the use of, the enemy's arsenals in Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Valladolid, Madrid, Astorga, Seville, the lines before Cadiz, &c.; and, upon the whole, we have taken and destroyed, or we now possess, little short of 3000 pieces of cannon. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and all the country south of the Tagus has been cleared of the enemy. We should have retained still greater advantages, I think, and should have remained in possession of Castile and Madrid during the winter, if I could have taken Burgos, as I ought, early in October, or if Ballasteros had moved upon Alcaraz, as he was ordered, instead of intriguing for his own aggrandizement. . . . . I see that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege. *It was entirely my own act.* In regard to means, there were ample means both at Madrid and Santander for the siege

* The English soldier, moreover, has no genius for cooking, and the prescribed mess arrangements of our troops were very bad. The French soldiers, on the other hand, cultivated the science of cookery, the whole of the nation has so decided a genius, and their cooking arrangements were infinitely better than ours. Lord Wellington dwelt upon this difference with some *naiveté* in the circular letter he addressed to commanding officers after the retreat. "In regard to the food of the soldier," said his lordship, "I have frequently observed and lamented in the late campaign the facility and celerity with which the French soldiers cook in comparison with those of our army." And, after this observation, he read the commanding officers a good lesson about a division of labour, in cutting and bringing in wood, in fetching water, in preparing the meat to be cooked, &c. &c. Thus, like a truly great man, he continued to attend to every detail, considering nothing too little for his attention which contributed to the well-being and efficiency of his army.

We fear, however, that, through the total want of the culinary genius, our soldiers still require almost everything to be done for them and to their hands, or almost to have their victuals, ready cooked, put into their mouths.

One little reform, if it has not been adopted, might be found easy. The French soldiers mess by twos and threes, and use small pots or kettles, which are light to carry and easy to make boil: these kettles were all made of copper. The English, at that time, messed by tens, and used large heavy camp kettles made of iron, and which required a large fire.

† See circular letter in Dispatches, dated Freneda, 28th November. —In this circular the commander-in-chief said that the army had suffered no privation which could justify the least irregularity, or account for the losses which had been sustained. An officer serving in General Hill's division says: "I am convinced that his lordship was never made acquainted with the extent of our privations. . . . . Neither were the irregularities, though great, by any means general: there were corps, and many corps, who maintained their discipline, and whose casualties were comparatively trifling and most satisfactorily accounted for."—*Recollections of the Peninsula.*

Another officer, who acted as aide-de-camp to General Hill during this retreat, says that our troops, in Sir John Moore's retreat through Gallicia to Coruña, were never so long without a supply of provisions as were some corps of Lord Wellington's army on the present occasion; but he also says that the marches in the present case were never of an unreasonable length.—*Colonel Leith Hay.*

of the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was means of transporting ordnance and artillery stores to the place where it was desirable to use them. The people of England, so happy as they are in every respect, so rich in resources of every description, having the use of such excellent roads, &c., will not readily believe that important results here frequently depend upon fifty or sixty mules more or less, or a few bundles of straw to feed them; but the fact is so, notwithstanding their incredulity. I could not find means of moving even *one* gun from Madrid. . . . . As for the *two* heavy guns which —— endeavoured to send, I was obliged to send our own cattle to draw them; and we felt great inconvenience from the want of those cattle in the subsequent movements of the army."* As for the security of Portugal his lordship could be under no apprehension. With Badajoz in the hands of the allies, with Hill beyond the Guadiana in Spanish Estremadura, and with no French force in Andalusia, or anywhere in the south, to march against him, the southern frontier of Portugal was safe. With regard to the northern frontier, where his lordship and the main army were stationed, although letters were intercepted from Joseph which ordered Soult to make Portugal the seat of the war, it was clear to a demonstration that that marshal would not again approach the line of the Agueda, or re-enter a country where he, his predecessors and successors, had met with nothing but calamity and loss. The strong place of Ciudad Rodrigo being in our possession, and Almeida being re-established, it was no easy matter for the enemy to penetrate by that great entrance *into* Portugal: his lordship therefore concluded that for the present Soult, notwithstanding his vast numerical superiority, would canton his army in Old Castile, and in the higher valley of the Tagus, there to wait for the arrival of fresh reinforcements and means from France:—and this was what the French marshal did. "I believe," said his lordship, "that the enemy require repose as much, if not more than we do; and that their immense numbers are rather embarrassing to them in a country already exhausted. . . . . I believe that I have underrated rather than overrated their force. They say themselves, at Salamanca, that they have 90,000 infantry and 14,000 cavalry; and their demand for provisions from the country is 140,000 rations daily! I think they must have 90,000 men altogether, including from 10,000 to 12,000 cavalry. . . . . Having abandoned Madrid, and having given up all their communications with the north, solely with a view to collect a still larger force against me, there is no diversion which would at present answer to effect an alteration in our relative numbers, even if I could depend upon the Spaniards to do anything. But I am quite in despair about them."† There was therefore a pause in the war in this quarter, which lasted not only through the remainder of the winter, but through the spring of 1813. The main army of the British and Portuguese being thus condemned to a long inactivity, it was not to be expected that the Spaniards would be very active. They did nothing except by their guerrillas, who harassed Clausel in the north. In the south-east, and on the east coast, where Suchet's army had been greatly reduced by the drafts made upon it, little enterprise was shown, and nothing of any importance was done. The Anglo-Sicilian army—in which there were not 2000 British soldiers*—remained shut up at Alicante. Wellington took it upon himself to order General Maitland to remain on the eastern coast, notwithstanding Lord William Bentinck's instructions, till he should receive the further orders of the secretary of state. The commander-in-chief in the Peninsula also transmitted to Maitland excellent instructions and orders. On the 20th of September, while engaged and perplexed with the siege of the castle of Burgos, he instructed him how to maintain his post at Alicante, how to keep open his communication with the sea and British shipping in an easy and certain manner; and ordered him not to think of embarking till the last extremity. He invited Maitland to place confidence in the gallantry and discipline of the British troops under his command, telling him that he (Wellington) had tried them frequently, and that they had never failed him.† But Maitland knew not how to bring out these fine qualities of the English soldier; he had not the habitude of a separate command. The good part of his little army was almost buried or concealed by the bad, his own health gave way completely under chagrin, and those incessant annoyances which every British officer serving with the Spaniards was doomed to undergo, and which he had not philosophy to bear. But for the determined conduct of Wellington, he would have acted in conformity with Lord W. Bentinck's orders, and have returned to Sicily with his whole force at the beginning of October. Not being able to do this, Maitland resigned early in that month, and soon afterwards General W. Clinton came down from Sicily and took the command. Clinton would have introduced more activity and enterprise, but he was checked by the jealousy and ill-will of the Spanish governor of Alicante, who treated the English as though they were enemies, and, so far from giving Clinton possession of the citadel and the seaward batteries of Alicante, which were necessary to secure his communication with our shipping, and—in case of a reverse—his retreat and re-embarkation (which Clinton, as well

* Dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Ciudad Rodrigo, 23rd November.

† Letter to the Earl of Liverpool. Wellington also mentioned another important circumstance—the situation of his army. "It has been actively employed since the beginning of last January, and requires rest. The horses of the cavalry and artillery in particular require both that, and good food and care during the winter; and the discipline of the infantry requires to be attended to, as is usual in all armies after so long a campaign, and one of so much activity."

* About 3000 British and German troops left Sicily with General Maitland; but we believe that about one-half of this number were Germans.

† Letter to Lieut.-General F. Maitland, in Dispatches.

as Maitland, was commanded to make sure of), he would not suffer the British to hold even a gate of the town. In the meanwhile Suchet diligently strengthened his fortified camp on the Xucar, entrenched all the passes in his front, dismantled the extensive walls of the city of Valencia, against which Wellington had recommended a movement, and established a good citadel there. On the 2nd of December General Campbell arrived from Sicily with 4000 men, and took the command, thus making the fourth general in chief in the same number of months!—for, in the short interval between the resignation of Maitland and the arrival of Clinton, the chief command at Alicante had been held by General Mackenzie. On acquainting himself with Suchet's formidable position, and with other discouraging circumstances, General Campbell declared that it would not be prudent to attempt anything until the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, who was reported to be coming from Sicily with still more considerable reinforcements; but his lordship never arrived until the 3rd of July, 1813. As the Spanish government made no provision for the subsistence of their motley Majorcan division, and as Campbell could no longer give it rations, it broke up and went marauding into the interior of the country. At the same time many of the Sicilians and Italians whom Bentinck had sent under Maitland deserted, some to join Suchet, who had a considerable number of Neapolitans with him, some to wander along the coast in the desperate hope of finding means to return to their own country. Thus Campbell and his people ate almonds and raisins, and drank Alicante wine, in bodily, if not in mental, repose. The whole matter had been badly managed from the beginning; but still, it is not to be denied that this landing on the eastern coast of Spain was attended with some beneficial effects: it long occupied the whole attention of Suchet, prevented his detaching more troops to Madrid and the united armies under Soult, and perplexed the attention and acted as a drain upon the resources of Bonaparte's government.*

While the Anglo-Sicilian army was thus employed in Spain, many curious events had occurred in the island of Sicily, where Lord William Bentinck finished and set up the constitution which he had so much at heart. A short retrospect is necessary. Ever since the first landing of our troops in 1806 to protect the otherwise defenceless island from the French, there had been abundant causes of complaint against the thoughtless, extravagant, and profligate court of King Ferdinand, and every English general who had held the command had found himself compelled to waste a great portion of his time in making remonstrances to Ferdinand's government, which met them with quibbles, and in writing representations and complaints to his own government, who, out of a too delicate regard to the sovereign rights and independence of their old ally, took no proceedings upon them, or did no more than write an occasional letter of good advice to that Neapolitano-Sicilian government. The expenses Great Britain had incurred were enormous. From the year 1806 till now we had maintained at our own expense a British army varying from 10,000 to 20,000 men; and we had been paying to the court an annual subsidy of 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* This money, according to a treaty signed at Palermo, ought all to have been appropriated to the use of the Sicilian marine and land forces; yet the Sicilian army had remained as badly paid, as badly disciplined, as badly fed, as inefficient as before; and the marine, upon which so much depended, had not been raised to any better state.* The common people were docile and well disposed; the mariners and the fishermen of the coast would have made good active sailors, and have managed many flotillas of gun-boats; the peasantry could have been converted into good soldiers; but under such a system, robbed by their own court, robbed by their own officers, oppressed by their barons—some of the worst parts of the feudal system still surviving in Sicily—and ground to the dust by the most monstrous and absurd monopolies and systems of taxation, the poor Sicilians were almost powerless and useless even for the defence of their own country. King Ferdinand, though not devoid of a rude natural wit and sagacity and of good common sense, was, and had all his life been, so prone to indolence and frivolous amusements as to be almost a nullity. Provided he could fish and shoot all the day long, he cared nothing for the affairs of state, and was as happy at Palermo, in his curtailed dominions, as ever he had been at Naples. As had been the case ever since their marriage, he left the cares of government to his wife, with a *Carolina, pensaci tu.*† Carolina of Austria, the sister of the hapless wife of Louis XVI. of France, the friend and almost the idolatress of Lord Nelson, had been in the early part of her life and reign an amiable, kind-hearted, generous princess, fond of amusement and of admiration, but spirited and high-minded when the occasion demanded. But the woes of her sister had made almost as sudden a change on her heart as they had made on Marie Antoinette's hair. She became suspicious, gloomy, savagely vindictive: the Neapolitan blood that was shed on the scaffold after the overthrow of the rickety "Republica Partenopea," and the return of herself and family

* Colonel Napier.

* While we were keeping our own army, and paying 400,000*l.* a-year to the Sicilian court, that court taxed the wine and other supplies for the British army, made us pay 50 or 60 per cent. upon the bread which the English soldiers ate, and actually raised a revenue of nearly 100,000*l.* per annum upon the British army.

Other facts occurred which would stagger our belief if we were not well acquainted with the unblushing conduct of that Neapolitano-Sicilian, or Sicilo-Neapolitan government. When Sir John Stuart, in his expedition of 1809, was at the island of Ischia, in the Gulf of Naples, having several thousand Sicilians with him who received no provisions from their own government, he ordered the English commissariat to supply them with rations. The poor Sicilians came in a short time and begged Sir John to stop this allowance, because their own government, on account of the rations which were thus furnished at our expense, deducted out of their pay a much greater sum than the soldiers could afford, and more than the rations were worth.

† "Carolina, do you think about it." This was old Ferdinand's constant expression.

from Sicily in 1799-1800, was shed to gratify her vengeance, and not to satisfy Ferdinand, who would have forgotten and forgiven; and it was through her that Nelson put an ineffaceable stain upon his glory by allowing the Neapolitan admiral Caraccioli to be tried in a most irregular manner by court-martial on board his own ship, and to be sent to be hanged at the yard-arm of a Neapolitan frigate lying alongside.* Her own subsequent misfortunes and flights, the reverses of the House of Austria and of all her connexions, the apparently resistless conquests of the people who had murdered her sister, the very humiliating straits and difficulties to which she was frequently reduced, and the advance of age, had not contributed to improve her temper. In Sicily she treated every one that suggested the necessity of a reform in the government as a Jacobin and traitor. Capital executions could not well be indulged in, under the protection of an English army commanded by humane and honourable men, who themselves felt and frequently represented the necessity of reform; but many were the individuals whom she persecuted to their ruin; and in the year 1811 the prisons and fortresses of the island were found to be crammed with state prisoners—with persons for the most part arrested merely because they were *suspects* in the eyes of the queen and of the party who nourished her suspicions and passion for vengeance, and led her to her own ruin as fast as evil counsellors could do it. Wounded in her pride at the slightest interference, she began to complain that the king her husband was not master of his own island, that the English encouraged his disaffected subjects, and filled the heads of the Sicilian people with dangerous ideas of change and innovation. It was noticed that these inimical feelings towards her allies and protectors became stronger after the marriage of Napoleon Bonaparte with her niece, and that some French ladies and gentlemen in her service—emigrant royalists and others who had lived upon her bounty and had followed her to Sicily—were at the same time elated with hope. Our officers in command, and even our diplomatists, had the honourable English backwardness and awkwardness in the practices of secret police and the arts of detecting conspiracies; and it should appear that our army was actually surrounded by plots before anything was discovered, and that we were the last to know that by means of these French people and others Queen Carolina was actually carrying on a correspondence with Bonaparte. The queen's hatred and abhorrence of France in its Jacobin state was much mitigated in its present monarchical and imperial state; she knew that the Man of Destiny from Corsica had been the deadliest enemy of the Jacobins and republicans of all classes, and had crushed under his iron heel the men and parties that had led her sister to the block: and this man was now by marriage her nephew. It appears that Bonaparte amused and deluded Carolina with hopes of restoring her husband to his continental dominions, or of carving him out a kingdom elsewhere, as he had proposed doing to Lord Wentworth and Lord Lauderdale in the negotiation which preceded the rupture of the peace of Amiens; that at one time he gave a verbal promise that Ferdinand should have Naples back upon condition of his maintaining the French laws which had been established there, holding his crown as the confederated princes of Germany held theirs, and driving the English out of Sicily by force or by fraud, or by any means that might be found most feasible. Such a project could be entertained only by a person far gone in madness; any sane person must have seen that the Emperor of the French, who would bind himself to nothing and set down nothing in writing, and who, when he had bound himself in the most solemn and explicit manner, had never cared for his engagements when it was profitable to break them, was aiming at nothing else than the expulsion of the British army, which would enable him or his lieutenant, Murat, to seize the island, or than the fomenting of distrusts, jealousies, and finally an open quarrel between the Sicilians and the English, which might lead to the same result: yet it is proved beyond a doubt that Carolina was for a time deluded, and that there existed a plot for delivering over the British army to destruction.

In the summer of 1811 Lord William Bentinck arrived at Palermo in the double capacity of envoy extraordinary and commander-in-chief of our forces. His lordship came with a pretty ample knowledge of the temper of the court and the wretched condition of the country, and such information as he yet wanted was furnished him by some of the Sicilian nobility. Several stormy scenes took place between Lord William and the queen. She said the English government had sent her a hard-hearted German corporal, who would not listen to reason; she insisted that she or the king her husband had the right to govern as they thought fit, and to arrest and imprison without trial as many of the Sicilians as they suspected; and, pointing to her guards, her Sicilian troops, and her bands of Calabrians, she vowed she would resist force by force if the English attempted to use any. Lord William Bentinck immediately returned to England to demand still fuller powers, and to press upon government the necessity of taking vigorous and effectual measures. General F. Maitland (the same whom we have seen employed on the coast of Spain), being left with the command of the forces at this critical moment, informed the English army, in General Orders, that Lord William's sudden departure was in consequence of the most urgent political motives, which highly concerned the honour of Great Britain and the safety and prosperity of Sicily. In the same orders Maitland stated that four persons who had been imprisoned for holding correspondence with the enemy in Calabria were now set at liberty, not because there wanted sufficient proof against them,

* See Southey, Life of Nelson; and Vincenzo Cuoco.

but because the general would not condemn to death, immediately after having assumed the command of the British army, four men who were arrested by his predecessor, whose departure had prevented the pending sentence. The Orders, however, added that this act of clemency would not be renewed at any other time, General Maitland being resolved "to use his utmost means to put an end to the system of espionage and treachery which has been for so long a time, and in a manner so notorious, practised by persons of evil intentions, equally enemies of the Sicilian people and the British; . . . . to watch attentively persons of this description, and from this time forward to bring before a council of war those, whoever they may be, who shall be thus found holding communication with the enemy, and thus placing in danger the British army and this island;"—"and immediately," it was added, "the sentence of that council of war shall be executed." All this made it sufficiently clear that the English general now believed in the existence of an extensive conspiracy. The fact is, an active correspondence had long been carrying on between certain of Ferdinand's officers and others residing in Messina, and Manhes, the French general who commanded Murat's army in Calabria. Most, if not all, of the active agents in this plot were not Sicilians but Neapolitans, who hated the Sicilians, and were anxious to return to their own country with promotion in Murat's army or with other employments, or with pensions, for the important service in hand. A fortunate accident and the loquacity of a Messinese boatman, who had been employed in carrying packets by night across the Faro or narrow strait which separates the island from the continent, put an acute Sicilian on the track, and this Sicilian revealed all he knew and suspected to his friends the English. It is said that he produced evidence to show that the conspirators, as a beginning, had engaged to put Manhes in possession of the Sicilian flotilla of gun-boats which lay at Messina, the Torre del Faro, and other parts of the coast; to assist the French to cross the straits when no British vessels of war should be near, &c. It was the Sicilian and not the English genius that suggested the very cunning and dramatic counterplot which followed these discoveries; and the counterplot could not be completed until a Frenchman was found to play a part in it. The men who came over from Reggio in Calabria, which is almost opposite to Messina, or from the rock of Scylla or other points, as convenience served, to deliver the letters of General Manhes to the conspirators, were bought over; and instead of taking the Frenchman's letters to their addresses, delivered them to officers in our service. A fac-simile was made of every letter thus brought, and forwarded to the conspirators, the original letter being detained as undeniable evidence whenever the time for producing it should arrive. Manhes, though long accustomed to this sort of work—nearly the whole of his military government in Calabria depending on a system of plots and counterplots, espionage, and secret police—did not proceed, in this particular matter, with much skill or caution. After writing sundry epistles without a cypher, he at last wrote to Colonel Costantino de' Filippis, a Neapolitan officer at Messina, that, as there were many points upon which he still wished to communicate, and which could not be explained in a letter, he had determined to send over one of his own aides-de-camp (a young Frenchman), with whom Colonel de' Filippis might freely conclude all the arrangements; and, in order to put the Neapolitan colonel upon his guard, he enclosed the *signalement*, or a complete description of his aide-de-camp's person and features. It now became necessary for the English general to find some one who should personate this French aide-de-camp. This was not very easy: it was in vain to look among the British and Sicilian officers for a man that could speak French so as to pass for a Frenchman; and, besides, it was very doubtful whether any British officer would undertake the necessary but not very honourable work, and it was not every Sicilian officer in our service that could be implicitly trusted. It was, moreover, indispensable that this spy or counterplotter should be a person of address, ability, courage, and confidence, and also a stranger in Messina, and that he should bear some resemblance in stature and countenance to the French aide-de-camp whom Manhes had described. At length such a man was found in one of the foreign regiments in our service. Monsieur A—— de——, a subaltern in the — regiment, which was doing garrison duty at Malta, though educated from his childhood in England, was a Frenchman by birth, the son of a French emigrant of a good family. Having readily undertaken to personate the French aide-de-camp now anxiously expected by the conspirators, he was immediately brought to Messina in disguise, kept concealed till his mustachios had grown to the pattern of his prototype's, and till he received the instruction necessary to enable him to go through the difficult part which he had to act. He was then secretly carried out to sea, and was landed by night from a small boat on an open part of the shore, as if from the Calabrian coast, wearing the disguise of a sailor's dress, which Manhes had said his aide-de-camp would wear. He was furnished with such credentials as the intercepted materials in General Maitland's hands enabled him to provide, and he had the watchwords which had been agreed upon between Manhes and de' Filippis. Monsieur A—— de —— was led blindfolded into the conspirator's den, in the very heart of Messina. This den was the lodging of Colonel de' Filippis, and here the adroit and strong-nerved Frenchman gained a complete knowledge of everything, with a list of all the persons in Sicily upon whom Manhes might count. There was matter to try his nerves and his wits: he was in imminent danger of being discovered by a Sicilian who had been his brother officer, but who had been turned out of the regiment for misconduct; and some of

the Neapolitan conspirators were personally acquainted with Manhes's real aide-de-camp. But with great art and firmness, and an unchanging countenance, he refused to see the Sicilian and the others who were clamorous for admission, alleging the positive orders of his general to be introduced only to a small and select number—to men whose courage and *honour* could be depended upon. He was led away again, promising the speedy landing and assistance of French and Neapolitan troops, and hearing the muttered exultations of the conspirators, who expected to have the English army in the trap. He departed, as he had arrived, in disguise and by night, embarked in an open boat, put out to the mid strait as if making for Reggio, then, tacking for another point of the Sicilian coast, landed again, and proceeded with a strong escort to the office of the British adjutant-general in Messina. Before daylight the next morning the chief conspirators, or the principal agents in the conspiracy —for there were higher names than theirs concerned in the plot—were seized and safely lodged in the citadel. They were fifteen in number, and among them was the Sicilian or Neapolitan town-major of Messina, whose office it was supposed would have afforded great facilities for getting the enemy into the town and completing a bloody plot. These arrests were made on the 2nd of December, 1811; and a few days after (Lord William Bentinck having arrived from England in this interval with the full powers he had demanded) they were brought to their trial before a court-martial composed partly of British and partly of native Sicilian officers. They were all condemned to death, and the nefariousness of their designs seemed to leave little hope of mercy; yet only one of them was executed, the rest being transported to the solitary islands of Ponza, Ventotene, and Favignano, or sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. As soon as the trial was over, the president of the court-martial, before the eyes of the court, burned the list of the conspirators which Monsieur A—— de —— had obtained, and which comprised a much greater number of names than *fifteen*. During the trial, evidence came out of the participation of Queen Carolina in the plot; it was suppressed from prudential motives; but we have been since assured by more than one person who knew all the facts, and who either sat upon the court-martial or saw the letters and the whole body of proof, that this evidence was clear against the infatuated and vindictive queen.*

Several bold political speculators and unscrupulous correctors of abuses and removers of difficulties, who would have created more than they removed (a class of persons in which England has at no time been wanting), had recommended over and over again, and long before this time, that Great Britain should take possession of the whole island and sovereignty of Sicily as her own, and put old Ferdinand on the shelf, providing for him and his court with a moderate pension, instead of allowing them to waste our annual subsidy of 400,000*l.* and the revenue of the island in extravagance and dissipation, or turn all the surplus of that money in counteracting our good policy and plotting against us. One of their arguments was founded on truth: it was perfectly true that the great body of the Sicilians would have preferred being subjects to King George to being subjects to King Ferdinand; but where would have been our truth, where our honour, where the moral force we exercised upon the nations of Europe, where the countenance and confidence with which we set ourselves against Bonaparte's assaults on the liberty and independence of nations and his treachery against weak allies, if we, following the line of conduct recommended by these English politicians, had turned against a helpless king, who, more than once, had been hurried by us into a state of war with France, and if we had usurped dominions—the sad remnant of all that was left of the once rich and flourishing kingdom of the Two Sicilies—into which we had been invited as friends and protectors, and where such fortresses as existed had been put into our hands, with entire confidence on the part of Ferdinand that we would guard and protect him,—that, even if we should not succeed in restoring him to Naples, we would at least leave him to die in peace in Sicily and preserve that island for his children? Nearly four years before any conspiracy or plotting with the French was discovered, or any suspicion had been cast upon Queen Carolina, the odious recommendation at which we have hinted had been published in English books and pamphlets, and eulogised in certain English reviews and newspapers; but the case was in reality not much altered by the discoveries which had been made: although in his indolence he chose to leave so much of the royal authority to be exercised by the queen, Ferdinand, who knew nothing of the plots which had been in progress, who prided himself on being the stanch

* For many of these particulars we are indebted to private information obtained in Sicily, at Naples, and at home. Carlo Botta gives a very garbled account, and Colletta does not deign to notice the subject. The only rational account given in any foreign work is in '*De la Sicile et de ses Rapports avec l'Angleterre à l'Epoque de la Constitution de* 1812, *par un Membre des différens Parlements de la Sicile*,' 8vo. Paris, 1827. And this account is short and imperfect. Though the publication is anonymous, the author is well known. He says (meaning the queen), "An illustrious personage was said to be implicated." He also says, "*Only one* of the conspirators was executed." Some French writers would make it appear that a holocaust of human lives was sacrificed to British fears and vengeance, and that the court-martial was composed solely of English officers. This Sicilian writer distinctly states that the court consisted of Sicilian as well as English officers; and his whole account shows a remarkable leaning towards mercy. Manhes, whose name in Calabria is still synonymous with "butcher"—Manhes, who deluged those two great provinces with blood and then boasted that he had tranquillised them, on finding how dexterously his plots in Sicily had been counterplotted, attempted a diabolical revenge. Four ruffians who were known to have come over from Calabria were well watched by the Messina police, and were at last surprised in bed. But they were dressed and armed, and they made a desperate resistance. One was killed on the spot, two were severely wounded, the fourth escaped, but he was pursued and soon taken. They were convicted as spies, and two of them, being condemned, confessed, as persons whose death was certain and who could hope for pardon only in the other world, that they had been sent from Calabria by Manhes to assassinate an officer in the British army. This declaration was voluntary, and made in the presence of several English general officers, one of the men repeating, as he said, the very words spoken by the French general upon giving his instructions. Another of these ruffians had been engaged to waylay and murder the courier coming from Palermo, in the hope of getting Lord William Bentinck's first dispatches after his arrival from England.

friend of the English, and who was incessantly repeating that his only hope was in them, his only chance of recovering the dominions he had lost in the downfall of Bonaparte, was not, by any law of nations, answerable for the conduct of his wife, or punishable for her insane doings, while every public act of government went in his name, as well as every treaty of alliance; nor, even if Ferdinand had been as guilty or as mad as Carolina, could the British government sit in judgment upon him or award to themselves the forfeiture of a kingdom which belonged to him and his successors, nor could any abdication, renunciation, or surrender be valid without the free consent of the prince royal and the other princes of his family both in the direct and collateral branches. Colour it as we would, any seizure that we might make must pass in the eyes of Europe, and of the whole civilised world, as an act inferior in infamy and treachery only to that by which Bonaparte got his first footing in Spain and kidnapped Ferdinand's brother and nephews. Dear was the price we paid for keeping Sicily out of the clutches of the French; enormous were the abuses we were compelled to witness, and excessive the provocations we received, during our sojourn there; but better all this, and ten times over, than the guilt and opprobrium we should have contracted by seizing upon the island as our own!

But, after all that had come to light in the course of the summer and autumn of 1811, and on the trial of the Messina conspirators, Lord William Bentinck and the government of Mr. Perceval, which had given him such full powers, thought it expedient and imperative to take some measures which should curb the queen and prevent future mischief. The first grand blow was struck by suspending payment of the 400,000*l.* subsidy. The next important step was taken by the Duke of Orleans, at present Louis Philippe, King of the French. This prince, whose life and adventures will form a volume far more extraordinary than those of Bonaparte himself, after a long residence in England, where he had declared himself to be in heart an Englishman, had come out to Sicily two or three years before this period, and had married the princess Maria Amalia, second daughter of Queen Carolina. As well as Prince Leopold, that queen's second son (he who was sighing and dying for iced water, when he went with Sir John Stuart, in 1809, to recover possession of his father's continental dominions), the Duke of Orleans had put himself forward as a proper regent for the Spaniards during the captivity of his loving cousin Ferdinand. Both these Bourbon princes had even gone to the coast of Spain to recommend themselves personally to the Cortes and people, but their pretensions had been completely thwarted, not without some interference or recommendation of the British government to that effect. Prince Leopold was an easy good-natured young man, but more indolent and careless than his father, and without any of his father's shrewdness: it will be understood that these objections did not apply to the Duke of Orleans, but others of a very different and very serious nature. It was dreaded, in fact, that if Orleans were once made regent of Spain he would end by making himself king of that country. In the recent intrigues and proceedings in Sicily the duke is said to have acted so very cautiously, as to have been suspected by both parties, and to have been feared alike by Lord William Bentinck and by the queen. At the decisive moment, however, when the subsidy had been stopped, the clever son of poor Philippe Egalité sided with the English, and joined Bentinck in urging Don Francesco, the hereditary prince, to step forward. Don Francesco, though more studious and better informed, was not worth much more than Don Leopold, being very inactive, fat, and infirm, and of a very ungainly appearance. The hereditary prince, however, did come forward in this dilemma—no money from England, or no farther authority in the hands of the queen. It appears that the prince's conduct was secretly sanctioned by the king, his father, who saw the ruin into which his wife's violence was precipitating him, and who now did just what he repeated in 1820, when his revolted army and the carbonari of Naples called upon him to accept a constitution like that which the Spaniards had then framed—he made a temporary resignation of the kingly functions, and appointed his beloved son and legitimate successor, Don Francesco, his vicar-general of this his kingdom of Sicily, yielding and transferring to him, with the ample title of Alter Ego, the exercise of all the rights, prerogatives, pre-eminencies, and powers, which could have been exercised by himself. A formal and solemn act to this effect was published on January the 16th, 1812.* Thus all power was supposed to be taken from the queen and her evil advisers, one of the worst of whom appears to have been a French emigrant named St. Clair. It had been a hard fight, but at last the English lord had prevailed over the imperial and imperious daughter of Maria Theresa. The patriotic barons and other state prisoners were forthwith liberated, and returned to Palermo amidst the acclamations of their countrymen, and loud expressions of gratitude to the English, their real liberators. The command of the Sicilian troops, whom we had so long paid for, was given to Lord William Bentinck, and measures were taken for rendering the British and Sicilian forces available to the common cause, and for reforming the abuses under which the country groaned. But the evil genius of Queen Carolina seemed to brood over all these transactions like a fatality: the first use made of the disposable troops was the ill-managed Anglo-Sicilian expedition to the eastern coast of

* Ferdinand was, and continued to be, even down to the night of his sudden death, in 1824, one of the heartiest, robustest men in his dominions; but in the preamble to this act he spoke of "being obliged through bodily indisposition, and from the advice of the physicians, to breathe the air of the country, and to withdraw himself from all serious application." *Serious application!* He had been fifty-three years a king, and had never been known to apply seriously to business for a single hour at a time.

Spain; and the system of civil reform and improvement for the long misgoverned island was run up inconsiderately, and without any proper foundation. Lord William Bentinck, with most of his English and several of his Sicilian advisers, deemed that the proper remedy for all evils would be the *making* a constitution as nearly as possible like that of England, which had not been *made*, but which had grown as it were of itself through six centuries *of* time. Like Naples, Sicily had once had a sort of aristocratic constitution or feudal compact, whereby the power of the crown was circumscribed, the rights of the barons were guaranteed, and the amount of subsidies required by the sovereign was left to be voted by the barons, lay and spiritual, who themselves arranged the quota which each was to pay, or which every town or commune was to furnish. But the only real guarantee lay in the sword and spear of the feudal aristocracy, and, in proportion as the military power of the barons decayed, this feudal constitution decayed also; and, as there was not a rapid rise and increase of the wealth and power of the commons, as in England, as no *tiers état* was created, there was no body of the people to grasp a portion of the power which the barons forfeited, and which was thus all absorbed by the crown. This was the case in France, and in nearly all the countries in Europe, and thus it was that a strong oligarchy was almost everywhere followed by absolute monarchy and the despotism of one. In Sicily, indeed, the feudal rights and immunities, which pressed heavily on the people, had been less affected than in Naples, even as that kingdom was when the French took possession of it, but their political power was almost extinct, and the aristocracy rarely met as a deliberative body, and never, correctly speaking, as a legislature. Of late years the Sicilian nobles had indeed met in what was by courtesy called a *parlamento*, or parliament; but this body, in reality, possessed little more political power or influence than the *Sedili* of Naples, under the tyrannical, oppressive, extortionate government of the Spanish viceroys, when the two kingdoms, to their incalculable detriment, were provinces of Spain, and when the nobility and gentry were never called together except to vote and apportion subsidies, the amount of which was fixed beforehand by the court of Madrid or by the resident viceroy. Unluckily, in laying down sword and spear, the Sicilian barons had not taken up books; with a very few exceptions (we believe they might be counted on the fingers of one hand), they were wofully illiterate and ignorant. Natural good parts and shrewdness they had—for the compliment which the witty Marchese di Caraccioli paid to Naples, his own country, may, with at least equal justice, be applied to Sicily—"Fools are not born under these skies;" and they had also a sort of unreasoning patriotism or instinctive love of country, with spirit and courage, when once excited. But the great majority of them were prone to intrigue and cabal, fierce in their jealousies against one another, extravagant, in debt, and consequently ever greedy for money, and not overscrupulous as to the means of obtaining it. Of civilization they knew little, except its vices: Palermo, side by side with the greatest dissipation, luxury, and splendour, exhibited some of the worst features of semi-barbarism. Through this prevailing extravagance it was almost as difficult to find a nobleman out of debt, as to find a well-informed nobleman: the revenues of a few, but only a very few, families were enormous, but it was precisely these families that were deepest in debt. Many other families had nothing else left to boast of but ancient names or titles, and little to live upon beyond what they might obtain from the court; and not a few were *novi homines*, who not only had little or nothing to support their rank, but actually no hereditary or any other legitimate right to the titles they bore. The number of these *titolati* may be conceived when it is understood that every man who would have figured in England as a squire, or a country gentleman, was in Sicily a baron, count, marquis, duke, or prince.* It was, therefore, impossible to choose a peerage merely by titles, and equally impossible to make a selection without creating jealousies and rabid animosities.

Resolving to follow the British constitution as nearly as he thought it possible, Lord William Bentinck, hoping to secure authority to the king and liberty to the people, separated the legislative, executive, and judicial powers; vesting the first in a parliament of two houses composed of Lords and Commons, the second in the king and his responsible ministers, the last in irremovable, independent judges. His constitution set due limits to the royal prerogative, by not permitting the sovereign to take cognizance of bills in progress, or to interfere in any way either with the freedom of debate, or the freedom of election for the Commons. The peerage, as with us, was to be hereditary; and, in order to render it respectable, titles were to be revised and made inalienable and strictly hereditary; and no person was to be elevated to the peerage that was not already in possession of a fief to which a title had belonged, and of an annual income of 6000 *oncie*, or about 3000*l.* sterling at the least. With respect to the commons the qualifications of members for counties or districts (into twenty-three of which Sicily was divided) were fixed at 300 *oncie* per annum; and of members for towns at half that sum; an exception being made in favour of professors of universities, whose learning was to be accepted in lieu of property. The elective franchise or privilege of voting was limited to such as possessed property to the annual amount of 18 *oncie*, or 9*l.* sterling; but some exceptions were made in favour of such as were in life possession of a public office or were masters of guilds or corporations.

* This abuse of titles of honour, the immunity of usurping them, and the facility with which they were given, had been encouraged by the Spanish government in order to weaken and discredit the old aristocracy. There was one Spanish viceroy of Naples that was said to have given three hundred titles in three months!

Unless it were considered that the fewer the number of members of either house the better (and this, perhaps, would not have been an unreasonable principle, at least at the beginning of the experiment), all these qualifications should appear to have been fixed rather too high. There were scarcely a dozen nobles who, together with the other requisites, possessed a clear unincumbered income of 3000*l.*, and few, very few, were the commons or the untitled that possessed 150*l.* per annum. Unfortunately, too, the majority of the most ancient and noble families who had been *pari*, or peers, under the Norman, Angevin, and Aragonese dynasties, were sunk into poverty. But the pride of these men remained, and so to a very considerable degree did the popular reverence for ancient names and lineages; and these feelings could not but be outraged by the distinctions, with regard to money, which were adopted in this constitution, and by seeing comparatively new men placed over the heads of the old, on account of the accidental possession of a larger revenue. The right of originating every tax was, after the modern practice in England, left to the Commons; but this was very distasteful to the nobles, who had been accustomed to vote the subsidies and who hitherto enjoyed an exemption from many taxes. Perhaps one little incident will perfectly explain what was to be expected from this Sicilian House of Peers. They were, as we have said, nearly all in debt; they had acquired some vague idea of the law which exempts a British member of either House of parliament from personal arrest; but, not quite understanding this arrangement, or thinking it might be improved, almost the first thing they did, when they assembled as a branch of the legislature, was to propose a law that no Sicilian peer should in any way be pursued for his debts![*] But the least promising circumstance of all was the total ignorance and indifference of the great body of the Sicilian people as to this or any other form of government. At first—like their neighbours the Neapolitans a few years later—they thought that *Costituzione* meant "no taxes and cheaper bread," and that it must therefore be a fine thing; but, when they found that they must pay taxes as before, their feeling for it was rather worse than indifference. Such, however, as it was, or such as the unpromising circumstances of the country were, this Sicilian constitution was drawn up and sworn to in the course of 1812, and it came into operation early in 1813.

It is a sad dilemma:—if people are left to groan and degenerate under a despotism and in a state of ignorance, they can hardly fit themselves for the condition of free subjects; and, if they are suddenly, by adventitious circumstances and an extraneous force, raised to the condition of freemen, without enlightenment, without experience, they are sure to abuse and eventually to lose the advantages which they had not obtained for themselves, but which had been conferred upon them. A wise and generous tutorage on the part of England, and a determination to support the experiment by those who had the power to support it, and a series of years of trial and experience, might, with so clever a people, have removed all difficulties, and have established a system truly beneficial to the beautiful country. But our tutorage and support were withdrawn within little more than two years; no adequate security was taken, or probably could have been taken, against the despotic inclinations of the Bourbon princes, and as soon as we had restored them to their continental dominions, and had withdrawn our army from Sicily (King Ferdinand having resumed the sovereign authority, which he had only delegated for a time to his son Francesco), Lord William Bentinck's Sicilian constitution was put down and extinguished for ever by a decree published in the court newspaper—a decree which wanted not only the graces of rhetoric, but the common proprieties of grammar.*

Queen Carolina could not cease from troubling and be at rest. The whole plan of this constitution was odious to her: it revived in her darkened mind the maddening recollections of the French revolution and the fate of her sister, and she was constantly muttering to herself that she felt the edge of the guillotine-knife over her own neck. The king, after making over his authority to the hereditary prince, retired to a delightful country-house a few miles from Palermo, and amused himself as before with shooting, fishing, and planting trees. The queen would have remained in the capital, but, being detected in fresh intrigues, and having more than once nearly succeeded in exciting a popular commotion against the English and their adherents, she was *requested* to retire to Castel-Vetrano, an old hill-town in the interior of the island. But, instead of being quiet, she became more dangerous here than she had been in Palermo, collecting around her lawless or fanatic bands, raising a cry against English heresy—a cry not without danger among so superstitious a people,—and still corresponding, or being shrewdly suspected of corresponding, with the French and others in Calabria and at Naples. At last it was determined to send her out of the island altogether and convey her to Vienna. There was no difficulty in obtaining the concurrence of the old king or his son the prince regent, or vicar-general; but long and arduous was the task to induce her to go quietly.† Finally, however, in the beginning of

* This, however, was no more than the claim formerly maintained by both Houses of our own legislature, and not entirely abandoned till some years after the accession of George III. See Pict. Hist. of Eng. iv. 667.

* Giornale delle Due Sicilie.

† After many other persons had failed, this difficult and delicate task was undertaken, at Lord William Bentinck's earnest request, by the late General Sir Robert Mac Farlane, who was for a considerable time second in command in Sicily. It was not very willingly that the general went upon the mission, which must inevitably be attended with painful scenes and circumstances: but he had enjoyed more than any British officer then on the island the friendship both of the king and queen, and it was thought that he was the only person that had a chance of succeeding in the business.

On approaching the place of Carolina's retirement or relegation, the general left his escort of dragoons behind him at a village and proceeded to Castel-Vetrano, attended only by an aide de-camp and

the summer of 1813, the queen with her favourite son Don Leopold and a small retinue embarked on board an English man-of-war, and left Sicily for ever. To reach Vienna was no easy matter, and, by a direct route, an impossibility. At first she proceeded to Sardinia, where she found a court poorer, but honester, than the one she had had at Palermo. From Sardinia she proceeded to Zante, and then an English frigate conveyed her, her son, and suite to Constantinople, whence they travelled, in a very roundabout, fatiguing way, to the capital of the Austrian empire. Carolina died at Vienna in September, 1814, when the husband of her niece was an exile in the island of Elba, but several months before the restoration of her husband and family to Naples.

In the course of the year 1812 one of the seas which bathe the coasts of the Italian peninsula witnessed a remarkable naval combat, and one very honourable to the native courage of Italian seamen. Great efforts had been made by Bonaparte and his Italian government to render Venice an important naval depôt. Many small vessels of war had been built there by Venetian workmen, and on the 6th of September, 1810, a fine, 74-gun ship, the 'Rivoli,' was launched at the arsenal of Malamocca, about five miles from the city of Venice. A picked crew, mostly Italians and Dalmatians, and several Venetian officers of tried skill and courage, were put on board this ship, but the captain was a Frenchman. The 'Rivoli' put to sea for the first time in February, 1812, but it was only to fall into the hands of the English. On the 21st, only two or three days after leaving port, she was descried by Captain John Talbot, of the 'Victorious,' 74; who was accompanied by the 18-gun brig 'Weazle,' Captain J. W. Andrew. The 'Rivoli' on her side was accompanied by two 16-gun brigs, one 8-gun brig, and two gun-boats, and the French commodore was carrying sail and steering in line of battle for the port of Pola in Istria. The 'Victorious' and the 'Weazle' were presently under all sail in chase, and soon began to gain upon the enemy's squadron. It was, however, between the night and morning of the 22nd before the action began. The 'Weazle' overtook one of the 16-gun brigs, and engaged her within half-pistol-shot distance for about twenty minutes. Then the second of the 16-gun brigs closed upon the 'Weazle;' but, Captain Andrew continuing his close and well-directed fire upon the first brig, she took fire and blew up. The 'Weazle' immediately put out boats to save the lives of her brave foes, but, owing to the darkness, she succeeded in saving only three men, and those three sadly wounded and bruised. After this catastrophe the two other brigs made off, and soon disappeared. As day broke, however, the 'Weazle,' having repaired her much-damaged rigging, and given pursuit, regained sight of the two brigs, and renewed the chase, aiding herself with sweeps on account of the lightness of the breeze. In the meanwhile, the 'Victorious,' 74, arriving within half-pistol-shot, had opened her

an orderly. The old feudal castle which the queen occupied stood behind the town on the top of a steep hill, partially covered with trees and dense thickets of myrtle. As they rode up the spur of the hill, the aide-de-camp cried out, "General, see! There have been bivouac fires here! There *are* certainly troops hereabout." The general looked, and saw right and left of the rough road or path ashes and smouldering embers in several separate heaps—a pretty sure indication that some persons had been bivouacking among the trees. The sight was unpleasant, and that which presently followed was more so. About a dozen ruffianly-looking fellows, whose numbers soon increased to two or three score, showed their high sugar-loaf hats, their grim countenances, and their long-barrelled muskets across the narrow road and above the hedges on either side of it; and two or three of them even levelled their muskets, with terrible oaths that the English had no business there, and that they should not get at the queen. It was easy for a practised eye to discover that these men were a mixture of Sicilian and Calabrian partizans, fellows capable of any daring extremity when excited by loyalty or by fanaticism. It required presence of mind, address, and good arguments to pacify them and win a way through them; but in this the general and his aide-de-camp succeeded, chiefly through telling them that they were Queen Carolina's friends and were carrying an order for money to her. The general found fresh obstacles at the gates of the castle, but the queen upon hearing his name ordered that he should be admitted. The old castle was half in ruins, the servants within seemed half-starved, everything wore the appearance of poverty, misery, and dejection. But the proud daughter of Maria Theresa rallied her spirits and received her English visitor with state and dignity. She asked him what brought him to that barbarous place—said it could hardly be to offer any new outrage, as in that case the British government would have chosen a different and less honourable agent. When the general cautiously and reluctantly opened his commission she flew into a towering fury, and spoke loud and rapidly until her breath and strength were exhausted. She accused Lord William Bentinck of provoking an unnatural family war, of setting up the son against the father, of driving the wife from the husband, of usurping the sovereignty of Sicily, of treating the king like a child, and herself like a common criminal. "Is it for this," said she, "that I have escaped the Jacobin guillotine, and plots, conspiracies, and treasons at Naples? Is it for this that I helped your Nelson to conquer at the Nile? Is it for this that I brought your army into this island? General! Is this your English good faith? *Est-ce que c'est cela votre loyauté Anglaise?*"

When the storm had spent itself in its own fury, and when the general with all possible delicacy made use of arguments to show that she would now be much happier among her own family at Vienna than she could hope to be in Sicily; that nothing but mischief could come of her attempting to stay, she rushed out of the room, screaming rather than saying, "I will never go! Never! I am queen here!" The general then addressed himself to some of the few courtiers and dames of honour who had followed her to this Patmos, and particularly to the Neapolitan Principessa di....., who had adhered to her in all her changes of fortune, and who was devotedly attached to her without partaking in any of her insane notions. He told them, with much less ceremony than he had told her majesty, that the queen *must* go,—that the king and her son, the hereditary prince, both wished it,—that there was in all parties an anxious desire to show respect to her majesty, but that nothing could change their resolution, and that any attempt at resistance could occasion only a scandalous scene, with the loss, perhaps, of a few lives. But the argument of the most weight was this: General Mac Farlane assured them that, if her majesty would but consent to go quietly, there was ready for her a good supply of hard Spanish dollars, which would enable her to pay, in part, her private debts and the arrears of her household, and that more money would be furnished as soon as her majesty embarked. The poor courtiers, who had scarcely seen a dollar for months, and who had scarcely bread to eat, were soothed and charmed by this perspective, and the Principessa di..... felt the cogency of the other arguments. They withdrew to make their representations and prayers to Carolina. In the evening the queen saw the general again; and then, with a solemn protest that she yielded only to force and her desire to avoid bloodshed, she consented to quit the island. But in settling the arrangements for her departure she started other difficulties, and declared more than once, in an agony of passion, that she would not be transported thus from the dominions of her husband,—that, if Lord William Bentinck would remove her, he must first kill her and her few but brave defenders. All this, however, was but the last flash of the thunder-cloud. Before the general left her, his temper, and kindness, and respect, the representations of all those about her, and her own conviction that resistance was indeed hopeless, induced her to give both a verbal and written consent to depart immediately, or as soon as a British man-of-war should be ready to receive her with her son Leopold and suite. The Sicilian and Calabrian partizans who mounted her red cockade, and the old motto of "*Viva la Santa Fede*," wept like children upon being told that the queen was going to leave them.

Carolina's agitated life was closed by an uneasy death. To the Principessa di....., who was with her in her last days at Vienna, and continued her attendance to her last moment, she said that she was troubled by visions of the past and by loud voices speaking to her in her sleep; that she heard, all night long, many angry voices calling upon her to follow; and that, even by daylight, she saw many hands beckoning through the curtains of her bed, while invisible voices whispered "Hist! hist! Carolina, hist!"

Within fifty days after receiving intelligence of her death the king her husband satisfied his own conscience and *the conscience of* a mistress (the widow of a Sicilian nobleman) by going through the ceremony and compromise of what is called a left-handed marriage.

starboard guns upon the 'Rivoli,' who returned the fire from her larboard broadside, but kept her sail up and stood away for shore, making for the Gulf of Trieste. But Talbot kept close to his foe, and a furious engagement ensued between the two line-of-battle ships, interrupted only when the fog or the smoke, for a few minutes at a time, hid them from each other's view. Early in the action Captain Talbot received a contusion from a splinter, which nearly deprived him of his sight. The command of the ship devolved upon Lieutenant Thomas Ladd Peake, who emulated the conduct and bravery of his wounded chief. After three hours' close fighting, the 'Rivoli' had become unmanageable, and could make use of only two quarter-deck guns. Lieutenant Peake, by signal, now recalled the 'Weazle' from her pursuit of the two brigs, in order to have her assistance, in case either of the 74s should get aground, for the 'Victorious' herself was in a disabled state, and both ships were getting into shallow water, and close to the shore. The 'Weazle' coming up stood across the bows of the 'Rivoli,' poured in her broadside when within musket-shot distance, weared or tacked as necessary, and twice repeated this fire; the 'Victorious' all the while maintaining her cannonade. About half an hour after the 'Weazle' had come up, the 'Victorious' shot away the 'Rivoli's' mizen-mast; and in another quarter of an hour the 'Rivoli' fired a lee gun, and hailed the 'Victorious' that she had struck. It was long since any ship under French colours had fought so well; the battle between the two 74s had lasted nearly four hours and a half, and all the time at the closest quarters: out of a crew of about 850 men the 'Rivoli' lost 400 in killed and wounded, including her second captain and nearly all her officers; in addition to her mizen-mast being shot away, her fore and main masts were so badly wounded that they fell over her sides a few days after the action, and her hull was dreadfully shattered. The 'Victorious' counted 27 killed and 99 wounded; her rigging was cut to pieces, her gaff and spanker-boom shot away, her three top-masts and main-mast badly wounded, her boats all destroyed, except a small punt, and her hull struck in several places. The little 'Weazle' had the extraordinary good fortune not to have a man hurt.*

In this same sea (the narrow and difficult Adriatic), and in the Ionian and the Tyrrhenian seas, there were many gallant in-shore affairs, attacks upon convoys, gun-boats, French batteries, &c.; and Lissa, the scene of Captain Hoste's exploit in 1811, witnessed another severe action between three English frigates, and three French frigates, that were accompanied by other craft, the result being the capture of a French 44-gun frigate and of a 26-gun vessel, fitted out as a store ship. Nor were there wanting affairs of light squadrons and single ships in other parts of the world, on the French and Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Norway in the Northern Ocean, and—in another hemisphere—on the coasts both of North and South America, and among the islands which stud the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Seas; and all the while incessant operations were carrying on by fleets and squadrons in the East Indies and among the great islands of the Indian Ocean. Everywhere victory was steady to our flag, save only in our new contest with the United States of America, in which, through a deplorable mismanagement of means, some dirt was thrown upon our national standard. To this American war we must now direct our attention.

Ever since their fortunate issue from a struggle (their war of independence) which had long seemed so hopeless, and which was in fact nearly as hopeless as ever, when the government of Lord North, dismayed by Lord Cornwallis's surrender, and still more by the strong array of the British opposition, consented to negotiate and to give them all they asked, our American brethren had shown a confidence, a vanity and presumption, very distasteful to all Englishmen who loved their country, and very irritating to all of them who did not despise the display. If there was a brotherhood between us, it had become a brotherhood of Cain. Our descendants, whose population was constantly fed by fresh emigrants and adventurers from the mother country, and whose wastes were partially filled and tilled by these emigrants,—the citizens of the United States, who had no language, no literature, no venerable tradition, no fame as a people, except such as they inherited from Old England, and shared with Englishmen, persisted in the rancorous hatred which had accompanied the war, were the first and foremost to traduce the name of England, to libel the genial cradle from which they sprung, to heap abuse not only upon our national policy and form of government, but generally upon our national character. The French Jacobins themselves did not speak more contemptuously of us as an enslaved king-ridden and priest-ridden people, than did these Anglo-American republicans; nor did Bonaparte himself ever throw more disgusting personalities into a public and a national quarrel. These feelings of animosity, which ought not to have been expected from the party which had been successful in the contest, could not fail of provoking an angry and unwholesome reciprocity from some portions of the English people; but we have the facts confessed, and publicly avowed by more than one of the leaders of the American revolution, who came over to this country after the peace of 1783, to negotiate treaties of commerce, &c., that the British government was desirous and anxious to throw a veil over the past; that, so far from wishing to recover the dominions it had lost, our government, together with the great majority of the nation, were of opinion that those dominions ought not to be accepted even if the Americans were disposed to make a voluntary surrender of them, or to return to their ancient allegiance; that henceforward the two countries

* James, Naval Hist.—Captain Talbot's Dispatch, in Gazette.

would do best apart; that by establishing relations of amity, trade, and commerce, there might be a mutual interchange of advantages; that the most earnest desire of England was to preserve peace, and to give conciliation a fair trial.*

While this was the feeling of successive British ministries and of the great majority of the nation, there was a minority of the people of England, comprising most of the Whig opposition, who professed to rejoice that the Americans had succeeded, and that we had been humbled and defeated in their revolutionary war; who made themselves on all occasions the panegyrists of the tyro-republicans and their newly-created institutions, and who kept pointing to the meteor which had risen in the western world as to a glorious luminary which must shed beneficent light and warmth upon all the countries of the globe, and eventually count many of those countries as its satellites, or as imitative bodies revolving round it and copying its bright example. Civil and religious liberty, according to this minority, had fled from all the antiquated countries of Europe, and was fast flying from the shores of Britain, to seek a shelter beyond the western waves, and to find a home among the primeval forests of North America. For many years the United States were, to the busiest and most emphatic of our writers, more than an Atlantis or a Utopia. Even men of less ardent fancies and of less revolutionary tendencies were interested in watching the working and result of the greatest political experiment made in modern times, and wished that the American system of republicanism should be allowed a fair trial. The reaction came afterwards—long afterwards—but from about the year 1780 to 1790, when the progress of the French revolution distracted and then absorbed attention, all the countries of Europe joined in fostering the self-conceit of the Anglo-Americans. Little was heard but praises, more or less extravagant, of transatlantic virtue, *straightforwardness*, and *simplicity*. The French made an apotheosis for Franklin even while he was living in the flesh among them, and frequenting their *petits soupers*, and their *soirées*, literary, scientific, political, and fashionable, in his plain bob-wig and shoes without buckles. A saying often used by Bonaparte at a later period might have been reversed at this time—*Cette jeune Amérique m'ennuie!*

The citizens of the United States paid the French back in admiration and praises when they overset the kingly government and built up a republic on a foundation of blood and dirt. Feasts were given in the States to commemorate the execution of Louis XVI., who had been their benefactor, and who had hurried on his own destruction by interfering in their quarrel, and by sending his subjects to study in their school. It was, however, not unnatural that a republic should sympathise with a republic, or that the American republicans should seek to draw more closely the ties of friendship with the French when in their republicanized condition: but what seemed to be less in the nature of things was their transferring their affection and reverence from the overthrown French experimentalists to Napoleon Bonaparte, who had cut up that republic and trampled upon many others, who railed against all republican forms of government as selfish, corrupt, slavish, and anarchic. There was, however, such a transference of affection, nor does it appear to us the less strange from its having had a parallel among the ultra-liberal Whigs and sucking republicans of our own country. In their newspapers and books the Americans ran into ecstasies at every victory obtained by Bonaparte; and in those swarming popular conventicles where preachers most preached through the nose and most interfered with, or pretended to interpret, the mysterious ways of Providence, the great Corsican soldier and conqueror was almost invariably represented as the Man of Destiny, appointed to humble the pride of kings and scatter their armed hosts, to regenerate the nations of the old world, and especially to humble the monarchy and aristocracy of Great Britain, and deprive her of the sovereignty of the seas and of every other pre-eminence. Words and texts of Scripture were applied to the new Darius or new Alexander; prophecies were twisted and tortured to make them fit Napoleon Bonaparte and the actual condition of mankind. Opposed to this *French* party, which would be French, let what changes there might take place in France, there was what was called the English party, who would have retained as much as was possible of the institutions and spirit of the mother country, and have looked to England as the best and most natural connexion; who detested the French revolution in nearly all its phases, and who considered Bonaparte as the oppressor of Europe, the sworn foe of liberty, the most remorseless conqueror, and the most insatiate, that the modern world had seen; but this English party, which consisted solely of the superior classes, the wealthier or those most respectable from birth and education, was never very strong, and, after the retirement of Washington from the presidency in 1796, it was overshadowed and oppressed by the French party, and could seldom make its calm reasoning voice heard in the loud roar of the illimitable democracy, and the perennial tempest kept up by incessant elections and universal suffrage. Washington himself, who had vainly attempted to set some limits to democracy, was compelled to confess, with many a sigh, that he could not conceive that America could exist long as a nation without having lodged somewhere a coercive or restrictive power which should pervade the whole Union; that congresses alone would never do; that, when once the spirit of revolution and change begins to act among a people, it is impossible to say where it will stop; that those men who had made the American constitution and formed the confedera-

* This, and a good deal more, is admitted by John Jay in his Correspondence from England with General Washington.

tion had probably had too good an opinion of human nature.

The United States had submitted to numerous insults both from republican and from imperial France, if not without murmurs, yet without any very spirited retaliation. Their French sympathies and predilections made them shrink from the horrors of war whenever France was concerned: it was only a war against England, the country of their forefathers, that was reconcilable to the delicacy of their conscience. The Girondists and Jacobins successively attempted to bully them into an alliance offensive and defensive with France; and, but for the wisdom and moderation of Washington and his party, who succeeded in carrying the resolution that America would remain neutral in that almost universal war, the stripes and stars would have been found in alliance with the *bonnet rouge*. Some of the federated states seemed determined not to be bound by this declaration, and not to be prevented by any act of the central government from *sympathising* with the French republicans. When the Jacobin Genet arrived as ambassador of the République Française he was received by the people with the most extravagant transports of joy. Before proceeding to the seat of the central government,* Genet settled himself for a time at Charleston, in South Carolina, a port whose contiguity to the West Indies would give it peculiar convenience as a resort for privateers against the English trade, and serve as an excellent basis for a system of operations which he had brought out with him. He was received by the governor of that state and by its citizens with an enthusiasm which went to dissipate every doubt he might have previously entertained concerning the disposition of the Americans. He was allowed to fit out and arm vessels in that port, to enlist men, and give commissions and letters of marque to cruize and commit hostilities on Great Britain and her allies, *i. e.* on nations with whom the United States were at peace. The captures made by these cruizers were brought into Charleston port and into some other ports, and the French consuls or commercial agents assumed, under the authority of their ambassador M. Genet, to hold courts of admiralty on them, to try them, condemn them, and authorise their sale.†

On reaching Philadelphia Genet received enthusiastic addresses of congratulation from particular political societies, and from the citizens as a body, who expressed a positive conviction that the safety of the United States must depend upon the firm establishment of the French republic and its triumph over the nations of Europe. In the meanwhile Mr. Hammond, the resident British minister, complained to the American executive of the strange proceedings permitted at Charleston.‡ The prizes so unwarrantably made being within the power of the American government, Mr. Hammond, among other things, demanded from that government the immediate restitution of them. The American cabinet agreed, unanimously, that Genet, by his unprecedented conduct at Charleston, had infringed

* Even when he went to the seat of government, before his introduction to the president and government to which he was accredited, Genet received and answered several addresses from the political societies and private citizens of Philadelphia! This was contrary to all rules of diplomacy—contrary not only to etiquette, but to decency; an outrageous insult to the president of the republic. But, as well in the original appointment as in all the subsequent proceedings of this *ame perdue* of Jacobinism, all the rules observed by civilised nations in their diplomatic intercourse were set at defiance. His appointment was never notified or announced to the resident American ambassador at Paris, nor was a syllable ever mentioned to that American functionary either of M. Genet's mission or of his errand. This irregularity, coupled with the more flagrant irregularities which preceded his introduction to the president, would fully have justified Washington in refusing to receive him or to look at his credentials. Gouverneur Morris, who felt the slight put upon him, said in a letter to Washington, "Perhaps this ministry think it is a trait of republicanism to omit those forms which were anciently used to express good-will." This was the fact, and Genet afterwards took care to elucidate it practically in the States. In his correspondence with the American secretary of state he is continually urging that all ceremonies must be dispensed with as unworthy of two republican nations; and that a new species of diplomacy must be formed more consistent with republican virtue, simplicity, and dignity. "Let us not," he writes to Jefferson, "lower ourselves to the level of ancient politics by diplomatic subtleties." And whenever Jefferson quoted Vatel, or spoke of the opinions of the president and executive, the Frenchman threatened him with an appeal to the plain good sense and magnanimity of the American people.

Gouverneur Morris tells us something about the preceding history of this very promising young diplomatist. M. Genet was a friend of citizen Thomas Paine. He was brother to Queen Marie Antoinette's first woman, and hence his fortune and rise in the world originated. Through the queen's influence he had been appointed *chargé d'affaires* at Petersburg. During the earlier stages of the revolution in France, while M. Montmorin held the portfolio of foreign affairs, he quarrelled with and insulted that minister, and wrote petulant and very revolutionary dispatches, which were left unanswered and unopened at Paris. This hurt the young man's pride, and made him still more revolutionary. But, as success was yet doubtful, he held to the belief that, if the royal party should prevail, his sister would easily make fair weather for him at court. When, however, the doubt was over, and the monarchy was overturned, his letters and dispatches to Montmorin were so many credentials in his favour to the new republican government, and their dearth of men opened his way to whatever he might wish in diplomacy.

He had the more means of being dangerous in America by working upon that turbulent democracy, as he both spoke and wrote the English language with great readiness.

* Judge Marshal, Life of George Washington, second edition, Philadelphia, 1832.

† Still further ground was given for these complaints by the commission of actual hostilities within the territory of the United States. An English merchant-vessel which had been cleared out from Philadelphia was captured by a French frigate within the capes of the Delaware.—*Id. id.*

Gouverneur Morris, the American ambassador at Paris, wrote to his friends at home—"I am informed, in a way that precludes doubt, that the executive council here (*those pure moralists the Girondists were in power at this time*) sent out by M. Genet three hundred blank commissions for privateers, to be given *clandestinely* to such persons as he might find in America inclined to take them. They suppose that the avidity of some adventurers may lead them into measures which would involve altercations with Great Britain, and terminate finally in a war. This appears to me, waiving all question of *honesty*, no very sound measure, politically speaking, since they may, as a nation, *desire greater advantages from our neutrality than from our alliance*.

"But, whatever light it may be viewed in as to the French, *it is, in respect to us, a detestable project!*"

This honest republican recommended that such privateering adventurers should be treated as pirates; that all American citizens should be prevented from engaging in a predatory war contrary to the wishes of their government; that the president should by proclamation enjoin the observance of a strict neutrality, declaring that all those seamen who contravened it should be at the mercy of the party by whom they might be taken, and not entitled to the protection of the United States. "As," said he, "there is nothing more destructive to morals than the spirit of *gambling*, especially when *murder* is placed among the means of gaining the property of others, and as the security and happiness of the United States depend so essentially on the *morals* of their citizens, I feel a more than usual solicitude to prevent a practice inconsistent with all good principles."—*Letter to Thomas Pinckney, dated March the 2nd, 1793, in Life of Gouverneur Morris, by Jared Sparks; Boston, 1832.*

Morris particularly requested Pinckney to communicate this letter to the secretary-of-state (Jefferson) as soon as might be.

Morris was not the man to agree with the rabid democracy of Jefferson. They differed *in toto* in their views of the French revolution. It should seem that private coldness and alienation influenced Jefferson's public conduct in this respect, for in the private letter above quoted we find Morris (ambassador at Paris, and much perplexed by the Parisian madness) complaining that he has no news from America, &c. "Our secretary-of-state," he says, "seems much attached to brevity, and reminds me of an axiom of his predecessor, that least said is soonest mended."

the law of nations; that, the jurisdiction of every independent nation within the limits of its own territory being of a nature to exclude the exercise of any authority therein by a foreign power, the proceedings of which the British minister complained were usurpations of national sovereignty and violations of neutral rights, the repetition of which it was the duty of the American government to prevent. But, upon the question of restitution—or whether the United States were or were not bound to give back the English ships which had been captured, carried into Charleston, and there condemned by Genet's consuls, and bought by American subjects—there was a great difference of opinion in the cabinet; the secretary of state and attorney-general contending that the vessels which had been captured on the high seas, and brought into the United States, by privateers fitted out and commissioned in their ports, ought not to be restored; and the secretaries of the treasury and of war being of opinion that in honour and justice, by every international law and by every law that regulated neutrality, the States ought to make restitution. Washington, who was at this time president, took time to deliberate on the point upon which the cabinet was divided: he could not have a doubt himself as an honest man that every part of the precious system set up by Genet at Charleston was illegal, or that immediate restitution ought be made; but his authority was very limited, and he appears to have shrunk from taking upon himself the responsibility of a measure which must have been very unpopular, seeing that most of the captors, as well as all the purchasers of the English ships and goods were native Americans—free citizens of the moral, model republic. Washington, however, lost no time in communicating to the French ambassador the unanimous sentiment of the cabinet with respect to his usurpation of national sovereignty and violation of neutral rights. The citizen Genet was furious at this decision: he assailed the president, the executive and the whole central government in very intemperate and unmannerly language, quoting the treaties of former days by which America was connected with France, claiming for his own country all that the two nations were restricted from conceding to other countries, thus converting negative limitations into an affirmative grant of privileges to France, and, in short, insisting that the French republicans might do as they chose in the seaports of America. Without resenting the indecorum of his language, Washington replied to Genet that the subject had been reconsidered by the executive, but that no cause was perceived for changing the opinions which had been adopted; and to this was added that, in the *opinion of the president*, the United States owed it to themselves, and to the nations in their friendship, to *expect*, as a reparation for the offence of infringing their sovereignty, that the privateers thus illegally equipped would depart from their ports. Upon this, citizen Genet committed one of the greatest of outrages—an outrage not the less monstrous from the frequency of its practice under all the revolutionary governments of France, from Brissot and Robespierre down to Barras and Bonaparte—he appealed from the president and executive of the United States to congress, and the sense of the American subjects, most insolently and indecently stating that Washington and the cabinet were proposing measures and infractions of treaties, which no power in the nation had a right to enforce, unless the citizens of the United States in congress assembled should determine that their solemn engagements were not binding. Never had Washington, when a colonel of colonial militia, and member of a provincial assembly, suffered an insult half so bad as this from any British governor or other servant of the British government. But he was obliged to digest the affront as best he could, for the American democracy were all labouring under a Gallomania. Brother Jonathan too expected to drive a very profitable trade by privateering or buccaneering among the West India islands, with which he was so well acquainted, under the tricolor flag of France. By what appeared the majority Genet was exhorted not to relax in his endeavours to maintain his Charlestown system of privateering—or, as they delicately phrased it, to "maintain the just rights of the French republic;" and he was assured, by newspapers and by political societies, that he would find a firm and certain support in the warm affections of the American people. It was loudly and more loudly proclaimed, through the medium of these journals, and in these political clubs—and journals and clubs seemed to be assuming in America, as well as in France, the whole power of government—that the French people had rendered services to the free citizens of the States which ought never to be forgotten; that the slavish English, working for fools and tyrants, had inflicted injuries which ought never to be forgiven; that there was a natural hostility between monarchies and republics; that the European coalition of kings against France was a combination against liberty in every part of the world, and that the destinies of America were inseparably linked with those of the young and vigorous French republic.

Notwithstanding his too great anxiety in that particular, it may be questioned whether King George III. was ever half so much disquieted by corresponding societies and political clubs as was citizen-president George Washington. In America their name was Legion, and they took a still more wonderful growth and increase under the benign influence of M. Genet and the indoctrinated French Jacobins he brought with him. It was the voice of these societies that first encouraged Genet to persevere in his projects and to treat with contempt the aged president of the United States, the father and champion of that American liberty. They fraternised with him and he with them. They gave civic festivals to him and the gentlemen of his legation, who were all so many propagandists; and at these festivals the tricolor flag

was entwined lovingly with the stripes and stars, the blood-red worsted nightcap—the well-suiting symbol of French liberty, equality, and fraternity—was passed from head to head, the Marseillese hymn was sung and the Ça Ira, confusion was drunk to all kings and crowned heads; and other toasts and sentiments, for which we may refer the reader to our account of the Parisian Jacobins, were repeated at New York, Philadelphia, and other cities of the Union. Some of these societies laid a claim to the national gratitude and reverence, from having led the way in the revolution and the war of independence; and others had risen since, not to curb the kingly tyranny, which was no more, but to watch, report upon, and dictate to the native republican government. At one time a society, calling itself the German Republican Society, seemed to be as perfect an instrument as could be desired for the production of faction, discontent, and confusion; but it afterwards appeared that the Americans had something to learn in this way from the great anarchs of the world. As if to complete this education, soon after the arrival of citizen Genet, a democratic society, on the model of the Jacobin club in Paris, was formed in Philadelphia. The double system of correspondence and affiliation was engrafted upon this Philadelphian Jacobin club. They had not to seek for motives to assign for their association, nor had they to seek for phrases and logic; they had nothing to do but to translate from the French. Hence their manifestos, resolutions, and by-laws were but a repetition in another language of what had been said and done by the *Société Mère;* hence they professed to be bound together by a generous hatred of all tyranny, inequality, pomp, and power, save only the power of the people, by the love of virtue and liberty, and by an ardent thirst after knowledge and political wisdom. Faithful to their real founder, Genet, these Jacobin societies continued to be, as long as they existed, the resolute champions of all the encroachments attempted by the French on the government of the United States, and the steady defamers of the views and measures of the American executive.*

In pursuance of the determination formed by the American cabinet to stop the Charlestown proceedings and prosecute such persons as offended the laws in that respect, two citizen-sailors of the United States, who had been engaged by Genet in Charlestown to cruize and privateer in the service of France, were arrested by the civil magistrate. The Jacobin ambassador immediately demanded the liberation of these men, citizens Gideon Henfield and John Singletary, whom he described as "two officers in the service of the republic of France, arrested on board a privateer of the French republic." "The crime," said he, "laid to their charge—a crime which my mind cannot conceive, and which my pen almost refuses to state,—is the serving of France, and defending, with the children of France, the common glorious cause of liberty! . . . . They have acquired, by the sentiments animating them, and by the act of their engaging in the privateer service, anterior to any act or law to the contrary, *the right of French citizens, if they have lost that of American citizens.*" At subsequent periods the American government carried out this Jacobin practice with regard to English seamen, and deserters and other English subjects who entered their service were declared to be American citizens, and were employed against their own king and country; and they attempted to justify and to establish Genet's principle, that a man by taking service under a foreign flag became the subject of that state, and was, by the act, freed from his allegiance to his native country: but at present, and with its direct application to their own people, Genet's doctrine was very unpalatable to the American executive. The executive refused to liberate the two Charlestown adventurers, but, instead of resenting conduct which no government can bear without incurring contempt—instead of applying to the French government for the recall of this firebrand of an ambassador, or turning Genet at once out of the States—they wrote to him a very mild, if not humble, letter. And still the American press hallooed with the Jacobin diplomatist. Was it natural, was it a thing to be borne, that American citizens should be prevented from assisting French citizens, their friends and allies, who were fighting for republicanism and the rights of man? What was the meaning of this neutrality which the aristocratic executive had proclaimed? Was there to be no difference made between friends and foes, between monarchists and republicans? Was neither gratitude nor resentment to constitute a feature of the American character? Were the free people of America to be alike friendly to republicanism and to monarchy, to liberty like the French and to despotism like the English?

Pleading private business of a very particular kind, Washington retired for a time, and in very evident vexation, to his estate at Mount Vernon. While he was there another strange transaction took place within the capes of the Delaware; the 'Little Sarah,' another English merchantman which had been captured by a French frigate, was carried up to Philadelphia; there she was completely equipped as a privateer, was Frenchified and Jacobinised by the name of 'Le Petit Democrat,' and was just about to sail on a cruise, with American seamen on board, when the secretary of the treasury communicated the facts to the secretaries of state and of war, who forthwith ordered Governor Mifflin to stop the vessel and institute an inquiry. Dreading to give offence to the representative of the sovereign people of France, the governor of Philadelphia—the Athens of Quakers—entreated M. Genet to relieve him from the painful necessity of employing force, by detaining the said 'Little Democrat' in port, until the arrival of President Washington, who was coming down from Mount Vernon and would soon be on the spot.

* Judge Marshall, Life of Washington.

Genet, who felt his strength and the weakness of the American executive, who knew the manner of men he was dealing with, and who was emboldened by their spiritless submission to many previous insults, flew into a transport of rage, browbeat Governor Mifflin's secretary for delivering him such a message, heaped opprobious epithets on some of the officers of the central government, and contrasted their conduct with the cordial attachment which was expressed by the American people at large for his great and free nation. President Washington, he said, had been misled by some of these officers, who were men of aristocratic principles, pupils of the English school, enemies to liberty and equality and the blessed rights of man, which the illustrious cosmopolite Thomas Paine, who once prided himself in his title of American citizen, had assisted the philosophers and regenerators of France in proclaiming to all the nations of the earth. But Washington must remember that he was not a king but only a president; that he had no hereditary and extensive prerogative; that the power of war and peace rested not with him, but with the American people in congress represented; and that he ought to have assembled the national legislature before presuming to issue his proclamation of neutrality. He threatened to publish his correspondence with the officers of the government, together with a narrative of his own of all the proceedings; and he said that, although he would be warranted in taking an abrupt departure, his regard for the American *people* would induce him to remain until the meeting of congress; and, if that body should agree in the opinions and support the measures of the president, he would instantly return to France, and leave the disputes between the two countries to be adjusted by other means. As for the 'Little Democrat' he peremptorily refused to enter into any engagement for suspending her departure till the arrival of Washington, cautioned them against any attempt to seize her, as she belonged to the *Grande République*, and, for the honour of her flag, would unquestionably meet force by force. On receiving the report of his secretary, Governor Mifflin ordered out 120 militia for the purpose of taking possession of the privateer; but, instead of making these men act immediately, the governor sat down and wrote a long letter to the officers of the executive. Jefferson, who had displayed so much haughtiness and arrogance in his intercourse with British commissioners and diplomatists; who had recently and reluctantly returned from his embassy to Paris (where he had resided more than five years) to assume the high office of secretary of state, waited upon M. Genet the following day, with due humility, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to pledge his word of honour that the 'Little Democrat' should not leave the port of Philadelphia until the arrival of the president. The Jacobin diplomatist was as intemperate with the great Jefferson as he had been with the little secretary; he refused to give any promise about the privateer, and begged that no attempt might be made to take possession of her, as her crew was on board and would fight desperately. But, according to the received American accounts, and Jefferson's own statements, Genet, after this rage, had recourse to a *ruse* or trick, which duped them—ingenuous, simple, unsuspecting men that they were! They assert that the little Jacobin said that the 'Little Democrat' was not quite ready to sail; that she would change her position, and fall down the river a short distance on that very day, but that she would not and could not put to sea just yet; which induced them to believe that the privateer would wait till the arrival of Washington. Not one of these proud republicans appears to have thought of the indelicacy and meanness of making such a question depend upon the personal direct interference of the head of their government. But more than this; we doubt whether any one of them was deceived by Genet, or was bent upon stopping the privateer, vindicating their own insulted honour, or maintaining the law of nations. Mr. Secretary of State Jefferson retained all his venom and rancour against England, was as enthusiastic as any man in America in his admiration of democracy and of the French revolution; he was heart and soul of the ultra-French party; he looked to that revolution as to a millennium; he had gone to France with a strong prepossession in favour of its people, which a more intimate acquaintance had seemed to improve; their sciences, their literature, their cultivation of the arts, their manners and modes of life were all to his taste; there was nothing in the country, on his arriving in it, of which he seriously disapproved, save and except its priests and church, and monarchic form of government, and these things were now almost entirely swept away.* "It is not, therefore, surprising," adds his biographer, "that his partiality for France should have been so strong, and should have influenced his tastes and opinions through the rest of his life." But, besides this strong partiality for the French, and the passionate sympathising in the cause of the *Grande République*, there were other considerations likely to make Jefferson, Governor Mifflin, and the rest of them, wink at the departure of the 'Little Democrat,' and then pretend that they had been deceived by Genet. It was notorious to every man in Charlestown that the captured English merchantman (captured in their own neutral waters) had been converted into a fighting privateer by American shipwrights and other

* Professor G. Tucker, Life of Jefferson. He had displayed by anticipation such a taste for the colour of the red-worsted nightcap, or French cap of liberty, that he clad his nether-man in red breeches. "This," says his biographer, Professor Tucker, with proper solemnity, "indeed, was a part of his official dress when minister to France, at a time when such flaring colours were not proscribed by fashion; but I learn from one who ought to know, that his secretary of legation, Colonel Humphreys, who always loved show and parade, is entitled to the credit of devising this gay diplomatic costume."

We believe at the time "such flaring colours" were proscribed for all nether garments except those for footmen and door-porters. Many were the jokes in which the Parisians and the *corps diplomatique* indulged at the expense of the scarlet breeches of the citizen ambassador of the United States republic.

American artizans; that the far greater part of the crew were American sailors, and that the 120 American militia-men whom the governor had called out would not act hostilely against their own countrymen, their relatives, or their friends, or their comrades. An order to this effect would only have exhibited the weakness and helplessness of the executive officers; and such an exhibition may have been considered more injurious to the honour and character of the government of the American republic than a mean submission to the petulance and insolence of the Jacobin diplomatist.*

In communicating to Governor Mifflin his conversation with M. Genet, Jefferson declared it to be his conviction that the privateer would remain in the river until Washington should arrive and decide on her case. In consequence of this assurance of Jefferson the governor *dismissed the militia* and requested the advice of the heads of departments—or what we should call ministers—as to the course which he ought to pursue. Both the governor and Jefferson stated that Genet had told Mr. Secretary Dallas that he would "appeal from the president to the people." Not trusting our own pen with the recital of these disgraceful, humiliating details, we again make use of the words of an American writer:—"Thus braved and insulted in the very heart of the American empire, the secretaries of the treasury and of war were of opinion that it was expedient to take immediate provisional measures for establishing a battery on *Mud* Island, under cover of a party of militia, with directions that, if the vessel should attempt to depart before the pleasure of the president should be known concerning her, military coercion should be employed to arrest her progress. But, the secretary of state [*i. e.* Jefferson] dissenting from this opinion, *the measure was not adopted.* The vessel fell down to Chester before the arrival of the president, and sailed on her cruize before the power of the government could be interposed."† Power! power of government, forsooth! The whole transaction was little else than a proof that the executive had no power, and that whenever the passions of the American democracy should be inflamed there would be no law in America but mob law, no effective government with which another government could safely treat. The *people* were enchanted at the thus happily commenced cruize of the 'Little Democrat.' If any of them believed that Genet had played Jefferson a trick, they only thought it very *clever* and *smart* in the Frenchman. They fulminated against Washington and the secretaries of the treasury and of war for the opposition which had been made to M. Genet, in which, they said, they could perceive only a settled hostility to France and to liberty, a tame subservience to British policy, and a desire, by provoking France, to engage America in the war as the ally of England, and for the purpose of exterminating republican principles.

By the advice of the attorney-general, who was of opinion that adventurers of this description were punishable for having violated the supreme law of the land, and were also indictable at common law for disturbing the peace of the United States, Gideon Henfield, one of the two American mariners arrested for having enlisted in Charlestown on board a French privateer equipped in that port, was brought to trial. The journalists put forth their "screamers." It was asked what law this deserving citizen of the republic had violated? Under what statute was the indictment laid? Must the free American people give to a proclamation of the president the force of a legislative act? Were they to subject themselves to the will of the executive? Could it indeed be termed an offence to engage with republican France, combating for liberty and equality against the leagued despots of Europe? The jury,—some of whom had probably written these articles, and some of whom formed the militia which Governor Mifflin had made a show of employing *vi et armis* to stop the 'Little Democrat' till President Washington should come—did what might have been expected from them and what would have been done by any other American jury at that moment, *i. e.* they acquitted the prisoner. Their verdict was celebrated with extravagant marks of joy and exultation; and citizen Gideon Henfield was carried in triumph, in the midst of tricolor flags and caps of liberty. The counsel who had defended him had been engaged and paid by Genet. Well might Washington ask what must the world think of all these things and of the government of the United States? On the 11th of July, when the 'Little Democrat' was, as yet, lying at Chester, the president arrived at Philadelphia, and requested that the cabinet ministers would convene at his house the next day. Washington might have been expected to convene them the moment that he arrived and learned that the privateer had slipped down the river; but he fixed nine o'clock on the next morning. This might possibly be owing to the absence of Jefferson, upon whom the president seems to have wished to throw as much of the responsibility as was possible,

* This is not an hypothesis of our own. In the official letter addressed by the American government to Gouverneur Morris, their present ambassador at Paris, and which letter instructed Morris to intreat the French government to recall Genet, there are these conclusive words:—"If our citizens have not been shedding each other's blood, it is not owing to the moderation of M. Genet, but to the forbearance of our government. *It is well known that, if the authority of the laws had been resorted to to stop the 'Little Democrat,' its officers and agents were to have been resisted by the crew of the vessel, consisting partly of American citizens.*"

This degrading letter received the sanction of the president, Washington, both at the time it was written and afterwards when it was communicated by him to congress.

† Marshall, Life of Washington.—Professor Tucker, with all the warm partiality of a biographer, endeavours to show that Jefferson's conduct was not quite so mean and tricky as Washington's biographer, Judge Marshall, represents it; but, to excuse his hero, Tucker is obliged to impute still more meanness to the whole executive government of his country. We prefer the authority and calm good sense of the judge to the authority of the professor; though, for the rest, we care very little whether Jefferson was less contemptible, or the whole American government more so. The leading facts of the case are proved by superabounding documentary evidence, and are not to be concealed or travestied. Substantially, the professor differs from the judge only in saying that Mr. Jefferson did not cause the suspension of coercive measures by telling Governor Mifflin that he felt convinced the privateer would not depart before the arrival of Washington; and that Washington reached Philadelphia four or five days before the 'Little Democrat' sailed.

though probably not more than fairly fell to his share as secretary of state and chief manager of the precious conferences with Genet. Pleading a very sudden indisposition, Jefferson had retired to his country-house, and there, apparently, he stayed until this business was finished. Washington wrote to him—"What is to be done in the case of the 'Little Sarah' now at Chester? Is the minister of the French republic to set the acts of this government at defiance with impunity, and then threaten the executive with an appeal to the people? These are serious questions,—circumstances press for decision;—and, as you have had time to consider them (*upon me they come unexpectedly*), I wish to know your opinion upon them even before to-morrow, for the vessel may then be gone." To this letter Jefferson replied by repeating the assurances which he said Genet had given him that the 'Little Sarah,' or 'Little Democrat,' should not put to sea until the opinion of the president should be made known.* As the privateer had already got below Mud Island, as the battery or batteries which Governor Mifflin had talked of erecting had not been erected, as the militia-men were dismissed from a service in which they would not have acted, it was useless to think of coercive measures.† When the ministers convened at Washington's house on the 12th of July, they determined, not to pursue the 'Little Democrat' and bring her back cost what it might, but to retain in port all privateers of whatsoever nation, or which had been equipped by any of the belligerent powers within the United States. This magnanimous determination was communicated to Genet; but, in contempt of it, the British merchant-vessel which he had converted into a privateer, and had equipped in Philadelphia, proceeded on her cruise. But the decision of Washington and his ministers was made to apply very rigorously to the 'Jane,' an English merchant-vessel, which, like most merchant-vessels in a time of war, carried a few guns for self-defence, and which Genet had alleged to be a privateer. The crew of the 'Jane' had seen English vessels captured by the French in that river; had seen, close alongside, one of those captured English vessels converted into a privateer; and therefore could have no hope of escaping capture themselves in the same neutral river, or in issuing from the capes of the Delaware, except in their own guns and their own courage. Governor Mifflin was requested by the executive to attend to the 'Jane,' and to stop her if he should find she was augmenting her force and was about to depart. The English skipper had done nothing but replace four old gun-carriages by four new ones, and open two new port-holes. He would have been justified in doing a great deal more than this, as the privateer under French colours was ready to pounce upon him, and as no protection was afforded by the American government, even in its own waters. The British consul at Philadelphia requested that the trifling alterations that the 'Jane' had made might be allowed; but this was peremptorily refused, and directions were given by the American government that she should be restored to the precise condition in which she was when she entered the port. And now the American militia were willing and ready to act, and there was a commotion, an activity, and an enthusiasm which sounded like—"Our president is going to war, I guess." Governor Mifflin, who had not fortified Mud Island when Genet's 'Little Democrat' was to be stopped, took measures to fortify it now that the 'Jane' was to be stopped; and so the English merchant-vessel was obliged to discard her four new gun-carriages, and shut up her two new port-holes. In the meanwhile the complaints of the English ambassador were answered by the paltriest equivocations, and no restitution was made of the British vessels which had been seized and condemned by Genet's court of admiralty at Charlestown. In truth, at this time, the little Jacobin Genet was more a ruler in this Israel than was President George Washington. Three days after the arrival of the president at Philadelphia was the glorious 14th of July, the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, the great national festival of the French republicans; and on that day a grand festival was made in the city of Philadelphia "by citizens of some distinction," at which the governor of Pennsylvania and the ambassador of France were present, as well as the officers of the 2nd regiment of Philadelphian militia. Eighty-five rounds of artillery were fired in honour of the eighty-five departments of France, and sixteen roaring toasts were drunk, each containing some extravagant compliment to the French republic and some insult to the old governments of Europe. Under the very nose of George Washington and his ministers, the Jacobin who had insulted them was feasted and applauded, and all those (meaning more particularly Washington himself) who opposed his wishes and the demands of the French republicans were declared by American citizens to be perfidious Machiavellians, traitors to liberty and their country, villains consigned to everlasting infamy. Washington smarted under these wounds, though he affected to despise them; and, though he considered Genet as a firebrand, he could not, as yet, venture to demand his recall from the French republic. Nor was it merely through the question of fitting out privateers in American ports, and manning them with American seamen, and the insufferable practices of Jacobinising the citizens of the United States, presiding over their anarchic clubs, and appealing to the people at large from the decisions of their government, that this French republican envoy stung the heart of George Washington and his

* Judge Marshall.

† Judge Marshall says that, in consequence of Jefferson's letter to the president, "immediate coercive measures were suspended." But Washington and his ministers must have known the facts which they stated afterwards in their letter to Gouverneur Morris about the recall of Genet, and must therefore have felt their inability of adopting any coercive measures, even if the 'Little Democrat,' instead of being down the river below Chester, had been in the port of Philadelphia and under their own eyes. The order for suspending coercive measures could, therefore, have proceeded only from some faint and now ridiculous hope of saving appearances.

friends, and alarmed all the friends of order, peace, and neutrality. While the executive were complaining of his attempts to convert their harbours and seaport towns into manufactories of privateers, he complained to them of the incalculable mischief they were inflicting upon France by not asserting the right of their flag to cover French property; and lectured them, as if he had been a professor discoursing *ex cathedrâ*, and they had been a set of students, on international law, maritime law, and the rights and immunities of neutral flags and neutral bottoms in a time of war. There was not much that was new in his doctrine: he only carried to extremes the principles which had been announced by the Czarina Catherine as chief organ of the confederation or armed neutrality of the North, which had made a faint effort to deprive England of her naval supremacy towards the close of the war of independence. Genet's doctrine, however, such as it was, was eventually adopted by the Americans, though in opposition to the sentiments of some of the wisest and most honest of their statesmen. The fundamental principle was that free bottoms should make free goods, or that a neutral flag should cover and protect from capture whatsoever goods were shipped under it. As a corollary, no belligerent was to exercise the right of searching a neutral vessel in order to discover and abstract the goods of the enemy that might be in it. Great Britain had always and steadfastly maintained the contrary of these principles, and the Northern coalition and armed neutrality had gone to pieces without forcing her into a treaty, or into any, the slightest surrender or compromise of her assumed maritime right. At the peace of 1783, the United States were too anxious for a cessation of hostilities, and far too weak and far too distrustful of their allies, to risk anything by making a stand upon the claim or pretension of the armed neutrality; they bargained for nothing, they pretended not to establish any general rule even for themselves, and the question was scarcely mooted. They commanded their ministers in Europe not to endanger their future peace by any engagements of this kind. In their single treaty of commerce with France the principle was inserted; but no stipulation on the subject was made with Great Britain. It followed, that, with France, the character of the bottom was imparted to the cargo; but with Britain the law of nations was left to be the rule by which the respective rights of belligerents and neutrals were to be decided—the said old law of nations according with the British system, and opposing the new oracles of which Catherine of Russia had made herself the mouthpiece. Construing the rule as giving security to the goods of a friend in the bottoms or ships of an enemy, and as subjecting the goods of an enemy to capture in the bottoms of a friend or neutral, the British cruizers took French property out of American vessels, and the British courts of admiralty condemned it as lawful prize. Not only at the time of the negotiations for the peace of 1783, but also ten years after, at the beginning of the war of the French revolution, some of the acutest of American statesmen or practitioners in politics doubted whether the United States would not derive more advantage from adhering to the old or English system, than by taking up the new, which had never become a recognised system at all, and which was therefore open to all manner of misunderstandings. These prudent men showed that it was particularly dangerous for a new nation or a new government like that of the United States to attach herself to an innovation in international law, or pledge her faith to an untried theory. "It is my opinion," said Gouverneur Morris, "and it ever has been my opinion, that the maxim, *Free ships make free goods*, is in principle unfounded, will in practice be disregarded, and in its application to us cannot but prove injurious."* He hoped that the Americans would not confine their attention merely to the present moment. When they themselves might be a belligerent power, would they then consent to see the commerce of their enemy secured by a neutral flag, while their own commerce, carried on under their own flag, or in their own ships, was exposed to capture? Could they, as belligerents, allow the goods, the produce, the wealth of their enemy to pass unmolested, because such property was embarked in neutral vessels? Morris directed their consideration to the rich commodities produced by the southern part of their western hemisphere. "These commodities," said he, "taken in the mass, form the most valuable commerce which the nations of Europe possess, and, by the immutable laws of nature, they must be transported, as it were, by our doors. Can it then be wise to preclude ourselves from the right, which we now possess, of taking them when at war with the owners? Let us suppose we were at war with Spain, and then ask whether it would be consistent for us to see a neutral ship of Hamburg take in dollars at Vera Cruz and transport them to the north of Europe, there to purchase naval stores and salted provisions for the purpose of carrying on hostilities against us? Or, if the principle of *free ships, free goods*, be established, let it then be explained how such act could be prevented by us; especially if it should be also admitted that a neutral subject may, by special permission granted during the war, carry on a trade from which he had been previously excluded."† But even this powerful *argumentum ad hominem* was, in the end, thrown away upon American passion, prejudice, and cupidity; the American skippers and traders looked more to the present profits to be derived from making their neutral ships the carriers of France, and of all the countries that were or might be at war with Great Britain, than they looked to the future embarrassments which might arise from their clinging to the new maxim. Possibly there was a mental reservation—probably they thought that they could throw the new maxim overboard, and take up the old

* Letter to George Washington, in Life and Correspondence.
† Ibid.

one, when the old one should be more profitable. Washington's government neither had pledged itself to enforce the new system with all nations, nor had undertaken to protect French property shipped in American bottoms. But Genet, who, like all his school, had thrown to the winds all the old maxims of international law, and all the rules of diplomacy, arrogantly insisted that Washington should do both these things, and declare war against England rather than permit her to take her enemies' goods out of any neutral vessels: and again the political societies, the newspapers, and the rabble at large, sided with the Jacobin envoy, and assisted him in perplexing and browbeating their own president. On the 9th of July, during the heat of the contest respecting the 'Little Democrat,' Genet demanded an immediate answer to the question what measures the president had taken, or would take, to cause the American flag to be respected? Not receiving the immediate answer he demanded, Genet, on the 25th of July, addressed a letter on the same subject to Jefferson, as secretary of state. A more insolent epistle could scarcely have been looked for even from this Jacobin. After some argument, urged in the usual violent and offensive manner, which is not worth quoting, and another appeal from the president and his ministers to the American people, it reminded the latter that the obligations that they had owed to France during their war of independence were incalculable, and that but for Frenchmen they would never have succeeded in establishing their independence and making a republic. In conclusion he told the Americans, that if they did not feel themselves strong enough to maintain their sovereignty, and cause their flag to be respected by England, then the French, who had guaranteed that sovereignty when they were slaves, would know how to guarantee it and render it formidable now that they had become freemen. Jefferson now replied to the first of these two offensive letters: he observed that, by the established law of nations, the goods of a friend found in the vessel of an enemy are free, while the goods of an enemy found in the vessel of a friend or neutral are lawful prize. He said he presumed that it was upon this old principle the British cruizers had taken the property of French citizens from American vessels; and that he knew not upon what principle America could reclaim the property so captured. But this was too close a quotation of English texts to suit this Frenchified American secretary: and therefore he added that the contrary rule would be more conformable with justice, or more convenient for commerce.* No notice was taken by Jefferson of the offensive language which had been used; but to Genet's second and worst letter it appears that no reply was sent. There was another ground of quarrel, on the subject of which the American writers before us are less communicative, and in which the Jacobin envoy should seem to have been less unreasonable. The United States acknowledged a debt to France of about 2,300,000 dollars—the French, we believe, held the debt to be much larger. Genet, in the month of May, shortly after his arrival, had proposed that the States should pay the future instalments of this debt in American produce. In June, after a delay of twenty days, Jefferson had informed Genet that the present resources of the United States did not allow them to do this. Hereupon the Jacobin envoy had expressed, with his ordinary vehemence of language, his astonishment and indignation. He had offered to take produce instead of hard cash; the Americans had rice and corn, as well as tobacco, and they knew that there was a scarcity in France approaching almost to a famine. "Without entering into the financial reason which operates this refusal," said Genet to the American secretary of state; "without endeavouring to prove to you that it tends to accomplish the infernal system of the king of England, and of the other kings his accomplices, to destroy by famine the French republicans and liberty, I attend on the present occasion only to the cause of my country." He then stated that he was authorised to assign the debt due from America to France, in payment of supplies received from American merchants and farmers; and he therefore requested that the president would direct the secretary of the treasury immediately to adjust with him the amount of the debt due to France. In replying to these demands Jefferson had asked for time to deliberate, and to examine the propriety and practicability of the scheme, intimating, however, very plainly, that the American government, upon many accounts, considered Genet's proposition as objectionable. This question about the debt remained *in statu quo*, when Washington resolved to try to get rid of M. Genet.

The Americans call "temperate forbearance," "magnanimous moderation," "generous sympathy," &c., what we should designate by very different words. But, to use their own language, the president could no longer carry out this temperate forbearance, or hope that it would have any effect in bringing the French minister to reason; and, accordingly, Washington convened his cabinet council, for the purpose of adjusting a complete system of rules to be observed by the belligerents in the ports of the United States. On the 3rd of August this council unanimously agreed to a system of rules, which implied that they would faithfully observe all their engagements with France and other countries, and honestly perform the duties of that neutrality in which the war found them, and in which those engagements left them free to remain. With respect to the troublesome minister of the French republic, it was unanimously

* Jefferson, however, endeavoured to propitiate the Jacobin envoy by showing him that France in reality would herself be a gainer by the prevalence of the old rule. After saying that America had modified the old rule in her treaties with France, the Netherlands, and Prussia, but that she had no such stipulation with England, he added, "Nor is France likely to suffer by the rule, for, though she loses her goods in our vessels when found therein by Engand, Spain, Portugal, or Austria, yet she gains our goods when found in the vessels of England, Spain, Portugal, Austria, the United Netherlands, or Prussia; and America has more goods afloat in the vessels of these six nations than France has afloat in our vessels."—*Substance of Jefferson's reply, in Professor Tucker's Biography.*

agreed that a letter should be written to Mr. Morris, the minister of the United States at Paris, desiring him to request the recall of M. Genet from the executive of the French government. On the 16th of August—and not before—Secretary Jefferson wrote a letter to this effect to Morris. It was full of professions of friendship towards the French republic, which was described as a friendly and magnanimous nation who would not do injustice; and it breathed no complaint against any man or anything except citizen Genet; and even his recall was to be *requested*, not demanded. Gouverneur Morris was instructed to present this letter of secretary Jefferson to the French executive, together with copies of the stormy correspondence which had passed between Jefferson and Genet. It appears that a copy of this letter to Morris about his recall was not communicated to Genet, who was then feasting and proselytizing at New York, until the month of September was well advanced. Possibly the tempest which followed the little Jacobin's reception of the announcement had been foreseen, and the American executive had been desirous of shortening the storm by delaying giving him the information of what they had done. The dignified course would have been to have sent Genet out of the country at least three months before this, and to have communicated to the so-called French government the motives of their conduct; but, when they had failed to do this, it does appear disingenuous, and contrary to the rules of diplomacy, if not absolutely dishonourable, to leave Genet more than a month in ignorance of the fact that they had requested his recall from his government, and to correspond with him—as Jefferson did—after that letter had been dispatched for Paris, without hinting that Genet had been denounced to his government.* Upon learning what Gouverneur Morris was to do at Paris, Genet *agitated* New York, and outdid his former self in vituperation. With respect to President Washington, he said that his impeachment before Congress was an act of justice, which the American people, which the French people, which all free people were interested in demanding. All those who agreed with Washington were set down as aristocrats, partizans of monarchy, friends of England, &c. Over Jefferson's backslidings he affected to be pathetic, for Jefferson, he said, had been his personal friend and political tutor, Jefferson had "initiated him into mysteries which had inflamed his hatred against all those who aspire to an absolute power." With the whole democratic press on his side, and with the political societies of New York ever ready to listen to his voice, as to that of the law and the prophets, Genet had no difficulty in carrying on this war, which, at one moment, seemed to threaten the dissolution of all government in the United States. The New Yorkers applauded him the more the more he attacked the executive government, and the more he set at defiance the law of neutrality. The people of Boston, who had played the prelude to the American revolution, were not a whit cooler than the citizens of New York and Philadelphia. An English schooner brought as a prize into the port of Boston by a French privateer, or by Yankee adventurers acting under the commission of Genet and the tricolor flag, was claimed by the British owner, who instituted proceedings at law for the purpose of obtaining a decision on the legality of her capture. The court placed the schooner in possession of its marshal, but an armed force, detached from a French frigate then lying in port, and acting under the authority of the French consul, rescued the schooner from the possession of the marshal. Until the frigate sailed, the English schooner was guarded by a part of her crew, and, notwithstanding the determination of the American government that the French consuls should not exercise a prize jurisdiction within the territories of the United States, M. Duplaine, the popular and applauded consul at Boston, declared his resolution to take cognizance of this case. Here, however, Washington acted with proper spirit, for he instantly revoked Duplaine's *exequatur*, and forbade him further to exercise the consular functions.

But Genet's mission had embraced still wider projects than any that have hitherto been alluded to; he had come doubly armed with projects for a war on land as well as for a war at sea. Some of the United States of America bordered upon and gave easy access to some of the American colonies of the King of Spain. With such facilities, why not attack those Spanish provinces? What was the King of Spain but the ally of King George of England, and one of the coalition of despots who were plotting the extermination of all republics? Why, therefore, not march from the free state of Georgia into the enslaved Floridas, and from the western parts of the United States into Louisiana? The backwoodsmen and squatters, who had long had their eyes turned in those directions, were

* At the cabinet consultation on the 3rd of August, the other ministers recommended peremptory terms to the French government about the recall of Genet; but Jefferson begged that the *request* might be expressed "*with great delicacy.*" Upon the question whether a copy of the letter to Mr. Gouverneur Morris (containing the request for the said recall) should or should not be sent to M. Genet, Jefferson took the negative side, *urging* that "*it would render him* (Genet) *extremely active in his plans, and endanger confusion.*" This was at once a confession of the miserable weakness of the government, and of the power of Genet and the American mob. Professor Tucker tells us that the cabinet agreed that a copy of the said letter should be sent to Genet; but he does not tell us *when* it was sent. The original letter, as we have seen, was dispatched for Paris on the 16th of August. The date of the 18th of September is put to the furious letter which Genet wrote, to abuse Washington, Jefferson, and all the rest of them. Now Genet was far too petulant a man to let his fury sleep for a whole month. If he had received either a copy of the letter to Gouverneur Morris, or any other notification, his pen would that instant have been in his hand. But there is yet another suspicious circumstance. It is pretended that, "by an *accidental miscarriage*," this letter from Genet to the executive, said to have been written on the 18th of September, was not received until the *2nd of December*. If Philadelphia had been as far off as Paris—if oceans had rolled between Philadelphia, to which city the letter was addressed, and New York, where Genet wrote it, we might comprehend this long miscarriage; but, as it is, we are much inclined to doubt whether there has not been an intentional falsification of dates, and whether Genet was not left wholly in the dark as to the dispatch sent off to Gouverneur Morris, until the eve of the assembling of Congress. Congress assembled *on the 2nd of December*. It was impossible to conceal the great diplomatic fact from Congress, and this the cabinet must have felt in the anxious consultations which preceded the meeting of that body.

fascinated by these bold suggestions; volunteers offered their services with muskets and killing rifles all ready, and the principal officers were all engaged, when intelligence of the proceedings reached President Washington and the King of Spain's commissioners. To the remonstrances of these Spaniards Washington replied that the central government of the republic disavowed the enterprise, and would take effectual measures to prevent any such invasion of the friendly territories of Spain; but it is acknowledged that Washington greatly feared that the executive central government would be found too feeble to prevent the execution of the lawless plan. He called upon the governor of Kentucky to co-operate in preventing the improper application of the military resources of his frontier state. But the fierce Kentuckians—those half-horse, half-alligator men—cared as little for the governor of their state as they cared for the central government; they considered themselves more directly interested than any other state of the Union in wrenching from Spain the entire navigation of the Mississippi, which they believed would open to them mines of wealth, and in extending the western frontiers of the republic at the cost of Spain. For some time these Kentuckians, and others of the out-dwellers in the west, had circulated the opinion that an opposition of interests existed between these western states and the eastern states of the Union, that the executive or central government favoured the states of the east, and had shamefully neglected the subject of the Mississippi. The "Democratic Society" of Lexington, in Kentucky, had taken up the matter, and had menaced the partial and remiss president and ministers. After various other proceedings this club of Kentuckian democrats had appointed a committee to correspond with all the inhabitants of the western country, for the purposes of uniting them in these objects, and of preparing a *remonstrance* to the president and Congress, which, they said, was to be expressed "in the bold, decent, and determined language, proper to be used by injured freemen when they address the servants of the people." They claimed much merit for their moderation in not having helped themselves to what they wanted long ago, or, as they phrased it, for having abstained, out of regard to the central government and affection for their fellow-citizens in other states, from making use of the means they possessed in asserting "their natural and unalienable right." They plainly intimated that this forbearance could not be continued much longer; and they called upon the executive to give them the free use of the Mississippi, as if only an act of the will was necessary to insure it to them.* It was made more and more evident every day, and in every direction, that the central federal government was powerless in the federated states whenever the interests or other passions of an uneasy, restless people were inflamed. It was not owing to any power or authority of either president or Congress that Louisiana and the Floridas were not invaded and seized in a time of peace. The forbearance of the people of the west proceeded from other causes. Ten years after these discussions and remonstrances Louisiana was obtained by purchase, Bonaparte, who had extorted the cession of it from Spain, selling it to the United States for 15,000,000 dollars. The frontiers of Florida were never left tranquil, until that country too was occupied by the free democrats of the west. When Jefferson became president he attempted to purchase the province for 2,000,000 dollars; but this negotiation failed, and the glory of the act of incorporation was reserved for General Jackson, who, in 1821, when Spain was again revolutionized and in a state of anarchy and weakness, entered the defenceless province with an army, and by order of the government of the United States annexed it to the republic.

Notwithstanding his outrageous conduct, and all the plots which had been brought to light, Genet was still allowed to remain, and Jefferson, as secretary of state, still kept corresponding with him, and still kept declaring that the only true friend the American republic had, or could hope to have in the world, was France. It was no secret that Jefferson strongly disapproved of Washington's neutrality proclamation, and questioned the right to issue it; and that, upon several other questions, Jefferson could divide the cabinet, and thus weaken the government, although upon some of them he could not command a majority in the cabinet.* Like all other state questions the proclamation of neutrality was discussed in the newspapers, not merely by editors and other journalists, but also by American *statesmen*—by men who were, or had been, and who soon were again, members of the government. Mr. Madison took the same view of the case as Jefferson, and was urged by that secretary of state to Washington to sharpen his pen, and refute and put down the "heresies" of Mr. Hamilton, who was writing under the signature of "Pacificus" in defence of the president's conduct, and of the neutrality. Fierce were the polemics of Madison, who was clearly on the winning side, having the mob and the great majority of the journalists in his favour. Even in this happiest of republics there were some rather serious drawbacks upon human felicity. The yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia, then the seat of government, raged from August to November, carried off some 4000 of the citizens, made one-third of the remainder fly into the country, scattered the members of the cabinet and chiefs of departments, and deranged the whole machinery of government. The chief officers of the government did not re-

* Judge Marshall, Life of Washington.

* "The president," says Jefferson in one of his private letters, "always acquiesces in the majority." This indeed appears to have been the general rule of Washington's conduct. In some important cases, when his cabinet was about equally divided, it was his custom to ask time for consideration, and to put off decision as long as possible. On not a few occasions his conduct—at least to an English mind—appears evasive and spiritless; but the marvel is, how, under such a constitution, and with such jangling ministers, he ever carried on the business of government at all.

assemble until the beginning of November; and then, fearing that the pestilence might still lurk in Philadelphia, they did not meet in that city, but in the little town in its neighbourhood, called German Town. Here, shorn of its beams, the American executive continued till December, when the Congress met at Philadelphia. At the first conference in the cabinet at German Town the president, after an exposition of Genet's past and present conduct, proposed to seize him and send him out of America without waiting for any answer from France. Hamilton and Knox, secretaries of the treasury and of war, gave their decided support to the proposition, but the Jefferson part of the cabinet opposed it, and the president, as usual with him, suspended the decision. Ten days after this the *renvoi* of Genet was proposed again by the president. Jefferson urged in opposition that France was the only sincere friend America had on earth; that the measure was a harsh one, and equivalent to a declaration of war against France; that eighty-four days had elapsed since the dispatch to Gouverneur Morris had left the United States; that an answer might be hourly looked for from the French government, who doubtless would recall Genet; that Congress, which would now meet in a few days, might take offence at so harsh a proceeding against the republican envoy; and finally, that there was a chance that the order of the executive to seize and send off Genet would not be obeyed. The last was the strongest argument of all: in the agitated, fermenting, boiling condition of that fierce and unrestricted democracy George Washington could no more have taken that Jacobin oracle out of the State of New York to ship him off for Paris than he could have taken the crown of George III. out of the Tower of London! There would have been tarring and feathering and worse if the attempt had been made, and the essay could have ended only in exposing still further the powerlessness of the central government, and the omnipotency of mob law. To save his own dignity, or to avoid commotion, the harassed president again suspended the decision; and in the end nothing came of his proposition.* Washington asked Jefferson what he would do, as secretary of state, if Genet should send in his threatened accusation and appeal to Congress to the executive, to be by it communicated to Congress. Jefferson replied, that he would not present them to Congress, but would either send them back to Genet or publish them in the newspapers.

In the meanwhile, having received the dispatch of the 16th of August, the American minister at Paris had lost no time in laying it before the French government, or that confusion of men that then ruled France, having added a few short arguments of his own to show the necessity of their immediately recalling their outrageous envoy. As there was a very lively anxiety to retain the Americans as allies, as the men to whom Genet had owed his appointment were now huddled in state prisons, or were flying for their lives, and as M. Deforgues, who was now holding for a few weeks the post of minister for foreign affairs, had no friendship or connexion with Genet, it was readily enough admitted that that envoy had exceeded his powers, and had insulted the majesty of the American republic; that his conduct was *punissable* and such as excited the liveliest indignation of the French republic; that the president of the United States had done justice to the sentiments of the French in attributing the deviations of the citizen Genet to causes entirely foreign from his instructions; that, so far from the members of the French government having authorised the proceedings and criminal manœuvres (*les démarches et les manœuvres criminelles*) of citizen Genet, their only aim had been to maintain between the two republics the most perfect harmony, &c.* The council of government, though named by the terrible National Convention, and though under the direct control of the most Jacobin *Comité de Salut Public*, instantly assured Morris that Genet should not only be recalled, but also be punished, and the punishment now in fashion in Paris was head-lopping by the guillotine. The American envoy replied to this that the United States had only ordered him to ask his recall, and that he could go no farther. The idea of the French council—who, no doubt, knew, and took into delicate consideration, the powerlessness of President Washington—was to send over a French commission of three or four persons with full authority to arrest Genet and send him over a prisoner. The idea was worthy of the times and of the two republics concerned. We are, however, astonished to find so moderate, and humane, and wise a man as Gouverneur Morris assenting to the proposition, and detaining his advice-boat a whole week, in order to embark the said French commissioners on board her.† But, luckily for Genet, although the powers and instructions were all ready, there arose some embarrassment about the appointment of one of the commissioners, the advice-boat sailed without any of them, other delays occurred, and in a very brief time M. Deforgues and his colleagues, instead of being in condition to bring over and guillotine Genet, were guillotined themselves, or were captives in the Conciergerie, or wretched fugitives. *Sic transeunt!* Thus, in the new strife of factions, Genet was forgotten; and, although a commission was sent out to America in lieu of an embassy, it appears that no orders were given to it for the seizure of the ex-minister.‡ There was no longer any prospect of advancement or even of personal security to Genet in France; his friends of the revolutionary

* Tucker, Life of Jefferson.—Marshall, Life of Washington.

* Letter from M. Deforgues to Gouverneur Morris, dated Paris, October 10th, 1793, in Life of Gouverneur Morris, by Jared Sparks.

† These are Morris's very words, in a dispatch to Jefferson, dated Paris, October 19th.

‡ The previous character and occupation of the head secretary of this commission were, however, calculated to excite some alarm in M. Genet. This secretary, a M. Leblanc, had lately been *at the head of the Paris police department!—Letter from Gouverneur Morris to George Washington.*

party were overthrown, the court patronage of his sister, the queen's first waiting-woman, could no longer be of any use to him, for the state of doubt and uncertainty was over, the republicans had triumphed, the court was no more, monarchy was no more; Louis XVI. and his queen had perished on the scaffold, and the dauphin, the princess, and the king's sister were pining in the Temple; the Reign of Terror was getting to its height, the activity of the guillotine was appalling; and, therefore, the ex-minister did what was perhaps the best thing he could do,—he settled in the United States, and took up his citizenship there. And we are assured by American writers that he became a worthy citizen of their republic. With a slight change in the order of the words, we would not dispute the fact.

At another cabinet consultation, held at German Town, for arranging the speech with which the president was to open congress, Jefferson hotly opposed the views of Washington and his friends. Hamilton, who appears to have been the most anxious of them all to avoid any close connexion with the turbulent, unprincipled, and sanguinary French republic, and to preserve peace and good fellowship with England, submitted that the president's speech should contain an unequivocal declaration of neutrality, and of the fixed determination of the United States not to join in the war as an ally of France. Jefferson denied the right of the president to declare anything of the sort, or to pledge the country to anything as to the future question of war or peace. The question of neutrality Jefferson treated in the spirit of a pedlar. He denied that a frank and an explicit declaration of neutrality would be for the interest of America. On the contrary, he wished foreign nations to be left in doubt upon this point, in order that they might "*come and bid for our neutrality.*" As on former occasions, Jefferson was backed by Randolph. Three days after this the discordant cabinet met again, and took into consideration two drafts for the president's speech, the one prepared by Hamilton, the other by Randolph, who was but an echo to Jefferson. General Knox, the war secretary, supported Hamilton's draft, Jefferson supported Randolph's, or his own; no agreement could be come to, and Washington, repeating that his great object was to keep the people in peace, came to no decision between the two drafts. At two subsequent meetings Jefferson vehemently opposed the president, and at the last of them submitted the draft of a message to Congress on the subject of France and England, which he had prepared himself, and which was so hostile towards England as to amount almost to a declaration of war. It was viewed in this light by Hamilton, who, in fact, declared that the invidious contrast drawn between France and England did amount to a declaration of hostilities. He also said that the favourable disposition of the American people towards France was a serious calamity, and that it ought not to be nourished by the executive; that the French offers of commercial advantages proceeded from temporary circumstances, which would not last long; and that he could prove that Great Britain showed America more favour than France. Hamilton was again supported by Knox, and, as the president took a more decided tone than was usual with him, the draft of the message was materially altered.

On account of the yellow fever, the president would have convened Congress at some other place than Philadelphia; but Jefferson insisted that he had not the power to convene them at any other place than that to which they had adjourned themselves, and accordingly Congress met at Philadelphia on the 2nd of December. In the awfully long speech, which had at last been agreed upon by the cabinet, and which Washington delivered on the 4th, although the proclamation of neutrality was justified, the spirit of peace and of good will to England was far from being so prominent as Hamilton would have made it. The necessity of placing the country in a condition of complete defence, and for exacting from all nations the fulfilment of their *duties* towards the United States, was strongly urged; the rank due to the United States among nations was dwelt upon, and the States were told that they ought not to indulge the belief that, contrary to the order of human events, they would for ever keep war at a distance. "It must be known," said the president, "that we are at all times ready for war." And these warlike observations were followed by a recommendation to augment the supplies of arms and ammunition in the magazines, and to improve the militia establishment. On the following day the message respecting England and France was delivered to Congress. Though altered from what it had been when submitted by Jefferson to the cabinet, this message affirmed that the representative and executive bodies of France had manifested generally a friendly attachment to America, had given advantages to her commerce and navigation, and had made overtures for placing these advantages on permanent ground. But this was followed by complaints of some recent decrees of the Convention, which were said to be contrary to treaty, and highly injurious to the commerce of the United States and to the rights of her flag. The message also lamented that M. Genet, their minister plenipotentiary, had breathed nothing of the friendly spirit of the French nation that sent him; that the tendency of his conduct had been to involve the United States in a war abroad and discord and anarchy at home. But, that France might not be offended, and that Great Britain might not be too much favoured, there followed complaints of the conduct of the British government in various particulars; and it was very evident that these last complaints found a much readier and louder echo in Congress than the qualified and softened complaints against France. The wrongs committed by the republican government were heard without much emotion, but when the wrongs alleged to

have been committed by Great Britain were mentioned the excitement was tremendous. This difference of feeling, this determination or instinct to palliate the provocations offered by France, and to exaggerate and extend every ground of quarrel with England, continued to mark the conduct of this legislature, even through the whole of the presidency of Washington; but, when he and his friends were removed from office, the feeling became infinitely more violent, and rendered almost impracticable any friendly relations with the British government.

Jefferson, with his eye still directed against England, and against the measures which she had adopted in consequence of the decrees of the French Convention, proposed a series of legislative measures, which should retaliate on other nations the precise restrictions imposed by them on American commerce or navigation. This he followed up by presenting to Congress a recent decree of the National Convention, said to be highly favourable to American commerce. This compliment to the French was his last official act as secretary of state. He resigned on the last day of December, 1793, and retired to the country to cultivate a closer connexion with the democratic societies and the ultra-republican party generally, and to bide the time when the death or retirement of Washington and the progress of his own principles should open his way to the presidency.* The English or moderate party felt and confessed that, but for the personal influence of Washington, and the respect in which he was still held by the great body of the people, it would not have been found possible, even at the beginning of 1794, to prevent a war with England and the closest alliance with the French Jacobins and Robespierre—for with that great "Incorruptible," and with Saint-Just and Couthon, the moral republicans of the United States must now have treated.

Madison, who remained at his post, and who worked out in Congress the projects and views of Jefferson and the French party, took up that series of retaliatory measures which Jefferson had suggested, and he recommended their immediate adoption, although they should lead to a war with Great Britain, or to the interruption of all communication with a nation which had conducted itself so *atrociously* (for such was the gentle language employed by this party in regard to England). The federalists, or the president's party, opposed the resolutions which Madison moved, and exposed the glaring inaccuracy of his facts; but nevertheless some of the resolutions were carried by a small majority, and the French and war party again hailed the prospect of an immediate declaration of hostilities against England. Washington, however, would not yield to the storm, and he induced his cabinet to agree to send Jay, now the chief-justice of the republic, as minister to England, there to negotiate for some amicable arrangement. But before Jay took his departure an embargo was laid upon all the British shipping in American ports, and all intercourse with Great Britain was prohibited until her government should make full compensation for all injuries, &c. In the debates which preceded the voting of these measures, the Hall of Congress wore a pretty close resemblance to the National Convention or to the Jacobin Club at Paris: the French and English parties lost all command of temper and of tongue, and the mob in the galleries took part in the debate. Some historical truths were expressed which went to lower the glory of their revolution and war of independence, and to moderate—if anything could moderate—the overweening vanity of the American people. A member of the federal party said that everything was sacrificed to France and to French partialities; that the measures now proposed had *French* stamped upon the very face of them. This roused the fury of a Colonel Parker, a disciple of the Jefferson and Madison school. The colonel wished there was a stamp on the forehead of every man, to designate whether he was for France or for Britain. For himself, he would not be silent and hear that nation abused to whom America was indebted for her rank as a nation. He was firmly persuaded that, but for the aid of France in the last war, those gentlemen now on the floor, who prided themselves in abusing her, would not have had an opportunity, in that place, of doing it. This produced a tremendous clapping and cheering in the galleries; the mob thus assenting to the indisputable truth, that it was not American arms that had achieved American independence.

* In his retirement at Monticello, which lasted about three years, Jefferson gathered round him all those who opposed the federal policy, and the general policy of Washington, all the ultra-republican party in Congress, most of the members of Congress from Kentucky, Virginia, and the Southern States. Among his most frequent visitors were Madison and Munro. It was here that most of the measures of the party in opposition to Washington were concocted, and that most of their bills, resolutions, reports, &c. were written. It was here that it was settled that the government, which Washington had aristocratised, must be greatly democratised before the United States could figure as a free and perfect republic, and champion of the rights o man.

Disguise it as he would, all Jefferson's hopes centred in the success of the French anarchists, and his fears, as well as his partialities, led him to cling to France, inasmuch as he had philosophically convinced his own mind that, if France fell, the American republic must fall also! In a letter to an American citizen of Philadelphia he says: "Over the foreign powers I am convinced they (the French) will triumph completely; and I cannot but hope that that triumph, and the consequent disgrace of the invading tyrants, is destined, in the order of events, to kindle the wrath of the people of Europe against those who have dared to embroil them in such wickedness, *and to bring, at length, kings, nobles, and priests to the scaffolds which they have been so long deluging with human blood.* I am still warm whenever I think of these *scoundrels*." Warm indeed! Not Robespierre, nor Couthon, nor Marat himself, could have been hotter and in words more bloody. And this was the language of an ex-secretary of state of the American republic—this the Jacobinical rhapsody of one who claimed to be a philosophical statesman, a universal philanthropist. And at what a moment was this uttered? It was at a moment when the French were not invaded, but invaders, when they were overrunning all the countries in their neighbourhood, and labouring to revolutionise every country in Europe by means of propagandists, secret societies, clubs, plots, and conspiracies—when they were every day and every hour infringing the law of nations—when they had declared in their heart that there was no God, and had set up a common prostitute to be worshipped as the Goddess of Reason; when they had tramped upon all that is most sacred to man, and had made a mockery of every domestic virtue; when they had brought to the scaffold not only the king but also the queen, and the almost angelic Princess Elizabeth; when they were murdering nobles and priests by scores and by hundreds at a time; when at Paris every day was witnessing the guillotine *corvées*, and other parts of France were witnessing their *fusilades*, and *metraillades*, their *noyades*, and *mariages republicains*, and when the Vendée was converted into a shambles! Scaffolds and blood, forsooth! Why, between the guillotine *en permanence* and the other processes of destruction, there was blood enough shedding in France to have satisfied the most ravenous appetite of a Nero!

The National Assembly had begun at a very early period to issue decrees, and to make innovations, which demanded retaliatory measures on the part of the British government. True to no principle, old or new, legislating on the spur of the moment, and for the wants or the passions of the moment, frequently contradicting their own axioms, and almost always referring to crudities which they called first principles of the law of nature, these French revolutionists, from Brissot downwards, made an unintelligible *galimatias*, and set it up as the law of nations according to the new light of reason. Thus they declared that corn and other provisions should no longer be considered as articles contraband of war; and thus, on the 9th of May, 1793, the Convention issued a decree authorising their armed vessels to seize and carry into a port all neutral vessels laden with provisions and bound to an enemy's port, or having on board merchandise belonging to an enemy. Such merchandise was to be kept as lawful prize; but the provisions, when proved to be the property of neutrals, were to be paid for, according to the market price in the ports to which they were originally bound. As there was a dearth in France, no time was lost in carrying this decree into operation. Some American vessels, laden with provisions, were seized forthwith. Gouverneur Morris remonstrated, and claimed an exemption in favour of the American flag, by right of the treaty existing between the two countries. Nothing could well be more vexatious than the conduct of the so-called French government. At first they admitted that the decree was contrary to the treaty; and decreed, on the 23rd of May, that the vessels of the United States were not comprehended in the decree of the 9th of May. On the 28th of May they revoked their exempting decree of the 23rd. Hereupon the American minister renewed his remonstrances; but M. Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, was *en état d'arrestation*, or on the high road to the guillotine, and the month of June passed without any satisfaction given to Gouverneur Morris. About the middle of June the American ship 'Little Cherub,' having on board a rich cargo, was attacked and taken, near Dunkirk, by the privateer 'Le vrai Patriote,' and a lugger belonging to the French republic. According to Gouverneur Morris's report, the captain and crew were very ill treated, although they made no resistance; and, the French having entire possession of the American ship, one of them seized the second mate by the collar, and without any provocation blew his brains out. To Morris's loud remonstrance on this atrocious affair the bloody *Comité de Salut Public*, which was now directing all affairs, replied that, *if* the statements set forth by the American minister were *true*, then and in that case a flagrant violation of the right of nations, and of treaties concluded with *free* Americans, had been committed, &c.; that it was the part of honour and justice to avenge this atrocious violation of all law, and to give to the captain of the 'Little Cherub' every satisfaction which was due to him; that the privateers had infringed not only the laws of war, but those of hospitality and gratitude; that, besides the ties of fraternity which united the two nations, the French republic had the strongest interest to favour the *free* Americans, and to take their vessels under its special protection; that the United States were becoming more and more the granary of France and her colonies, that they had manifested the best disposition to aid France, and that the courage they had shown in formally recognising the French republic, in spite of the intrigues of England, proved that their friendship for the French was above all political and interested views; and, finally, that from these considerations it was evident that the murder committed on board the 'Little Cherub' ought to be severely punished, that the American captain ought to receive ample indemnity, and that, in conformity with the existing treaty, American vessels should enjoy fully the advantage resulting from their neutrality, "inasmuch as this neutrality facilitates the supplies of provisions to the French republic and her colonies." On the 1st of July another decree was issued, renewing the exempting decree of the 23rd of May: but this decree was again revoked by another dated on the 27th of July; and thus the original decree of the 9th of May remained in full force against the Americans, as against all other neutrals. Gouverneur Morris directed the American consul or agent at Dunkirk to cause a prosecution to be commenced against the murderer of the ill-starred second mate; but, for his interference in the matter, the said American consul or agent was arrested by the Dunkirk patriots and Jacobins, and clapped up in prison as *suspect*. The ruffian who committed the murder was acquitted by a Jacobin jury on the testimony of his comrades and brother privateers, in direct contradiction to the testimony of the American master and crew. Instead of giving indemnities, the French kept the cargo of the 'Little Cherub;' and at nearly the same moment they seized a number of American vessels at Bordeaux. Morris would have remonstrated in a higher tone than he had hitherto done, but he evidently stood in fear of the sanguinary mob that was now ruling France, and the instructions which he was receiving from Jefferson, as secretary of state, were constantly recommending him to be calm and patient, and to preserve at all hazards the friendship of the French republic. Besides, this American minister plenipotentiary was receiving frequent intimations that he was to be superseded by some American citizen of a more democratic turn. Thus Gouverneur Morris submitted to wrongs and insults which ought never to have been borne by the representative of a nation claiming to be free, great, and glorious; and he was either silent altogether or remonstrated in a tone of timidity and indecision.*

It was not to be expected that England should

* Jared Sparks, Life and Writings of Gouverneur Morris. Boston, 1832.

submit to this new maritime code, or that, having the power to prevent it, she should permit the United States to be made the granary of France and her colonies. On the 8th of June, 1793, or a month all but one day after the issuing of the French decree, which we have seen revoked and confirmed, revoked again and again confirmed, all in the space of a few weeks, and which decree was ultimately left in full force, the British government issued an order in council, which, under the title of "Additional instructions to British ships of war," authorised them to stop all vessels loaded with grain and bound for France; and to send them into the most convenient port, in order that their cargoes might be purchased by the British government; to seize all ships attempting to enter ports declared to be blockaded, &c. Jefferson, who had sung in so soft a note with the French, and who had opposed indemnifying us for British ships and property seized in American rivers and roadsteads by privateers which were fitted out in American ports, and which in several instances had nothing French on board except M. Genet's lawless, piratical commission, now roared Stentor-like against the British government as guilty of a monstrous violation of the law of nations and the rights of neutrals. Mr. Hammond, our envoy, replied, in a mild and conciliating, but manly tone, that by the law of nations provisions were articles contraband of war, particularly where the depriving an enemy of such supplies was one of the means intended to be employed for reducing him to reasonable terms of peace; that the actual situation of France, and her avowed principle of hostility against all the established governments of Europe, rendered the principle contained in our order in council particularly applicable to the present case, and the more so from the mode in which trade was carried on by the ruling powers in France, who had decreed that all neutral vessels laden with provisions and bound to an enemy's port should be seized; that our order in council, instead of declaring *all* provisions contraband, as the preceding considerations would have justified, was meant to extend only to *corn*, and even in intercepting this the British government secured to the neutral owner the fair and full value of his corn. But Jefferson insisted that the law of nations was otherwise, that our order in council of the 8th of June was intended to ruin the agriculture and commerce of the United States, and that provisions could not be considered contraband in any case but that of a place actually blockaded by a force sufficient to make the blockade good. The dispute was prolonged in England between Pinckney, the American envoy, and Lord Grenville, then foreign secretary in the cabinet of his relative Pitt; and, in defiance of the good rule that the injuries first committed should be the first to be redressed, the American diplomatists insisted that satisfaction should be given for every American complaint before any English complaint should be taken into consideration. When reminded of the date of the French provision-seizing decree, and of the propriety of pressing first the repeal of that decree, to which our order in council was retaliatory, they took refuge in an anachronism, they affected to confound cause and effect, and they attempted to conceal their truckling to France, their subserviency or their devoted partisanship and republican partiality, by talking of the services which France had rendered to the United States, and of the warm friendship which the mass of the French people were still known to entertain for the citizens of America. Their tone was always on the verge of insolence, and sometimes beyond it. In despotic, king-ridden England they had no ground for that personal fear which so dulcified their tone at Paris.

Another and an inevitable cause of quarrel arose out of our impressment system, and out of the American system of converting, by the shortest and least ceremonious processes, British seamen and other subjects of his majesty into republican citizens of the United States. By the constitution of most of these federal states five years' residence gave the rights of citizenship to every foreigner, and converted any Englishman, Frenchman, Spaniard, German, Dutchman, or native of any other old country into an American citizen. But this five years' residence and probation had become a mere theory: in practice, five months, or weeks, or days, or even hours sufficed for the transmutation, and ingenious crimps employed themselves in seducing British seamen from their ships, from their allegiance, and from their nationality by promising them a few dollars more wages than they obtained in our national or mercantile navy. There was a well-known Yankee adventurer of this description who boasted that he had, within a given time, made more American citizens than had proceeded from all the prolific matrons of the state to which he belonged—and not babes and sucklings, but full-grown able-bodied men, citizens that sprung into life, as the Republic herself had done, in a state of ripeness and perfection, without going through the antecedent stages of existence. In Boston, in New York, in nearly all the large seaport towns of the Union, there were *bureaux*, or register-offices, or manufactories of American citizens, where English deserters and others, upon payment of a small fee, received a certificate of citizenship. In most cases this was done in a barefaced manner, with the sanction or connivance of the local government; but in some cases tricks and jugglings were resorted to in order to save appearances, and perhaps, also, to soothe or cheat the delicate consciences of some of the lawgivers. There was an old woman in one of these seaport towns who was mother or foster-nurse to a host of these Gracchi. She, too, had a conscience, and tried to cheat it and the devil. She kept a big cradle, made for the purpose of rocking full-grown British subjects who were to be converted in a hurry into American citizens, in order that, when testimony should be called for to prove their birth, she might with a safe conscience swear she had known them from their cradle.* To escape

* This piquant anecdote is told by a distinguished English diplo-

from our press-gangs many of our seamen fled from our merchant vessels, where they were liable to be seized, entered American trading-vessels as natives or citizens of the United States, and found skippers and shipmates ready to swear they were such. The common descent and common language of the two nations made discovery very difficult; the English runagates soon picked up a few Americanisms, a few of the common flowers of rhetoric, and the nasal twang was to be acquired in less than five years. But at times it would happen that the reported American citizen would have, on the fleshy part of his arm, those indelible marks which sailors used to love to produce with puncturing and gunpowder—a blue piece of tatoo, giving his real English name and the name of the British ship in which he had served; and it happened still more frequently that among the officers and crew of some English man-of-war searching the suspected American vessel there would be some that could recognise and swear to the identity of the newly and irregularly made American citizen—who could detect in many a Jonathan a real Jack, that had either deserted from the king's service or had transferred himself from our merchant service for the reasons above mentioned or for other reasons equally weighty. Yet, even here a lapse of time or strong resemblances might deceive, and grievous though involuntary mistakes might be committed. And, besides, some of our more hasty officers, irritated by the notorious practices of the Americans and by the frequent desertion of their men, might occasionally be not over-scrupulous in examining identities or in seizing sailors reported to be Englishmen. Our government, however, always disclaimed such practices, and never refused satisfaction when it was fairly proved that the seamen so seized were natives or *bonâ fide* citizens of the United States. Jefferson had been incessantly complaining that the American navigation and commerce were suffering from British violence wrongs which were never offered to their flag by any other nation. He sternly rejected a proposal made by our government, that the true American seamen should always carry about with them certificates of their citizenship. The English minister must have known how such certificates were procured, but, such as they were, he offered to cause them to be respected. Jefferson held that the *simplest* rule would be, that a vessel being American should be evidence that all on board her were Americans also, or that the flag ought to proclaim the citizenship of the whole crew, and not allow of any search or press. This principle was altogether inadmissible. The correspondence and the verbal communications assumed, on the part of the republicans, a very angry tone, and nothing was settled when Jay arrived in London, with such powers as President Washington could give to negotiate a treaty.

matist, who resided a long time in the country, and who was calm and considerate in judging of the government, and of the character and habits of the American people.—See Notes on the United States, by the Right Hon. Sir Augustus Foster, Bart., London, 1841 (Unpublished), as quoted in Quarterly Review, No. CXXXV.

The American envoy found a strong disposition in Pitt to conciliate the irritable republic, and to keep her from joining the French Jacobins in the war.* As Jay, in common with all his party, believed that any closer alliance with the French anarchists would inevitably lead to the entire ascendancy of the ultra-democratic party at home, and to an anarchy in the United States, he met Pitt more than half way, and finally—on the 19th of November, 1794—he concluded a treaty of commerce and amity with Great Britain which, unfortunately, left still unsettled various causes of disagreement.† This treaty arrived in the United States early in March, 1795, and produced among the French and democratic party a storm which is supposed never to have been equalled since. On the 8th of June, Washington, as president, convened the senate for the purpose of considering the treaty; and on the 24th the senators, by the requisite majority, advised its ratification, with the exception of one article which Jay had clearly admitted by mistake, and to rescind which there could have been no unwillingness on the part of the British government. At this juncture some intelligence was received that our cruisers and blockading squadrons were seizing American provisions going to France; and hereupon Washington thought proper to intimate that he would not ratify the treaty if those orders in council continued to be enforced. The senate, with respect to some of its executive duties, lay under the obligation of secrecy; but in spite of this rule a Virginian member of that body, and a partisan of the French, published an abstract of the unratified treaty in a Philadelphian newspaper. Although the articles contained many important concessions on the part of Great Britain, and many advantages for the Americans, among others some relaxation in our Navigation Act, and a privilege to trade, under certain limitations, both with our East and West India dominions—although, in fact, the treaty was for that time, when neither the absolute free trade system, nor the reciprocity system, had found much favour in the eyes of any European statesman, a liberal compact on our side—although Jay, who had negotiated it, declared that it was an offer of conciliation and friendship, that it included satisfaction to American claims of justice, that it was a decided deviation from the old restrictive policy of the English government, and tended to shock the ancient prejudices of the English people, and that it was such a treaty as none but a strong administration like Mr. Pitt's would have ventured upon, the entire democratic party exclaimed with one voice that it tamely and basely surrendered the honour, rights, and interests of the United States at the feet of their most deadly enemy. The Jacobin clubs which Genet had put in operation, and the other self-created political societies which had

* In a private letter to Washington, Jay says, "If there is not a good disposition in the far greater part of this cabinet and nation towards us, I am exceedingly mistaken. I no not mean an ostensible and temporizing, *but a real good disposition*. I wish it may have a fair trial."

† See an account of this treaty, ante, vol. iii. pp. 653, 654.

spread over the country, and which, to use Washington's words, were "labouring incessantly to sow the seeds of distrust, jealousy, and discontent, thereby hoping to effect some revolution in the government," took up the subject of the treaty; popular meetings were called and held in all the large towns, and the demagogues harangued and the newspapers screamed. According to a native writer of the Jefferson school, the hubbub was the louder on account of the successful encroachments and invasions which the French republicans (who, like the American, had renounced and forsworn all conquests), were making upon all their neighbours. "The animosity to England and the attachment to France, who had already begun that career of military success which filled all Europe with astonishment and alarm, were now at their height; and they were of themselves sufficient to insure the condemnation of any treaty with England, however fair or reciprocal."* An American writer of another school honestly confesses that these present passions boded ill for any future friendship between the old mother country and her emancipated colonies; that the sentiments called forth on this occasion demonstrated, that no *possible* adjustment of differences with Great Britain, no *possible* arrangement which might promise a *future* friendly intercourse with that nation, could be satisfactory.† The French and democratic party insisted that any treaty of amity and commerce with England was a degrading insult to the American people, a pusillanimous surrender of their *honour*, an insidious injury to France, an abandonment of the *ancient* ally of the United States, whose friendship had given them independence, and whose splendid victories still protected them, for a close connexion with the natural enemy of that ally, and with the enemy of human liberty and the rights of man! Jay was reviled for having negotiated the treaty; the senators were charged with downright corruption and treason against the people for having conditionally ratified it; and Washington himself only escaped the foul imputation of corruption to be set down as a fool, or as the dupe of the English party who surrounded him. The president, according to his custom, had retired to pause and ponder, at his country house on Mount Vernon. Jefferson, who remained in his retirement at Monticello, did his best to keep up the cry against the treaty, which he called "an execrable thing," an "infamous act," "a treaty of alliance between England and the Anglo-men of this country against the legislature and people." Filled with anxiety and with alarms—the least of which was not his belief that the democrats would induce the French to believe that the treaty was really calculated to favour England at the expense of France—Washington quitted Mount Vernon much sooner than he intended, and hastened to Philadelphia, the seat of the central government. He was cheered by a counter-current which set in from New York, where the merchants, whose prosperity almost entirely depended upon English capital, voted in the Chamber of Commerce resolutions expressive of their approbation of the English treaty. He answered, in a firmer tone than he had hitherto used, the Select Men of the town of Boston who had remonstrated with him against giving his assent to the abominable treaty. He reminded them that the republican constitution had assigned to the president the power of making treaties, with the advice and consent of the senate. Seeing that delay would but swell the popular tempest, he had by this time made up his mind to ratify the treaty without waiting for the revocation of our order in council about provisions. All his cabinet agreed with him except Jefferson's successor, who maintained that during the existence of the said provision order, and during the war between Britain and France, the treaty ought not to be concluded; and on the 12th of August, 1795, the resolution was adopted to ratify the treaty immediately, and to accompany the ratification with a strong memorial against the provision order. This was done; and, to show his earnest wish for a good understanding with the United States, Pitt revoked the order, and the ratifications of the treaty were exchanged.

There was a lull of the storm until February, 1796, when the treaty, in its completed form, was announced to the American nation by a proclamation, a copy of which was sent to Congress, then sitting. The House of representatives, who had previously shown an aversion to the treaty, now complained that they had been treated with great disrespect, and proceeded to question the right of the president and senate to conclude any treaty without the consent of the representatives of the people. The president's friends in that House were outvoted by very large majorities; but the president remained firm, and eventually the representatives voted the appropriations necessary to the treaty without deciding the constitutional question. Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin threw their whole weight into the scale of opposition, and bitterly assailed Washington after his triumph. It seems to be admitted on all hands that nothing but the personal popularity and the firmness of the president could have carried him through, or could have prevented, even now, the French democratic party from throwing back the treaty into the face of England, and from thus provoking an immediate war. Jefferson wrote a letter to an Italian friend who had resided in America, and who entertained congenial political tastes. In this letter, which was translated and published both at Florence and at Paris (in the latter city it made its appearance in the official Moniteur), and which seems to have been intended by the writer of it to be so published, Jefferson held up Washington and his party to the execration of all true democrats, and liberty and equality men. According to this slave holding Virginian and ex-secretary-of-state, all liberty and republicanism were flying away from America, to give place to an Anglican, monarchical, and aristocratical party, whose avowed object was to draw

* Tucker.
† Judge Marshall.

over the country the substance, as they had already done the forms, of the British government:—against the true republican citizens were ranged the executive, the judiciary, two out of three branches of the legislature, all the officers of the government, all who wanted to become officers, all timid men who preferred the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty; British merchants, and Americans trading on British capitals; speculators, and holders of stock in the banks and public funds, &c. "It would give you a fever," said Jefferson to his Tuscan democrat, "were I to name to you the apostates who have gone over to these heresies; men who were Samsons in the field and Solomons in the council, but who have had their heads shorn by the harlot England!" This letter was re-translated out of the French of the Moniteur, was published in the English newspapers, and, being wafted across the Atlantic, it found its way into the American papers.

Washington had not overrated the effect which the ravings of the democratic party would produce on the minds of the French, to whom the notion of any treaty between the United States and Great Britain was insupportable. The French executive forthwith accused the American executive of the basest ingratitude, of cunning, reservation, and double dealing; of having sold themselves to the tyrant George III., and of having thus renounced the amity and provoked the resentment of the *Grande République*. These public demonstrations were accompanied by secret designs of a very hostile and pernicious nature. Through a private channel President Washington received information that the special agents of the French executive in the West India islands were about to issue orders for the capture of all American vessels, laden wholly or partially with provisions, and bound for any port within the dominions of the British crown. Now a very important part of the trade of the United States consisted of exports of provisions to our West India colonies. Monroe, who had succeeded Gouverneur Morris as American minister at Paris, was recalled, as being but too likely to second the wishes of the democratic party, and Charles Pinckney, brother of T. Pinckney, the late minister at London, was selected by Washington to succeed him. This appointment was made in the summer of 1796, but Pinckney did not arrive at Paris till the month of November, and before any dispatches relating the insults which had been put upon him could be received in the United States, Washington had ceased to be president. It had been thought that he would stand another election, but in the month of September Washington publicly announced his intention of withdrawing entirely from the toils of office, and put forth a long document which is called his valedictory address to the people of the United States. The two great parties now brought forward their respective chiefs: John Adams the elder, and T. Pinckney, the late minister at London, were supported for the offices of president and vice-president by the English party, or federalists, or Washingtonians; the whole force of the French party was exerted in favour of Jefferson, who, notwithstanding his manifold declarations that he had done for ever with public life, now aspired to be the successor of Washington, to change his entire system, and to bring in one of his own party as vice-president. The contest was excessively sharp, and seemed at one time doubtful, but in the end the federalists proved a trifle stronger than the anti-federalists, and J. Adams, by a majority of three votes over Jefferson, was elected president of the United States. The curious constitution of the republic must be read by those who wish to have a clear notion of the mode of electing the two chief magistrates; but it will suffice here to state that Jefferson, the candidate for the presidency, having more votes than T. Pinckney, the candidate for the vice-presidency, was considered, in conformity with the American constitution, to be duly elected to the latter office. It seemed strange to many, that the political rival of Washington should accept the inferior post and hold office under Adams, one of the most decided of the federalists or Anglo-men; but Jefferson was deeply in debt, and the salary attached to the vice-presidency was an important object in his calculations; and, moreover, if Adams should chance to die during the fixed term of office, the president's chair, with its higher salary and greater prerogatives, would lie open to the acting vice-president. The pains which Jefferson took to mystify some of his friends and conceal his motives can impose only on very credulous minds. There was still another circumstance to render the inferior post he took not unacceptable or unprofitable to the projects he had in view:—the vice-president is, by right of that office, chairman, or speaker, or president of the American senate, having a casting voice, which was then of very great value, as the number of senators was only thirty-two. And in this capacity Jefferson might hope, by his ability and eloquence, and his practised turn for political intrigue, to win over or democratize some of the senators. According to the American system there was nothing anomalous, or any way wrong, in a conflict of opinions and views between the chief magistrate of the republic and his cabinet ministers, or between the president and the vice-president, and therefore Jefferson immediately set himself in opposition to Adams, and thwarted or attempted to thwart nearly all the new president's measures, but most of all those which went to secure the friendship of England and the maintenance of the treaty which Washington had concluded with her. Fancy and fiction have been resorted to in order to describe the pleasant solitudes of Mount Vernon, and the happy, tranquil days which closed the life of the great Liberator; but, if we do not greatly err, the eye of truth would have discovered in that retirement, a proud old man, with his pride wounded and his hopes blighted, with little to please him in the present aspect of affairs, and with nothing but doubt and anxiety for the future fate of his country. At the close of the year 1796, when Washington with-

drew from the stage, there were or there recently had been troubles in the east and troubles in the west, troubles in the north and troubles in the south—fierce insurrections, with gouging and nose-slitting, among the Kentuckians, who wanted extension of territory, and obstinate rebellions against the central government among the Pennsylvanians, who wanted an exemption from taxes. The Pennsylvanian insurgents had fired upon the officers of the law, had besieged the inspector-general of excise and compelled him to surrender and deliver up his papers; had made the marshal promise that he would execute no more processes to the west of the Alleghany mountains; had stopped the mail and broken open the letters to discover the persons who were opposed to them, and had made all such persons fly the country; after which they had called a convention to set both the state government and the central government at defiance. All this had obliged Washington to call upon New Jersey, Virginia, and one or two other states of the union to march 12,000 militia into Pennsylvania. The greatness of the militant force employed is said to have prevented the effusion of blood; but it is certain that, although the disaffected did not venture to assemble in arms, some blood was shed in this civil strife, and that, afterwards, the executive was not strong enough to procure any adequate punishment for some of the leaders of the insurrection who had been arrested and detained for legal prosecution. While the militia were assembling in Pennsylvania the spirit of insurrection showed itself in a part of the neighbouring state of Maryland. Nor was that spirit subdued in Pennsylvania by the marching of the 12,000 militia: a sour and malignant temper displayed itself, and plainly indicated that the people would rise again if that great military force were wholly withdrawn, and President Washington had therefore been compelled to leave a strong detachment in the centre of the disaffected country all through the winter of 1794-5.

When Pinckney reached Paris to deprecate the wrath of the directory which now exercised the powers which had been held in such rapid succession by so many parties, he was treated with a degree of insolence which could scarcely have been exceeded if he had been the agent of some petty conquered state in Italy or on the Rhine. He was told that the French people naturally preferred his predecessor Monroe, who was a friend to France and a foe to England—that foe of all free nations. The directors kept him waiting for an audience like a lackey in an antechamber, and, when they admitted him and inspected his credentials, they haughtily announced to him their determination not to receive another minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government which the French republic had a right to expect. This insulting audience was followed by verbal messages still more insolent, which were intended to sting the American minister out of France; and at last, seeing that Pinckney was not to be driven away by such means, the directors sent him a written order to quit the territories of the French republic within eight-and-forty hours. The American plenipotentiary humbled himself so far as to request to be allowed to remain as a private individual; but the directory refused the request. To complete this hostility American vessels were embargoed in the ports of France, Holland, &c., and were seized by French cruisers or privateers wherever found, and were shortly afterwards all condemned as fair prizes. At the same time the directors did what Monsieur Genet had done before them—they appealed from the American executive to the American people, and laboured hard and ingeniously, and in many modes, to effect a breach between the central government and the citizens. This contemptuous treatment is supposed to have produced an evil effect on the popularity of the French and democratic party in America, where, it is said, the majority of the people would have been found ready to vindicate their insulted dignity by declaring war against France. But the American government proceeded to humble itself still further—to crouch at the feet of the French directory, and only to receive more and more insults. Instead of sending the French minister out of their country, and suspending all diplomatic intercourse as the usual and proper retaliation for the expulsion of Pinckney from France, they sent to France not one but *three* envoys or commissioners—T. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry. These illustrious republicans took their departure in the summer of 1797. Early in 1798 dispatches were received by President Adams's government from them—dispatches which excited one general burst of indignation from the federal party, converted some of their opponents, and for a time silenced the favourers and apologists of France.* In short, the directors had treated the triad worse than they had treated the single envoy: they had refused to recognise the envoys, or even to look into their letters of credence; they insinuated that two out of the three being taken from the federal party (which had supported the measures of their own government) furnished just cause of umbrage, as the federalists were prejudiced in favour of Great Britain, &c. While thus refusing to recognise them, the directors, by means of irregular unofficial agents, gave them to understand that the payment of a very large sum of money from the United States to the French republic was the condition which must precede not only any reconciliation, but any negociation whatever! Jefferson well understood his own countrymen when he said that the seat of their sensibility was in their purse. The envoys (who might have remembered that the states still owed money to France) were horror-stricken! They could scarcely believe their ears—they thought there must be some mistake—they hoped that the unofficial agents were making an essay to rob on their own private account; but, upon further inquiry, they obtained sufficient evi-

* Tucker.

dence that the said agents acted by authority of the directors, and that it was really the voice of the executive of the *Grande République* which said —"Millions of Spanish dollars down upon the nail, or no restitution, no compensation, no reconciliation, no treaty!" The three Americans represented that an advance of money by a neutral to a belligerent power would be a departure from neutrality; that such payment might be considered as rendering America tributary to France, and taken as a precedent; and they returned a decided negative to the proposition. The French directors, however, returned to the charge, or their agents endeavoured to work upon the fears of the Americans for their country, and for themselves personally. They described the immense and still increasing power of France, her conquests in Belgium, Holland, Italy, Germany, the humiliation of the house of Austria, the ruin or confusion which had fallen upon every continental power that had dared to oppose the invincible republic; they spoke confidently of the invasion and conquest of Great Britain and Ireland, chuckling over the Irish rebellion which was then breaking out under their auspices, of the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England, and of the mutinies in our navy at Portsmouth and the Nore; and they asked where, except in the friendship of France, could America look for safety? The three envoys were, moreover, assured that if they believed their conduct would be approved in the United States they were much mistaken, for the means which the directory possessed in those states to excite odium against them were great, and would unquestionably be employed. In a letter addressed to Talleyrand, as the directors' secretary for foreign affairs, the three envoys gave a detailed account of the uniform friendliness of their government to France. Talleyrand replied unofficially, and criminated the American government in his most caustic style; and this letter was in possession of an anti-federalist printer in Philadelphia, who had uniformly supported the pretensions of the French republic, some time before it reached the American government. These were among the means which the directory possessed in the States. Talleyrand had not lived in those states in vain! Though refused recognition, though bearded and trampled upon by some of the vilest secret emissaries of the profligate directory, though put under the surveillance of the French secret police, the American trio remained at Paris as long as they were allowed to do so, petitioning to be heard, and drinking to the dregs the cup of national humiliation. After making sundry intimations to the two of the three envoys who belonged to the federal or Washington party that they were very unwelcome visitors in France, and ought to get them gone, the directors sent them their passports, and commanded them to quit the territories of the French republic forthwith. But, still further to aggravate these wrongs, the directors at the same time acquainted the third, or the anti-federal envoy, that he might remain where he was: and this anti-federalist, this correspondent and fast friend of Jefferson, this Gerry, gladly consented to stay at Paris, and to resume, in an unofficial manner, and as a private American citizen, the discussions which had been broken off. And at Paris, and under the surveillance of Fouché's police, Gerry remained, until the powers supreme thought proper to order him away to Fontainebleau, where he lived for some time as a *détenu*. Well may it be said that history will scarcely furnish the example of a nation, not absolutely degraded, which has received from a foreign power such contumely and insult as were suffered by the United States in the persons of these ministers! *

During these transactions open war continued to be waged by the cruisers of France and her dependencies on American commerce; and a decree was put forth by the directors which made a vessel friendly or enemy according to the hands by which the cargo was manufactured. The new maritime law went to throw all American shipping out of employment, as British bottoms, which alone had the benefit of convoy, would have all the return cargoes from England. The seat of sensibility was again touched; and throughout the American union there was a loud outcry against the decree, and a louder cry of "Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute!" Favoured by the feelings and resentments of the moment, President Adams, in a message to the two Houses of Congress, recommended that the country should be put in a state of defence, and that a commission for reprisals by sea should be issued. Jefferson called this message an "insane message," and recommended that Congress should adjourn, in order to consult their constituents, and in order to gain time enough to allow the descent of the French on England and Ireland to have its effect here, in America, as well as there.† But a considerable majority stood by the president and voted what he recommended. And now, at this moment of general indignation against France, was laid the first foundation of that national armed American navy, which was never employed against the French, but which, fourteen years afterwards, was employed, and upon infinitely less provocation, against England. Resolutions were passed for equipping ships of war and forming a regular naval department; an improved organization was given to the militia, a provisional army of 20,000 men was voted, and Washington was invited from his retirement at Mount Vernon to take the command of this army as soon as it should be ready. A tax on stamps had been previously authorised, and now a direct tax on lands was resorted to.‡

* Judge Marshall.

† Letter from Jefferson to Madison, dated March 1, 1798.

‡ As the anti-federalists and their numerous and libellous journalists were still for preserving amity with France—were constantly asserting that the French were yet the best friends of America, and were only provoked by the conduct of Washington and his party, and by the two federal envoys—were calumniating President Adams, every man connected with his government, and every federalist of mark and likelihood—Adams ventured to propose, and the majority of Congress to pass, a law for punishing all libellous writings against the public authorities. And this was followed by another law for sending

There was a mustering of forces, and a great drumming and trumpeting throughout the land, but nothing came of it. The soldier of fortune from Corsica, returning from Egypt at the close of 1799, overset the directory, and made himself first consul of France. He began to alter nearly everything that the directory had done; and he clearly saw the advantages to be derived from renewing friendly connexions with the United States, and from involving them in quarrels with England. Three more American envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary were packed off for Paris to negociate with Napoleon Bonaparte, and in due course of time their negociations terminated in what the Americans chose to consider an amicable and satisfactory adjustment of all differences with the French Republic. George Washington did not live to see this renewal of a close and friendly intercourse with France, which for many years he had considered as highly dangerous to the tranquillity, independence, morals, religion, and happiness of his country. He died at Mount Vernon, on the 14th of December, 1799, in the sixty-eighth year of his age; leaving a widow, but no son to succeed him—leaving no issue of either sex. One sensibility was checked by another, or the great seat of American sensibility, the purse, opposed all such honours as cost money. Speeches and eulogiums there were in Congress, funeral orations in all the great towns of all the States, and perhaps there never was a greater outlay of words and long-winded sentences bestowed upon any illustrious man on a similar occasion. Congress voted too, that the president's chair should be covered with black crape, that all the members should wear mourning, that it should be recommended to the people of the United States to wear crape on the left arm for thirty days, that there should be a funeral procession from Congress-hall to the German Lutheran church in Philadelphia, in memory of General Washington; and all this was done accordingly, being cheap to do. But another vote for erecting, at the national expense, a suitable monument, though carried unanimously in Congress, was never carried into execution, for it would have cost much money, and a voice, coming from the seat of sensibility, said that the only proper monument to the memory of a meritorious citizen was that which the people would erect in their affections. This monument in the hearts of the American people did not prevent a very large part of them from heaping obloquy upon his humble grave, by holding up Adams, and the other men who were but pupils of Washington or continuators of his system of policy, as oppressive aristocrats, as foes to the liberties of the populace, as traitors to their country, sold to England; nor did this cease until Jefferson, the political adversary of Washington, was put into the president's chair. It would be too long to describe by what means the mode of electing the president of the United States was altered, and by what toilsome processes and intrigues that right of election to the supreme magistracy was made to devolve upon Congress. But on the 17th of February, 1801, Jefferson obtained the post at which he had been so long aiming, being elected president by ballot by ten of the sixteen states then constituting the Union.*

From this moment commenced the real reign of the democrats upon the American earth. All things underwent a rapid change and transmutation; both the domestic and the foreign policy of the federalists were rapidly altered, and the *vox populi* began to be taken as the voice of the gods. Only, to keep it in tune with his own voice, President Jefferson played all sorts of popular farces, and resorted to the most degrading condescensions towards the mob. Not without a reminiscence of the days when he wore scarlet unmentionables and a gold-laced coat, he now dressed more plainly than a Philadelphia quaker, and assumed almost as slovenly an appearance as a backwoodsman. To preserve some order and decency, some respect for his office, and some little state and dignity to the person of the nominal chief magistrate of the republic, Washington had established a few simple forms and ceremonies. Jefferson began to sweep all these away, as making invidious distinctions between men and men, and as being inconsistent with republican simplicity and republican principles generally. And, accordingly, the house of the president and the hall of Congress began to grow into bear-gardens, and the last remnant of courtesy and politeness soon took its departure from among all those classes who would monopolise the titles of true republicans and true patriots. The gentlemen of the old or Washington school, many of whom had received a classical education in England and had travelled among the politest nations of Europe, were dying off rapidly; the subdivision of property was destroying the class to which they had belonged; the refined and the sensitive shrunk from a jostle and scramble with the unmannerly and ungovernable democracy; and such of the well-educated and polite as aimed at the honours or emoluments of office, or the excitement and fame of public life, were obliged to put on the rude bear-skin in order to captivate and

away all aliens who should be proved to the government to be suspicious or dangerous persons. This law resembled our alien law, and it was far more necessary in the United States than it ever was in England. That country swarmed with French propagandists, Irish revolutionists and other fugitives from the gallows, revolutionary Scotsmen and Englishmen, club-men from all manner of clubs and anarchic societies, and from nearly all parts of the old world; the most numerous or the most turbulent being the natives of the green island, who headed almost every insurrection or riot. A very considerable portion of the obnoxious journalists were Irishmen. It is said that these two laws—the law against libellous writings and the alien law—eventually turned the tide of public feeling, and ruined the Washington party and Adams's administration; but there were innumerable other causes at work, and the nature of the country and its democratic institutions, and the miserable weakness of the central government, rendered this ruin inevitable, and insured the return of angry hostile feelings to England, as soon as the present wrath against France should moderate, or as soon as the French should cease wounding the seat of sensibility.

* The states which voted for Jefferson were New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Vermont, and Maryland. The four states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island voted for Colonel Burr; and the members from South Carolina and Delaware put in blank ballots.—*Tucker.*

win their way with that monster universal suffrage. A few years of the rule of Jefferson and of his counterpart Madison sufficed to alter the whole aspect of American society. The end is not yet come; but ever since the year 1801 there appears to have been a precipitate declension in good manners and in qualities more important than manners.

Jefferson immediately nominated Madison his secretary of state, and Gallatin his secretary of the treasury, not being able to find, even among his own Frenchified party, two men who had a more rancorous hatred of England. Among the first things he did as president was to send an anti-federal ambassador of his own choosing to Paris, there to make sure of the friendship of that true republican Bonaparte, and to invite that English-born subject and renegade, that American-French citizen, Thomas Paine, the author of the 'Rights of Man' and the 'Age of Reason,' to return to America and live upon the bounty of his grateful adoptive country;—to write a very complimentary epistle to Doctor Priestley, who had carried his household gods to Philadelphia, not without abuse of England, or lamentations upon the bigotry in politics and religion which had driven the doctor from his country;—to put affronts upon Mr. Merry, the old English envoy, and particularly upon his wife.

There were many intervenient heart-burnings, and not a few insults difficult of digestion, and which possibly might not have been digested by England if it had not been for the critical state of the war carrying on against Bonaparte; but it was not until the year 1807, when Jefferson was for the second time president, that the war-whoop was again raised against Great Britain. Bonaparte's Berlin decree, against which the Americans had never presumed to offer any serious remonstrance (Jefferson was engaged at the time in a friendly correspondence with the government of the devourer of republics, in order to obtain through his all-commanding means the cession from Spain to the United States of Florida), had, in the eyes of the British government, rendered necessary a retaliation, and had produced fresh orders in council intended to support our maritime rights and commerce, and to counteract Bonaparte's Continental system, the basis of which was the Berlin decree. As on other occasions, the American wrath was kindled, not against the first cause, but against the almost inevitable effect of that cause—not against France, who had made the grand innovations in national law, and who had trampled upon the rights of all neutrals, but against England, who resorted to measures for self-defence, and with the object of abrogating the most monstrous system that ever European conqueror had attempted to impose. But the plain truths are, that Jefferson and all the statesmen of his school entertained much the same feelings with respect to the commercial and naval greatness of England with their friends in France, their understandings being generally of the same character, and their tempers quite as violent; that they had no dread of France, who by this time had lost her commerce, her colonies, and her ships, whose power could never come in contact with their own, and whose resources were devoted to a war in the issue of which they (the Americans) vainly thought that the United States had no interest; that they thus hoped, by condescensions to France, to obtain ingress into all the ports of Europe, and to rival and then annihilate that trade upon which England relied for the prosecution of the war and the preservation of her independence; that the whole democracy of America hated England, her commerce, her power, and pre-eminence, as much as Bonaparte himself did.*

In his Berlin decree the French ruler ventured to declare the British Islands in a state of blockade, and to interdict all neutrals from trading in any commodities whatsoever with a British port. This was a violent infringement of the law of nations; an outrage committed on neutral rights, which called upon all parties to avenge themselves on its original authors, and most loudly of all did it call upon the Americans, a neutral, trading people, who had raised such a clamour about neutral rights. But America neither resisted nor remonstrated, and thus she committed herself with our great enemy; for, if France violated the law of nations, as she unquestionably did by this decree, and if America calmly acquiesced in this outrage on her rights, in common with the rights of all neutrals, it will hardly be denied that she made herself a party in the quarrel which France had with England, combining, in effect, with the common enemy. Before the issuing of the Berlin decree, Jefferson complained of various insults offered to the flag of the United States by Great Britain. These appear to have arisen almost entirely from our determination to shut out the Americans from the blockaded ports of France, and to prevent their carrying articles contraband of war to our enemy. Other violent remonstrances had arisen out of that inexhaustible cause of quarrel which lay in the impressment of seamen, the American practice of turning our sailors into citizens, and the difficulty of distinguishing British from American seamen. An American sailor, too, had been killed by a random shot fired from the British ship 'Leander,' near Sandy Hook; and, though the murder of the second mate of the 'Little Cherub,' and the murders of various other American citizens by the French, had never been avenged in any way, this fact was set down to our account as an unparalleled outrage. Before any attempt was made to negociate, or even to explain, some of the hottest-headed of the anti-federal party proposed in Congress very extreme measures, as—to suspend all importation from any port of the British dominions,—to permit no intercourse whatever between the two countries,—to prohibit the importation in any vessels whatsoever of the produce or manufactures of Great Britain and her colonies. Many specific

* Southey, in Edin. Ann. Regist.

articles, the manufacture of Great Britain, were actually prohibited; and, as if anticipating an immediate war, sums of money were appropriated for fortifying the ports and harbours of America, and for building gun-boats. But news arrived that Pitt, whom the Americans, like the French, considered as *l'ennemi du genre humain*, the arch-enemy of liberty and equality, was laid twelve feet deep under the pavement of Westminster Abbey, and was succeeded by Fox, whose fortune it was (as Burke once remarked) to be exceedingly popular with all the enemies of his country, and whose character was as much extolled by the Americans as it was by the French. Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney were immediately appointed to negociate with the Whig cabinet. Before the negociation had made much progress, Fox was laid to rest by the side of his great rival; but the All Talents ministry survived for a few months; and Fox's nephew and pupil, Lord Holland, conjointly with Lord Auckland, continued the negociation with the two American envoys, and concluded with them a convention (which, in fact, concluded nothing) on the 31st of December, 1806. It was while these discussions in London were in progress that copies of the Berlin decree (the decree was dated on the 21st of November, 1806) were received; and this circumstance ought to have induced our two noble negociators to suspend any convention or treaty until it was known whether the government of the United States would or would not resist the will of Bonaparte. As soon as Jefferson heard of the death of Mr. Fox, he anticipated a change of ministry and a return to power of the Pittite or Tory party, and, as if he were determined to come to an amicable arrangement only with the Whigs, he immediately sent off instructions to Monroe and Pinckney which differed widely from those he had previously given them, and which set forward pretensions and claims which had not been mentioned or hinted at before. If these instructions had reached the two envoys in time, there would have been no *conclusum*, unless our two lords had been content to throw the flag of England at the feet of her revolted colonies. But Jefferson's fresh instructions did not reach London until more than two months after the treaty had been signed. Nothing, therefore, remained for the president to do but to refuse his ratification of the treaty which his chosen envoys had concluded, and this he at once did.

America continued in her almost hostile attitude; but Monroe and Pinckney remained in London. When the All Talents ministry was ousted, and when Mr. Canning became secretary for foreign affairs, under the Duke of Portland, the two American envoys pressed the new claims and pretensions in a very high tone. These were met by Mr. Canning with a tone equally high: he insisted that England had the indisputable right to retaliate upon the French decree; that America, by submitting to the Berlin decree, was pursuing a course which could not be allowed, and that the British government must continue to impress British seamen found on board American vessels, unless the American government could give security against practices that were intolerable at all times, and doubly so at a moment like the present. Still, innovating and showing a contempt for the fundamental rules of diplomacy, Monroe and Pinckney wanted to make the treaty of the 31st of December, which they had signed, and which their government had refused to ratify, the basis of a new treaty. Affairs were in this state when news reached London of a conflict which had taken place in the American seas. On the 23rd of June, 1807, the British 50-gun ship 'Leopard' met off the capes of Virginia the large American frigate 'Chesapeake,' which, though classed as a frigate, was at least equal in force to the 'Leopard.' Knowing that there were several English deserters on board the 'Chesapeake,' whom he had vainly endeavoured to recover by other and amicable means, the captain of the 'Leopard' insisted upon the right of search, as the only process by which the men could be brought back. After some equivocating answers, and an assurance that he knew nothing of the English deserters, the American captain refused to be searched, and made some visible preparations for resistance. Hereupon the 'Leopard' fired a single shot across the 'Chesapeake's' fore foot. This was followed by a second single shot. No effect being produced, and the 'Chesapeake' preparing to return the fire, the 'Leopard' gave her a broadside, and, after a short pause, renewed her fire. The 'Chesapeake' returned a few straggling shot, not one of which hit her opponent; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, just as the 'Leopard' had poured in her third broadside, the heavy American hauled down her colours, and her captain sent his fifth lieutenant on board the 'Leopard,' with a verbal message, signifying that he considered the 'Chesapeake' to be the 'Leopard's' prize. When some of the officers, petty officers, and men of the 'Leopard' went on board the 'Chesapeake,' they could find only one of the five deserters of whom they were more especially in quest. This fellow was dragged out of the 'Chesapeake's' coal-hole, and on being brought to the quarter-deck swore that he was a native American, and that he had never belonged to any English man-of-war. Unfortunately for him, he was well known to the 'Leopard's' purser, who had drafted him into the 'Halifax' British ship of the line, and who was now on the quarter-deck of the 'Chesapeake' to identify him. About fifteen other British subjects were mustered on that quarter-deck, but only the man found in the coal-hole, and three other deserters, were taken out of the 'Chesapeake.' [These four seamen were tried shortly afterwards at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Jenkin Ratford, the coal-hole man, was hanged at the fore-yard arm of the ship from which he had deserted; the other three were sentenced to receive 500 lashes each, but were eventually pardoned.] The fire of the 'Leopard'

had killed three seamen, and had wounded the captain, one midshipman, and sixteen sailors and marines of the 'Chesapeake.' The American captain or commodore again offered to deliver up the frigate as a prize. The English captain replied, that, having fulfilled his instructions, he had nothing more to do but to proceed and join his squadron. He then tendered assistance, which was refused, and, deploring the extremity to which he had been compelled to resort, he pursued his course, and left the 'Chesapeake' to choose hers.

On the 2nd of July, almost as soon as the intelligence of what had happened reached him in the new city of Washington, which for some time had been the seat of the central government, and without waiting for any explanation or commencing any correspondence, the president put forth a proclamation which sounded like a papal excommunication of the middle ages, and which interdicted all British ships of war from entering any of the ports of the United States—ports which then contained, and hospitably entertained, various French ships of war which had there taken refuge from English pursuit. But the French flag, whether surmounted by the red nightcap of the Jacobins or the imperial crown and eagles of Bonaparte, was a pleasant sight in the eyes of the American democrats; while Jefferson so hated the royal flag of England, that the sight of it gave a deeper yellow to his jaundiced face. It was evidently with a rhapsody of delight that the president seized this opportunity of excluding our ships of war. In his proclamation he called the attack of the 'Leopard' an enormity committed without provocation or justifiable cause, for the purpose of taking by force, from a ship of war of the United States, a part of her crew who had been previously ascertained to be *natives* of the States! Such, indeed, was the usual strain of American invective whenever the British were the accused. Not so when the French offended. In the summer of this very same year (1807) the United States sloop of war 'Hornet,' while, lying in the French port of l'Orient, was forcibly boarded by a French officer and a party of men, who seized and carried off five Frenchmen, naturalized citizens of the United States, and who had been several years in the American naval service; but not a murmur was heard on this subject.*

The account of the attack on the 'Chesapeake' reached London on the 26th of July. On the 2nd of August, before any demand for redress had been made by the American envoys in London, Mr. Canning caused to be conveyed to them a disavowal of the right to search ships in the national service of any country for deserters, together with a promise of suitable reparation for the unauthorised act of the 'Leopard.' On the 6th Mr. Monroe transmitted to his government Mr. Canning's note; but on the same or the following day American *newspapers* reached Downing-street, and these papers contained, with appropriate comments, President Jefferson's interdictory proclamation. These screaming journals, or others which soon followed in their track, brought intelligence of the spirit with which many of the sea-coast-dwelling Americans had hailed the proclamation, and had acted up to it. No insult, no outrage had been spared to the British flag; on the shores of the Chesapeake, more especially, everything that was British had been treated with indignity; a war had been made upon the water-casks of our departing ships of war, as if to prevent their carrying away with them that necessary element, and rifle-shots had been fired at some of our men-of-war boats. Moreover, to all this succeeded fresh instructions from Jefferson and Madison to their envoys in London, who consequently assumed a tone more than ever hostile, though pretending all the while to wish to treat with Mr. Canning upon the basis of the treaty concluded by Lords Holland and Auckland, provided only America were allowed to mix up entirely new matter and new principles with that ill-arranged, and by the American government repudiated, treaty. Yet, still persevering in moderation, the British government issued a proclamation recalling and prohibiting seamen from serving foreign princes and states, but declaring that the claim to seize deserters from the *national* ships of other powers would not again be brought forward, though the right of taking such deserters from merchantmen must be retained. They also recalled Vice-Admiral Berkeley, who had given the order to search the 'Chesapeake,' and they liberated and sent back to America two men who had been taken as deserters, but who had been proved to be natives of the United States. It was difficult to go farther, and Jefferson knew how far our government had gone—Jefferson had the Gazette containing the proclamation and other documents of a conciliatory tendency in his possession—when he proposed to Congress to lay an embargo on all vessels of the United States, and to command the trading ships of all other nations whatsoever to quit the American harbours as soon as the act should be notified to them, with or without their cargoes. The subject was discussed in both Houses in secret session, or, as we say, with closed doors. The proposition was warmly opposed by the federalists or Washingtonians, and by some others who foresaw that such a suspension of all trade or intercourse with foreign nations would be more injurious to their country than to England, against whom the measure was directed; but the resolution was, nevertheless, adopted by very large majorities. Thus matters remained from the month of December, 1807, to the declaration of war in 1812, an interval which the American government employed in adding to the number of its gigantic frigates, and which the commercial classes spent in a hopeless struggle against bankruptcy and ruin. Attempts were not wanting on our part to come to a friendly accommodation. In 1808 Mr. (now Sir George) Rose proceeded as our envoy to Washington, for the avowed purpose of restoring

* Boston newspaper, as cited in James's Naval History.

good intelligence; but Jefferson demanded the revocation of our orders in council as a preliminary, with the entire exemption of ships bearing the flag of the United States from any search, or from any question as to the goods they carried. Our envoy returned home, and the embargo was continued, notwithstanding the loud complaints of the north-eastern States of the Union, who were again muttering threats of breaking the federal compact, and setting themselves up as an independent separate republic. In 1809 Jefferson was succeeded as president by Madison. The embargo had, by this time, become so oppressive to a large part of the American community, that the new president, though well inclined to persevere in the system of his predecessor, was compelled to yield somewhat to the popular outcry. He peremptorily refused to take any steps against Bonaparte, who had confirmed and extended his Berlin decree by the issue of his Milan decree, a still more unscrupulous attack on the law of nations and the proper rights of neutrals; but he got an act passed by the legislature which repealed the universal embargo, and substituted a prohibition of intercourse with France and England, with the proviso that, if either of these nations should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, the suspended trade with such state might be renewed; and after this he signed a treaty with Mr. Erskine, which professed to be for the restoration of amity and commerce between the States and Great Britain. This time it was the British government that refused to ratify, alleging that Mr. Erskine had misunderstood his instructions and exceeded his powers. No treaty in fact could subsist while America put England in the same category with France, and kept up her incessant clamour against our orders in council, without doing anything to oppose the Berlin and Milan decrees, which had given birth to our orders. It should appear also that Erskine was over-reached, and was no match for the Americans in their own field of diplomacy. Without waiting for the ratification, without which—as Jefferson himself had so recently proved by his own conduct—the treaty was null, a great number of impatient American merchantmen set sail for the British ports, and for other places. Our government, however, provided that no loss should accrue to such vessels as had proceeded to England in reliance upon the treaty, and that none should be stopped until after a certain interval. In the same year, 1809 (in the month of April), the British government made a modification in the orders in council expressly to favour America, by opening to her trade the German Ocean, the Baltic, the foreign possessions of the Dutch, and part of Italy. In the following year Mr. Jackson, who had been sent out to Washington, on the recal of Mr. Erskine, to explain his mistakes and to renew the negociation, discovered very strong symptoms of a determination on the part of President Madison to brave a war with England. As if for the express purpose of throwing invincible obstacles in the way to any adjustment, the American government now, *for the first time*, complained of our order of blockade of May, 1806, as a violation of neutral rights, an infringement of the law of nations, and as a provocation which justified the Berlin decree; and, *also for the first time*, after four years of busy negociation, Madison put forward a new doctrine about blockades to which England could not have submitted without infinite mischief to herself. The American minister accused Jackson of stubbornness, intemperance of language, and ill will to the republic, and Jackson retorted the charges. The stubbornness of our envoy appears to have consisted in a strict adherence to his letters of instruction, and in a firm determination not to commit the honour and interests of his country. Madison instructed the American minister in London to demand the immediate recal of Jackson as an unfriendly, impracticable man. Our government recalled its envoy, but took good care not to express any displeasure at his conduct or bearing in Washington. The Congress had passed an act, providing that, if either Great Britain or France should modify its edicts so as that they should cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, and if the other nation should not, within three months thereafter, do the same, the restriction of intercourse should cease with regard to the first nation, but remain in force with regard to the second. This signified that Madison had been induced to believe that Bonaparte, though preserving the rigour of his edicts against all other neutral nations, and against England, would relax the severity of the Berlin and Milan decrees in favour of the United States exclusively. Backed by the Act of Congress, Madison (in November, 1810) issued a proclamation, importing that the two French edicts had actually been revoked, and that, therefore, from that time forward the American restrictions upon trade were abrogated with respect to France. And, on the same day, Gallatin, his secretary of the treasury, sent letters to the different collectors of the customs to announce the abolition of the restrictions with regard to France, but to declare that these restrictions would all be revived in full force with regard to Great Britain, within three months, unless she revoked her orders in council. By a subsequent letter Gallatin intimated that all British goods arriving subsequently to the 2nd of February, 1811, would be seized and forfeited.

By his Milan decree Bonaparte declared the ships of all neutrals which allowed themselves to be searched by the English—or, which, to use his language, submitted to the tyranny of Britain—to be, by the fact, *denationalized*. This meant that every American or other neutral vessel that submitted to our search should forfeit all the rights of its flag, and be treated as an enemy, and seized and confiscated by the French or the allies of France, wherever found. Nor did the decree remain a dead letter: scores of American vessels were seized in France, in Holland, in the German ports on the

Baltic, and in other dependencies or conquests of the French empire. In Italy they were seized by the French viceroy, Bonaparte's son-in-law, Beauharnais, and by his brother-in-law, Murat, King of Naples. In the Neapolitan ports alone many American merchantmen were embargoed, seized, sold, and, notwithstanding the war declared by the United States against England in 1813, no indemnity or satisfaction had been given when Murat was hurled from his throne in 1815. American consuls and other agents remained for years at Naples as humble supplicants, whose memorials were treated with contempt. But, when the French plebeian king was dethroned and fusilladed, when the old Bourbon king, Ferdinand, was restored to his continental dominions, and when the battle of Waterloo had for ever decided the fate of the man to whom they had so long truckled, then blazed forth the American ire; then were asserted the American rights, power, and dignity, and a republican squadron sailed into the bay of Naples with its stripes and stars, peremptorily demanding from old Ferdinand satisfaction for the wrongs, and indemnity for the injuries, which had been committed by Murat, the usurper of his throne, and threatening or seeming to threaten the defenceless city with a bombardment.* And be it also remembered that, even after the United States played into the hands of Bonaparte by concluding a treaty with him, and by waging hostilities against England, France herself did not give indemnities for the American ships and property she had seized, and that the closing of that long account was only obtained from his present majesty Louis Philippe, through the friendly mediation of the British government. The propositions and proclamations of Jefferson and Madison were little more than a repetition of Bonaparte's principles and of the very words of his decrees; for, in order to have them in the trap where he wanted them, he had said that his measures against neutrals should cease to have any effect with respect to any nation that should have the firmness to compel the English government to respect its flag. The Americans could not commit themselves to one single part of the principles maintained by Bonaparte in his Berlin and Milan decrees without committing themselves to the counterpart and consequences. Now, it was his principle that those who did not resist an injury offered them by either of the belligerents were no longer to be considered as neutrals; that by their acquiescence they made themselves parties to the cause of the enemy, and thereby rendered themselves liable to be treated in the same way as if they had actually declared war against the nation to whose interests they stood opposed. Thus, by the theory they embraced, and by the conduct they had pursued, the Americans had put themselves in an attitude of hostility which would have justified a declaration of war on the part of the English. But the English, having enemies enough upon their hands, wished for no war with them. In March, 1811, Pinckney, the American minister, was recalled from London, in a manner that was almost equivalent to a declaration of war by the United States. And from this moment the Americans acted as if the French edicts against neutrals had been entirely revoked, for they threw open their ports for ships bearing the French flag, and kept them shut against our flag. In the month of May of this same year (1811) open acts of hostility took place upon the seas. The British frigate 'Guerrière,' Captain Samuel John Pechell, took some British sailors out of American vessels, and, by the mistake so easily made, took some two or three men who were natives or citizens of the States. Upon discovering his error Captain Pechell returned all these Americans, except one man who voluntarily entered our service. Forthwith orders came down to the coast from Washington to Commodore Rodgers to protect the coasts and commerce of the States, and to put to sea immediately in *pursuit* of the British frigate (the 'Guerrière'), for her having captured and retained an American citizen. Nothing loth for a brush, and confident in his enormous superiority over the 'Guerrière,' Commodore Rodgers, with officers on board who had come from Washington with letters from President Madison, sailed from the Chesapeake on the 12th of May, with his immense frigate 'President,' which was all in fighting order, and a match for a ship of the line. On the 13th the American commodore was led to believe that he was getting near to Captain Pechell's frigate; and thereupon he got an extra quantity of shot and wads upon the deck and cleared the 'President' for action. The information was, however, incorrect; and, instead of falling in with the 'Guerrière' frigate, the 'President,' on the 16th of May, fell in with a still more unequal antagonist—the British ship-sloop 'Little Belt,' Captain Arthur Batt Bingham. The 'Little Belt' mounted 18 carronades, thirty-two-pounders, and 2 nines; she was a low flushed vessel, and her entire crew, counting boys, was 121. The 'President' was larger than an English 74; she carried 56 guns of high calibre, for 30 of them were long twenty-four-pounders, and 24 of them were forty-two-pounder carronades; her crew amounted to more than 600, of whom 300 were said to be British seamen! Nothing is so clear as that Commodore Rodgers had gone out with a determination to fight the 'Guerrière' frigate, and that, not finding her, he gladly attacked what he found. As he was descending the Chesapeake he questioned his people as to their readiness to fight. It may be presumed that these people were found more willing to fight our little sloop-of-war than they would have been to contend with our frigate, inferior as she was. At first the 'Little Belt' hauled up in chase to discover what the big ship was. At about half-past one

* The principle quoted by the Americans was right, however hard its present application; governments and dynasties pass away, but the country, the state remains, and must be made answerable for the past; but what was complained of at the time was the insolent, impatient manner in which the Americans pressed their demand on the old Bourbon prince, after having tamely submitted for so many years to the injustice and spoliation committed by Murat, under the orders of Bonaparte.

in the afternoon the 'Little Belt' was within ten miles of the 'President,' who then hoisted her ensign and commodore's pendant, and edged away, as if to meet the 'Little Belt.' Our sloop-of-war, at the same time, showed her number, and afterwards the customary signal, calling upon the stranger, if a British ship-of-war, to show hers. As Commodore Rodgers did not answer the signal, Captain Bingham concluded that the 'President' was showing her true ensign, that she was an American frigate, and consequently a neutral; and thereupon he hoisted his colours, wore, and resumed his course. Upon this Commodore Rodgers crowded sail in chase, being, as he afterwards said, desirous of speaking the sloop-of-war, and of ascertaining what she was. Captain Bingham now made the private signal, and, finding it unanswered, he felt assured that the stranger, notwithstanding her chasing, must be an American; and, therefore, he hauled down both ensign and signal, and continued his course. At half-past six in the evening the 'President' got near to the 'Little Belt,' who shortened sail, re-hoisted colours, and hove to, Captain Bingham wishing to remove all remaining doubts on either side, before it grew dark. But, to avoid being taken by surprise, Bingham did what every officer was bound to do in such circumstances—he double-shotted the 'Little Belt' guns, and got all clear for action. The 'President' approaching as if she intended to take a raking position, the 'Little Belt' wore three times. At eight o'clock in the evening the two ships were not above ninety yards apart, the 'Little Belt' being upon the starboard tack. And now Captain Bingham hailed the 'President' in the usual manner. The 'President' returned no answer, the Americans verifying now, as they had done on a previous occasion, the old adage, that there are none so deaf as those who will not hear. Meanwhile the 'President' kept advancing, as if intending to rake the 'Little Belt,' by passing astern of her. But the 'Little Belt' wore a fourth time, and came to on the larboard tack. The 'President' also hove to, and the ships lay within eighty yards of each other. Captain Bingham standing forward on a gun hailed, "Ship a-hoy!" The *neutral* frigate merely repeated, "Ship a-hoy." "What ship is that?" cried Bingham through his speaking trumpet. "What ship is that?" repeated Commodore Rodgers. And at this instant a gun was fired from the 'President,' and was presently answered by the 'Little Belt.' A furious though most unequal engagement ensued, and lasted for nearly half an hour, when the 'Little Belt,' owing to the loss of her after-sail and the damaged state of her rigging, fell off, so that no gun could bear. As she ceased her firing the 'President' ceased hers. Shortly after this Commodore Rodgers hailed, and learned, what he and his officers, and every seaman on board, must have known many hours before, that the vessel he had been fighting with was a British ship, and consequently (as there was no declaration of war between the two countries) a friendly ship. But Rodgers pretended that it was now for the first time that he ascertained the nation and quality of our sloop-of-war! This worthy citizen of the United States then put the question, whether his weak antagonist had struck? Captain Bingham answered with a right good English "No!" Our poor sloop-of-war lay almost a wreck upon the waters: her rigging was cut to pieces; not a brace or a bowline left; her masts and yards were badly wounded; her gaff was shot away; her upper works were riddled; her hull was much battered, and shots were entering her side between wind and water. Nothing but the lowness of her hull in the water, and the close distance at which she had fought, could have prevented her from being sunk by the enormously heavy broadside of the 'President.' And there wanted but this last catastrophe to crown the whole exploit—to put a climax to this first grand deed of the republican navy—to this atrocious attack on a cock-boat in a time of peace. Out of her small crew Bingham's sloop had eleven killed and twenty-one wounded. During the night the 'President' lay to, repairing her trifling damages, and waiting for daylight in order to have a clear and satisfactory view of the effects of her powers. The 'Little Belt' also lay to, getting fresh spars upon deck, and patching up her rigging. As soon as it was daylight (on the 17th of May) the American ship bore up, and to all appearance seemed ready to renew the action. At eight A.M. she passed within hail of the 'Little Belt,' and Commodore Rodgers cried out "Ship a-hoy! I 'll send a boat on board, if you please, sir." Bingham replied, "Very well, sir." The boat went under the command of Rodgers's first lieutenant, who bore a message from the commodore to the English captain. These American officers could plead blindness as well as deafness whenever it suited their purpose. They had kept the 'Little Belt' in sight for hours of broad daylight before the action commenced, they had had her so near, according to Rodgers's own official letter, that those on board the 'President' could measure her low stern and her broadside; they had good glasses on board, and they used them, and one of his officers said that Rodgers very well saw both the colours and the size of the 'Little Belt;' yet now, in his message to Captain Bingham, he professed to lament much "the unfortunate affair," and declared that, if he had known that the 'Little Belt's' force was so inferior to the 'President's,' he would not have fired into her! On being asked why he had fired at all, the American lieutenant replied, that the 'Little Belt' had fired first. This was denied by Captain Bingham, and by all on board the sloop. The lieutenant then, in the name of his commodore, offered assistance—nay, the magnanimity went so far as to suggest that, notwithstanding the total exclusion of the British flag, the shattered 'Little Belt' might be allowed to go into a port of the United States to repair and refit. Better for men who prized the honour of their

country, and who put a right estimate on this American generosity, to run the risk of sinking one and all, with their little ship, and with their own flag flying, than accept these offers! Captain Bingham declined them; the boat returned, the 'President' made sail to the westward, and the 'Little Belt,' as soon as she could do so, kept her own original course to the northward.*

It followed, as a matter of course, that, when President Madison and his congenial government were applied to for explanations, they disavowed any hostile orders, declared that their intention was only "to protect the coast and commerce of the United States," and repeated the monstrous fiction of their commodore, that a vessel not one-fourth equal to her in point of force had provoked, sought, and actually commenced an action with the 'President.' They commended Rodgers for all that he had done, they held him up as a man of spirit and determination, and when the war began in a somewhat more regular manner, they put him forward as their pet champion, and as the proper hero to defend the rights and dignity of their republican flag—which, indeed, we must admit Rodgers was. On the other side, the captain, officers, and crew of the 'Little Belt' received the applause of every generous mind (some in America not excepted), for the spirit they had manifested; and, on the 7th of February, 1812, Captain Bingham was promoted to post rank.

The English government, however, had sent out a new envoy to Washington on the hopeless task of attempting a friendly negociation. This new envoy and minister plenipotentiary was Mr. A. Foster, who had been secretary of embassy to Mr. Merry, in the years 1804-5-6, who knew the United States well, and who had many friends among their natives. Besides these advantages—as they were considered in the eyes of those who appointed him—Mr. Foster had a mild and conciliating temper, a good deal of diplomatic experience and address, and manners that were calculated to please and charm civilized men. But these advantages, or the greater part of them, were really disadvantages in America: Mr. Foster's friends were all of the federal or Washingtonian party, and that party was now crushed by Jefferson's mobocracy, who took his mildness for timidity, his gentlemanly manners for effeminacy, and who delighted to expose him on every possible occasion to that vulgarity and brutishness which were considered as essential parts of republicanism. We do not, however, mean it to be implied that any British diplomatist could now have done more than Mr. Foster did—that is, *nothing*. But, through the fault of our government, Mr. Foster was left doing this down to the moment that President Madison threw the gauntlet in our face.

In every stage of these American troubles our opposition party in parliament, and our Ultra-Whig and Radical newspapers, had so far taken sides with the Americans as to attribute the entire blame, or all the original causes of disagreement, to the folly, imbecility, or wickedness of our own government. And many who did not go to this extreme length, and who considered the quarrel with a more immediate reference to the purse and the commercial prosperity of the country, had maintained all along that in spite of the Berlin and Milan decrees, in spite of the glaring subserviency of America to France, in spite of the consideration, that, if we gave to the flag of the United States all that it claimed, that flag must render the most vital services to our numerous enemies, and at the same time monopolize to itself the trade of nearly all Europe, we ought to revoke our orders in council, and yield every contested point in them, forasmuch as the said orders in council were, particularly since America had closed her ports against us, and had stopped all intercourse of trade with us, far more mischievous to Great Britain than to the United States. Nearly all the political economists—in whose frigid school the warmth of patriotism and nationality seems apt to freeze—were of this opinion, and they were seconded and supported by our manufacturers, who could ill bear the interruption of their great export trade to America. From some of these quarters repeated intimations had been sent across the Atlantic, that, if the Americans would but keep aloof from any engagements with France, the orders in council would either be revoked, as regarded them, or very much modified. A committee was actually appointed by the House of Commons to examine the effects of the orders in council on the commercial interests of the nation, and this committee continued its inquiries during all the agitation which followed the assassination of Mr. Perceval. On the 16th of June (1812), Mr. Brougham (now Lord Brougham), the most eloquent of the advocates for the revocation of the orders, after minutely stating the facts brought out by the committee's inquiries, moved an address to the prince regent, beseeching him to recal or suspend the orders in council, and to adopt such other measures as might tend to conciliate neutral powers, without sacrificing the rights and dignity of his majesty's crown. Lord Castlereagh, now secretary of state for foreign affairs, deprecated the attempt to bring so important a question to a hasty decision, and stated that it was the intention of government to make a conciliatory proposition to the United States. After some demur Mr. Brougham withdrew his motion on the intimation that this definitive proposition was already decided upon in the cabinet, and would appear in the very next Gazette. And, accordingly, on the 23rd of June (1812), there appeared a declaration from the prince regent in council, absolutely revoking the orders in council as far as they regarded America. It had not been until the 20th of May that Mr. Russell, the American chargé d'affaires, transmitted to Lord Castlereagh "a copy of a certain instrument, *then for the first time communicated to this court*, purporting to be a decree passed by the

* James, Naval History.—Bingham's Report, and Court-Martial evidence.

government of France on the 28th day of April, 1811, by which the decrees of Berlin and Milan are declared to be definitively no longer in force in regard to American vessels." This long concealed document, or this document with a French falsified date, which was dated from the Palace of St. Cloud, stated that it was on account of the law passed by the congress of the United States on the 2nd of March, 1811, which ordered the execution of the provisions of the Act of Non-Intercourse with Great Britain, and on account of the resistance to the arbitrary pretensions of our orders in council, and the refusal of the Americans to adhere to a system invading the independence of neutral powers, and of their flag, that the Emperor Napoleon had revoked his decrees with regard to them. The prince regent's revocation contained a proviso, that the present order should be of no effect unless the United States revoked their Non-Intercourse Act. It has been usual to say that the revocation came too late; that, if our government had conceded it only a few weeks or a very few months earlier, there would have been no war with America. Now Madison had been treating with Bonaparte's government ever since the end of 1810; he had agreed to the preliminaries of a treaty with that government early in the summer of 1811; and the whole course of his conduct, and his passionate desire to illustrate his presidency by annexing Canada to the United States, were proofs demonstrative of his determination to brave a war with England. If this had not been his fixed and unalterable resolution in May, 1811, Commodore Rodgers would never have received from Washington the orders under which he had acted. The truth is, that Madison and his party had nicely calculated on which side lay the greater amount of profit to be obtained, or whether the United States would gain more by going to war with England than by putting herself in a state of hostility against Bonaparte and his edicts. As for the cogent logic of fear, or as to any immediate apprehensions from the "invincible" armies of the Man of Destiny, they could now have gone for nothing, for the French had no fleets left to convey great armies across the Atlantic—they could scarcely show a ship at sea anywhere. "Everything in the United States," says the historian of our navy, "was to be settled by a calculation of profit and loss. France had numerous allies; England scarcely any. France had no contiguous territory; England had the Canadas ready to be marched into at a moment's notice. France had no commerce; England had richly laden merchantmen traversing every sea. England, therefore, it was, against whom the deadly blows of America were to be levelled."* In April, 1811, when (according to French authorities) Madison's envoy at Paris got the St. Cloud revocation, and got other assurances from Bonaparte, the great storm gathering in the north, and which was destined to accelerate that conqueror's ruin, was not yet discernible to the eyes of American statesmen; when it became visible to them it was rather too late to retract, if Madison and his party had been inclined so to do; but it should appear that there was no such inclination, and that the president and the whole party felt inwardly convinced that the Man of Destiny, the most extravagant accounts of whose exploits were always the most current and the most admired among these republicans, would prevail over Russia as he had done over Prussia and Austria, and the more surely from Prussia and Austria being now his allies and assistants, and sending, like nearly every country in Europe, their troops to fight under the conqueror's orders. These Americans had cultivated the friendship of Russia; they had sent envoys to Petersburgh, who had fallen down on their knees as if to worship the throne of the czar; they had shown a strong leaning of affection to the Russian legation at Washington, and Jefferson had declared in his most emphatic style, that he firmly believed the Emperor Alexander to be not merely the best of sovereigns (for that were but a poor compliment according to his republican notions), but the best and most virtuous of men—"one enthusiastically devoted to better the condition of mankind"—and one who had "taken a peculiar affection to America and its government;"—but, notwithstanding all this, they believed, and they hoped, that Alexander would be crushed as the Emperor Francis had been, and that Bonaparte would soon date his decrees from Petersburgh as he had done from Vienna and Berlin.* It was believed, too, that the subjugation of Russia would leave Bonaparte without one powerful enemy on the Continent of Europe, and therefore lead to his employing all his means and energies against England. Great encouragement was also found in our temporary commercial panic, in the ill-timed report of our Bullion Committee, and in the parliamentary debates and the newspaper strictures to which it gave rise. Jefferson, for one, believed that the credit of the Bank of England was gone for ever, that the nation was bankrupt: and Jefferson, though no longer president, was still the oracle and tutelary genius of the anti-English and war party.

The moderation of England had allowed the American government to choose its own time. On the 14th of April, at a *secret sitting* of Congress, an embargo was laid on all ships and vessels of the United States, during the space of ninety days. This was intended to lessen the number of trading American vessels that would be at the mercy of England when war was formally declared, and at

* James.

* Sir Augustus Foster noted the democratic incongruity, that, of all the foreign legations at Washington, the one which seemed to be on the best terms with the Americans was the Russian;—"for, strange to say, they have always had a leaning of affection to the most absolute of all governments, and have been publicly as well as individually assiduous in courting the good graces of the autocrat." At a later period Sir Augustus mentions the surprise of the present Emperor Nicholas, at seeing the American envoy, the celebrated republican John Randolph, of Roanoke, drop on his knees to present his credentials. Sir Augustus had the anecdote from the emperor's own lips.

the same time to secure for their leviathan frigates, their privateers, and their other fighting ships, good and numerous crews. As there had been but little trade ever since their Suspension of Intercourse Act, as grass had already begun to grow on the deserted wharves of New York and Philadelphia, it was easy to obtain vessels and men for what they hoped might prove the profitable trade of privateering; and by getting the start, by taking England by surprise, they were pretty sure to make a good harvest in the American seas and among our West India islands. By the end of May most of the fastest sailing ships, brigs, and schooners of their merchant service were fitted, or were fitting out, as privateers; and many lay ready to sail the moment that war should be declared. They had not to wait long.*

The moderate party, which was now joined by a few of the anti-federalists or Jefferson men, made several efforts to avert or retard the breach; and by so doing they exposed themselves to charges of treachery and treason in the newspapers, and to the risk of being torn to pieces, or tarred and feathered by the mob, or cuffed and kicked within the hall of Congress by their furious opponents. On the 29th of May the matter was brought to a decision, by the rejection of a resolution, "That under the present circumstances it is inexpedient to resort to a war with Great Britain,"—which resolution was negatived in the House of Representatives by 62 against 37. On the 1st of June President Madison sent an awfully long message to both Houses of Congress, enumerating all the provocations received from England, commencing from the very beginning of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, reviving differences which had been long since considered as settled, putting in new pretensions and causes of quarrel, inventing some facts, and distorting others, giving a false colour and character to the conduct of the British government, misrepresenting the temper and feeling of the British people, and cleverly jumping over all the provocations, insults, and serious injuries which America had received from republican, consular, and imperial France, and to all of which she had so meanly submitted. On the 4th of June—probably because that day was the birth-day of our poor, old, blind, and distraught king, who had once been his sovereign—Madison laid before the two Houses copies of the correspondence which had passed between his government and Mr. Foster, the English envoy at Washington, intimating that from that correspondence it would appear that Great Britain was determined neither to revoke her orders in council, nor to concede any important point. Stormy and terrible were the debates which followed; loud were the boastings of one party, and dismal the predictions of the other. On the 18th of June, two days after Mr. Brougham's friendly oration in the House of Commons, they came to their resolution and declaration. Quibbling to the last, they did not declare war as it is usual to declare it; but they declared that the United States and Great Britain were, and had for a long time past been, in an actual state of war! This determination was carried in the House of Representatives by 79 against 49. The supporters of war were chiefly from the western and southern states to Pennsylvania inclusive; the advocates for peace were chiefly from the eastern and northern states. The ominous note of disseverance was again heard, the eastern and northern states complaining that their interests were sacrificed to the passions and the interests of their neighbours. When the news reached Boston, that city, though the cradle of the American revolution, put on mourning, and muffled its church bells. The same tokens of distress and grief were displayed in other towns of the east and north; but at Baltimore, where, as in other ports of the southern states, swarms of privateers were all ready to pounce upon the British West India trade, the exulting and furious mob perpetrated cruel atrocities upon some of the opposers of the war.

In those states where men were free to express their pacific sentiments, and their English predilections, many a bold remonstrance was made, and now, as at a later period, the war was set down as impolitic, unjust, iniquitous, and the central government was reminded of the weakness of the ties which bound the east and the north to it, and to the states of the west and south. These men said that, if war could be justified against Great Britain, it could only be on the ground assumed by the president and his government that the French decrees had been actually repealed, if not as far back as November, 1810, at least as far back as April, 1811; that the indiscriminate plunder and destruction of American commerce, the capture of American ships by the cruisers of France, and their condemnation by her courts and by the emperor in person, together with his repeated and solemn declarations that the Berlin and Milan decrees were still in force, and constituted the fundamental laws of his empire, at a period long subsequent to the pretended repeal, furnished a conclusive answer to this question. That this important question, moreover, was now definitely answered from another quarter; that the American people had now learned with astonishment the depth of their degradation—had learned that the French emperor, as if to show to the world that he held the Americans and their government in utter contempt, had reserved till May, 1812, the official declaration of the fact that these decrees were repealed in April, 1811; and then, not in consequence of his sense of their injustice, but because the American government had complied with his conditions and proposals by shutting her ports, and putting herself in a condition of hostility towards England; and that the emperor had since added that this decree of repeal was, when first drawn up, communicated to the American minister at Paris, as well as to his own minister at Washington, to be made known to the

* James, Naval History.

president and government. That, as the previous pledge of Great Britain had given the fullest assurance that she would repeal her orders in council as soon as the French decrees should cease to exist, and as her subsequent conduct left no doubt that she would have been faithful to her promise, they (the American remonstrants) could never too much deplore the long neglect to make known to Great Britain this repeal, whether such neglect were attributable to the French government or to their own. They continued—"If to the former belong the guilt of this duplicity and falsehood, every motive of interest, and every incitement of duty, call loudly upon our administration to proclaim this disgraceful imposition to the American people; not only as it would serve to develope the true character and policy of France, but to acquit our own officers of a suppression too serious to be overlooked or forgiven. But, whatever may be the true state of this mysterious transaction, the promptness with which Great Britain hastened to repeal her orders, before the declaration of war by the United States was known to her, and the *restoration of an immense amount of property, then within her power*, can leave but little doubt that the war, on our part, was premature, and still less that the perseverance in it, after that repeal was known, was *improper, impolitic*, and *unjust*."* These remonstrants drew a striking picture of Bonaparte's despotism in France, and his unprovoked invasions, his conquests and oppressions, in other countries. Admitting that England might have been guilty of many faults, they contended that she was still the most free and best governed country in Europe, the only champion of the independence of the other European nations; and they asked whether it became the free and independent republic of the United States to court the friendship of Bonaparte by rushing into a war with England? If war was to be the portion of these United States, still they must regret that such a moment and such an occasion should have been chosen for the experiment;—"that, while the oppressed nations of Europe are making a magnanimous and glorious effort against the common enemy of all free states, we alone, the descendants of the pilgrims, sworn foes to civil and religious slavery, should voluntarily co-operate with the oppressor to bind other nations in chains; that, while diverting the forces of Great Britain from the mighty conflict, we should endanger the defenceless territories of others." They called attention to the notorious and exasperating fact that Bonaparte had neither restored the American ships and cargoes he had seized, nor had so much as promised any indemnity for them. They said that, if this rash war was undertaken to appease the resentment or secure the favour of France, deep and humiliating must be the disappointment; for, although the emperor was "lavish in his professions of love for the American people," although he applauded their ready self-devotion, and declared "that their commerce and their prosperity were within the scope of his policy," yet no reparation had been made or offered for the many outrages, indignities, and insults he had inflicted on their government, nor for the unnumbered millions of which he had plundered their citizens.*

The aspect of Canada was very tempting. We had few regular troops there; hardly any preparations had been made to meet the coming invasion, though it had been foreseen for some months; our frontier forts and posts were in a poor condition; our dependence was almost solely upon the militia of the country; and the statesmen of Washington and other men hoped that the French Canadians would be enchanted by the warbling of the republican voice, and join the invaders rather than fight against them. As far back as November, 1811—that is to say, nearly eight months before their declaration of war—the central government had ordered that a force of 10,000 men should be collected at Boston. It was no doubt intended that the destination of this force should be kept secret, but the American government could never stop the babbling of American newspapers. Besides, this force, which was to be kept in readiness to march at a moment's notice, could have no other object than the invasion of Canada. Other measures, and particularly the sudden enrolment of 50,000 volunteers by the government of the United States, confirmed the opinion. But our own government was oppressed by the weight of more serious business; our local government in Canada had fallen to the lot of some incompetent men; and both were induced to believe that the United States in the end would shrink from a war which must commit their principles, their interests, and their safety, and—as it was believed—lead to hostilities between states and states, and finally to the dissolution of the federal union. If we look to the tremendous struggle going on in Spain, where the war depended almost solely upon English arms and English money, and in Russia, where English counsel, countenance, and support were required, and then to the war of independence which burst out in Germany, and to the immensity of means required, and the incessant attention demanded from the English government to keep alive the flame that was spreading throughout Europe, we shall comprehend that our ministers were entitled to some excuse for their neglect of American affairs; yet still they will remain amenable to the charge of having been guilty of the folly of too much despising the new enemy arrayed

* *Remonstrance of the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts against the War with Great Britain. State Papers, Historical Register of the United States*, vol. i., *Washington City*, 1814.

* They also dwelt upon the internal danger sure to result from any close connexion with the French, whose interference in the affairs of a foreign country had always ended in intestine dissensions and usurpation. "When we consider," said they, "the mysterious secrecy which has veiled the correspondence of the two governments from our view, and, above all, when we consider that in many instances the most important measures of our government have been anticipated in Paris long before they were known to the American people, we cannot conceal our anxiety and alarm for the honour and independence of our country: and we most fervently pray that the sacrifices we have already made to France, like the early concessions of Spain and Portugal, of Prussia and Sweden, may not be the preludes to new demands and new concessions; and that we may be preserved from all political connexion with the common enemy of civil liberty."—*Ibid.*

against them at this most busy and most critical moment.

Early in the year 1812, months before the hostile declaration, and while Madison was constantly assuring our envoy that he wished to continue amicable negotiations, the van of the invading army assembled near the Detroit frontier. It was 2500 strong, was well provided with artillery, and was under the command of Hull, who passed with the Americans for a great general and strategist. To defend the far-extending frontiers of Upper and Lower Canada, and to do garrison duty in the interior of those extensive provinces, we had only, of regular force, about 4000 men, and some of these were invalids. The Canadian militia then incorporated in the two provinces amounted to about the same number. Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief of these forces, was, if not an old woman, assuredly no general. But fortunately we had in the Upper province an officer of energy and ability, the gallant and still-lamented Major-general Brock. This officer, knowing of the gathering of Hull's force on the Detroit frontier, and seeing that war was certain, sent discretionary orders to a British officer in charge of Fort St. Joseph to act either offensively or otherwise against the enemy at Michilimachimac, as he should find advisable; and that officer, on the 17th of July, a month all but a day after the declaration of war at Washington, captured the American place, with its garrison of sixty men and seven pieces of ordnance. This was the first operation of the war, and was attended with very important consequences: it gave confidence to the Indian natives, who had long and almost incessantly been engaged in a cruel war with the people of the United States, and who now joined the British heart and hand; it opened a ready communication with many of their scattered nations or tribes, and it paved the way to the subsequent disasters, and the humiliating catastrophe of the renowned Hull.

In the meanwhile Hull and his 2500 republicans crossed the Detroit frontier, being preceded by a boastful proclamation, in which he spoke of success as certain, and in which he invited and incited the *oppressed* citizens of Canada to throw off their allegiance to a king and become citizens of the republic. Hull's first serious disappointment was to find that his proclamation was laughed at; that the French or French-descended Canadians despised his invitation as much as the British settlers despised it; and that, in short, the loyalty of the Canadians in general was as indisputable as their activity and bravery. Hull took possession of the British village of Sandwich, but made no attempt upon the British garrison of Amherstburgh. As soon as Major-general Brock learned the entrance of the Americans into Canada, he sent Colonel Procter to assume the command at Amherstburgh. Procter's operations were so prompt and judicious that Hull beat a retreat, recrossing the strait, and encamping under the walls of Fort Detroit. Procter, following him, advanced to Sandwich, and raised batteries on the British side. Brave Brock came up with reinforcements; and Hull, reduced to extremities before his appearance, hedged up in a corner, with his retreat and supplies alike cut off, capitulated, on the 10th of August, with 2500 men and 33 pieces of artillery. The fort of Detroit, its ordnance, stores, and a fine American vessel in the harbour, became the prizes of the conquerors. By the same capitulation the whole of the Michigan territory, which separated the Indian country from Canada, was ceded to the British, whose frontier it vastly improved. Leaving Colonel Procter on the Detroit frontier, Major-general Brock moved off like the wind to sweep the Niagara frontier of its republican posts and forts. But, when he was sure of his object, Brock was paralysed by learning that his incompetent commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-general Sir George Prevost, had concluded an armistice with the American General Dearborn, which provided that neither party should act offensively until the government at Washington should ratify or annul the truce. If this unsoldierly knight had wished to serve the Americans, he could not have adopted a more fitting measure. As his armistice did not prohibit them from transporting ordnance, stores, and provisions to their menaced Niagara frontier, all these things were brought up in great quantities and with great haste; and when they had well fortified that frontier, and had assembled an army of 6300 men upon it—and, of course, not until then—President Madison refused to ratify the armistice. And, while this was doing, Sir George did so little for Brock that he was left to meet this new invasion with only 1200 regulars and militia. Being free to choose where they should cross the Niagara, the republicans chose to pass opposite the village of Queenston on that strait; and at daylight on the 18th of October 3000 of them began to effect a landing on the Canadian shore. The only enemy they had to encounter was a British detachment of 300 men posted in the village; but long and obstinately did this gallant little band contest their passage. During the struggle, Brock arrived unattended from Fort St. George, to meet the death of a hero. He fell in the act of cheering on his gallant little band to a charge. Our 300 then retreated, and General Wadsworth, with 1600 of his republicans, established himself on the heights behind the village of Queenston. But short was his triumph; at three in the afternoon he was attacked by 560 British regulars and between 400 and 500 Canadian militia, who broke his line through and through, put his 1600 men completely to rout, and captured, after a very brief contest, 900 men and the republican general himself. Many of those who escaped from the field were drowned in attempting to swim back to their own shore; 400 remained on the field killed or wounded; the whole corps which had crossed the Niagara was, in fact, annihilated. The loss on the side of the British and Canadians in killed and wounded did not exceed 100. Such was the result of Madison's first Canadian cam-

paign; such the first success of his project to make, in his own phrase, "*territorial* reprisal for *oceanic* outrages."

His success on the ocean, where success could scarcely have been hoped for, was somewhat more consoling. His ships, like his armies of invasion, were in the slips, and ready to go at a word or at a signal. Although New York is 240 miles from Washington, Commodore Rodgers received his instructions early enough to get from the harbour of New York on the morning of the 21st of June, the declaration of war having been issued on the afternoon of the 18th. Besides his enormous double-banked frigate (a frigate only by name), Rodgers took with him another ship of the same sort called the 'United States,' a 36-gun frigate, a sloop-of-war, and a brig-sloop. His first object was to get possession of a fleet of about a hundred sail of our homeward-bound West Indiamen, which knew nothing of the war, and were feebly protected by one English frigate and a brig-sloop. Off the Nantucket shoal Rodgers fell in, not with our sugar-ships, but with our tight frigate the 'Belvidera,' Captain Richard Byron, who had been warned a day or two before by a New York pilot-boat that war was declared or was on the point of being declared. Rodgers came up first in his own leviathan the 'President,' which was, or ought to have been, a match for an English 74. Captain Byron's frigate was an ordinary 36-gun frigate. Before the battle began two other frigates of the American squadron were in sight. Yet the 'Belvidera' fought the big 'President' for two hours, at times in a running fight, at other times at rather close quarters, firing upwards of 300 round shot from her two cabin eighteen-pounders alone, and causing more mischief than she received. Commodore Rodgers, who got severely wounded in the leg by the bursting of a twenty-four-pounder, which also wounded fifteen of his crew, fought shyly towards the close, yawed about, and so gave time for the 'Congress' frigate to come up. At about half-past six in the evening the 'Congress,' which carried 50 guns and a picked crew of 440 men with scarcely a boy among them, opened a fire upon the 'Belvidera,' but the distance was too great for even her long guns to take effect, and she presently desisted. Captain Byron, by lightening his frigate, by cutting away three of her anchors, by starting fourteen tons of her water, and by throwing overboard some of her boats—by repairing her injured sails and rigging with admirable alacrity, and by exerting all his good seamanship,—gained way on the American squadron, out-manœuvred them all, and finally escaped. And, what was of still more importance, the 'Belvidera,' by giving Rodgers a fifteen hours' dance, and by leading him far away to the northward, destroyed his chance of getting at our hundred sail of West Indiamen. The republican commodore did not get so much as a spoonful of that sugar to sweeten the cup of his disappointment.*

He got nothing but some floating cocoa-nut shells, orange-peels, and refuse of that sort.* On the 30th of July he steered for Madeira, and thence for the Azores, looking in vain for some good prize. He was so fortunate as to escape falling in with any of our ships of the line; and this luck attended him to the last, although he ran many narrow chances, and was almost constantly in a state of flight and trepidation, as his own letters and the log-book of the 'President' will prove. But, to increase his present vexation, the scurvy broke out among his crews. Having captured six or seven small merchantmen and recovered one American vessel, he returned homeward. His squadron gave chase to a single British frigate, but could not catch her; and he arrived at Boston without one national trophy. Such was the result of what has been humorously called Commodore Rodgers's "maiden cruize." †

More British ships of the line and the largest of our frigates, with full crews and the best appointments, ought to have been sent to the American stations, to increase the chance of capturing or sinking the American leviathans that were afloat under the fictitious name of frigates, but our Admiralty did not take these necessary steps, and left our frigates exposed to very unequal contests. While Rodgers was looking for our West India fleet, the 'Guerrière' frigate, Captain James Richard Dacres, escorted another fleet of our merchantmen on their way home, and having done this duty she was returning alone to Halifax to obtain that refit which could no longer be postponed with any safety, for her bowsprit was badly sprung, her mainmast had been struck by lightning and was in a tottering state, her hull, from age and long service, was scarcely seaworthy, and, not to enumerate other defects, her gunners' stores were deficient, and what remained of her powder had lost its strength from damp and long keeping. "In fact," adds the correct and excellent historian of our navy, "such was the state of general decay in which the 'Guerrière' at this time was, that, had the frigate gone into Portsmouth or Plymouth, she would, in all probability, have been disarmed and broken up."‡ It was in this state that, on the 19th of August, the 'Guerrière' encountered the heavy United States frigate 'Constitution,' Captain Hull, which was seventeen days only from port, in the most perfect condition, with her stores ample, her powder fresh, her full complement of 476 picked men, and with almost everything that could give superiority over the crippled and long cruizing English frigate. In height, in length, the 'Constitution' far exceeded her opponent, and the weight of her broadside was one-half heavier than that of the 'Guerrière.' Moreover the 'Constitution' filled her tops with riflemen, expert marksmen who had

* James, Naval History.

* Official letter of Commodore Rodgers, as quoted by James, Naval Hist.

† James.—Rodgers anchored at Boston on the 29th of August, just six days after the safe arrival in the Downs of the 'Thalia' frigate, which, through the admirable conduct of the 'Belvidera,' had been enabled to convoy safely home our hundred West Indiamen.

‡ James.

been drawn from the sportsmen of the country and from the backwoodsmen, whose supplies of animal food in good part depended upon the chase of the deer and wild buffalo, and whose rifles were seldom out of their hands. All the American war ships had men of this kind.* Captain Dacres, however, waited for his antagonist, nothing daunted by her superiority, or by the lamentable state of his own ship and stores. He had only 244 men and 19 boys on board. The battle began at about five o'clock. Through the badness of her powder the 'Guerrière's' shot fell short, while those of the 'Constitution' reached their mark. After availing himself for some time of his apparent advantage at long-shot distance, Captain Hull came to closer quarters. At about six o'clock a twenty-four pound shot carried away the 'Guerrière's' mizen-mast by the board. The mast fell over the starboard quarter, made a large hole in the counter, and caused the ship to bring up in the wind. The 'Constitution' was now enabled to take up an excellent position on the 'Guerrière's' larboard bow; and now the wild riflemen in the tops began their murderous fire upon the British frigate. This was accompanied by a sweeping fire of great guns, to which the 'Guerrière' could reply with only her bow guns. In a quarter of an hour the two ships fell on board each other. The Americans now attempted to board, but the sea was rough, and the motion of the two ships unfavourable to their purpose; and their ardour was moreover cooled by some well-directed shots from our marines (unluckily these brave fellows had only their common muskets), which brought down the first lieutenant of American marines that was leading the boarding party with his riflemen, passed through the body of the first lieutenant of the ship who was at the head of the boarding sailors, and brought down the sailing-master. Giving up his intention of boarding Hull made his riflemen continue their unerring fire from the tops. Captain Dacres was severely wounded by a rifle ball while in the act of cheering his men; but, though suffering excessive pain, he would not quit the deck. At nearly the same moment his sailing-master and the master's mate were wounded by those fierce backwoodsmen, who endeavoured to pick out the officers. In a few minutes after falling aboard the two ships got clear, the 'Constitution' showing no farther disposition to grapple with or lash her adversary, an operation which she might easily have performed, as the 'Guerrière's' bowsprit had got entangled in her rigging. Notwithstanding his fire-eaters in his tops, and his two men to one, Hull preferred availing himself of the immense advantages that were in his favour in a cannonading to a hand to hand fight and the experiment of boarding. As the two ships fell asunder the 'Guerrière' came to a little and brought a few of her foremost guns to bear. Some of her wads set fire to the 'Constitution's' cabin; but the fire was put out before it reached the powder. At this moment the 'Guerrière's' bowsprit, "striking the taffrail of the 'Constitution,' slackened the fore stay of the 'Guerrière,' and, the fore-shrouds on the larboard or weather side being mostly shot away, the mast fell over the starboard side, crossing the main stay: the sudden jerk carried the mainmast along with it, leaving the 'Guerrière' a defenceless wreck, rolling her main-deck guns in the water." At about half-past six, the 'Guerrière,' just after this accumulation of disasters, began clearing away the wreck of her masts, in order to be ready to renew the action. But, just as she had cleared away the wreck, her spritsail yard, upon which she had set a sail to try and get before the wind, was carried away, and the 'Constitution' ranged a-head. The English frigate now lay an unmanageable hulk in the trough of the sea, rolling her main-deck guns under water. But her guns did worse than roll under water, many of them breaking loose, owing to the rotten state of the breechings and of the timber-heads. The 'Constitution' now took a position within pistol-shot; and, it being hopeless to contend any longer, the 'Guerrière' fired a lee gun, and hauled down the Union Jack from the stump of the mainmast. It was within a quarter of seven o'clock when the gallant young Dacres struck. He had fought the big 'Constitution' under almost every possible disadvantage for nearly three hours. A flag thus lowered could carry no honour to the victors. In the English ship there were fifteen killed and sixty-three wounded; in the American, according to Hull's report, there were only seven killed and seven wounded—but American reports were very often not more veracious than French bulletins, and from certain differences of regulations it was easy to conceal the real amount of their wounded.* The republicans were very desirous of carrying the 'Guerrière' into port as a trophy, and as a substantial proof of their vengeance, for the 'Guerrière,' when commanded by Captain Pechell, had been a chief cause of the quarrel which arose about English deserters, which quarrel had led to the severe castigation of the 'Chesapeake' by the 'Leopard;' but the poor 'Guerrière' was so rotten and so shattered in her hull, that by daylight of the morning after the action she was found to be sinking. Having removed the prisoners on board, Hull gave orders to set her on fire; and at half-past three in the afternoon the old frigate blew up. Although they returned to port without their trophy, Captain Hull and his officers and men were applauded to the skies, were honoured with the thanks of the government, and were presented with 50,000 dollars as a reward for their wondrous exploit.

* To collect these expert marksmen officers were sent among the backwoodsmen of the West; and to embody them and give them some necessary drilling, a marine barrack (for the fellows were called marines) was established near Washington city. From this dépôt the American ships were regularly supplied.—*James.*

* Several of the 'Guerrière's' officers, when carried on board the 'Constitution,' counted thirteen wounded, of whom three died after amputation. "In the British service, every wounded man, although merely scratched, reports himself to the surgeon, that he may get his smart-money, a pecuniary allowance so named. No such regulation exists in the American service; consequently the return of loss sustained in action by an American ship, as far as respects the wounded at least, is made subservient to the views of the commander and his government."—*James.*

Not a word was mentioned respecting the vast inferiority of force of the ship which had struck, either by Captain Hull or by the government. The fact was merely put in this shape—a British frigate had struck to an American frigate. It was more satisfactory to American vanity to boast of this rare feat of arms, and of "the genuine worth of the American tar," than to institute any inquiry as to the relative strength and condition of the two ships. As for the Americanism of their tars, nearly one-half of the seamen of the 'Constitution' were natives of England or Ireland—were renegades that might have been disposed to fight the more desperately (as many such deserters and traitors were found to do on other occasions) from their dread of the yard-arm or the gibbet if their present co-mates and brethren should be beaten and they themselves captured. It appeared in evidence on a court martial that these British subjects on board the 'Constitution' were leading men or captains of guns. Several of them were personally known to some of the officers of the 'Guerrière.' Several of them had deserted quite recently from English men-of-war. One fellow had served under Mr. Kent, the 'Guerrière's' first lieutenant. Mr. Kent found him on board the 'Constitution' making buck-shot, to lacerate and mangle his own countrymen. Like the rest, he now went by a new name, or by what the Americans called "a second name." The scoundrel had conscience enough left to blush when his old commanding officer stood before him under the half-deck of the American frigate. In fact, there were on board the 'Constitution' so many men whom the crew of the 'Guerrière' considered as their countrymen, that the American captain became seriously alarmed lest some feeling of compunction and remorse, some natural return of the love of country, should induce the renegades and deserters to join the captured crew of the 'Guerrière,' overpower him and his native Americans, and carry the 'Constitution' as a prize into the British port of Halifax. Hull kept his prisoners manacled and chained to the deck during the whole of the night after the action, and during the greater part of the following day.*

On the 25th of October the 'Macedonian' frigate, Captain Carden, attacked the American frigate 'United States,' Commodore Decatur. Here the disparity of force was equally great: the English frigate was shorter and lower and pierced for fewer guns, and her guns were of lighter calibre; her crew consisted of 262 men and 35 boys, the latter being scarcely worth ship-room; the American, in addition to her fifty-five guns, mounted a brass howitzer in each of her tops, and her crew amounted to 477 men and *one* boy. Yet the 'Macedonian' fought the 'United States' for two hours, and did not strike until she was a complete wreck, with upwards of a hundred shots in her hull, and with her decks strewed with thirty-six killed and sixty-five wounded.†

On the 29th of December, the 'Java' frigate, Captain Lambert, who had been convoying some outward-bound Indiamen, attacked the big 'Constitution,' which was now commanded not by Hull, but by Commodore Bainbridge. Again the vast disparity of force led to the defeat, but not to the disgrace, of the British flag. The 'Java' fought the 'Constitution' for nearly five hours, gave her a tremendous battering both in the hull and masts, and killed and wounded many of her men, in spite of her great height and the amazing strength of her bulwarks. When the battle had lasted more than two hours, Captain Lambert fell mortally wounded by a musket-ball or a rifle-shot from the 'Constitution's' maintop; and the command then devolved upon Lieutenant H. Ducie Chads, who had been severely wounded ever since the commencement of the action, but who had persisted in remaining upon deck. When scarcely a stick was left standing, when the ship was encumbered with wrecks of spars and rigging, and when almost every discharge set her on fire, the crew of the 'Java' lost no heart; and, seeing the 'Constitution' running from them, in order to resort to her "long-shot tactics," and fancying that she was going off altogether, they cheered her to come back, as they could not give chase.* The 'Java,' like the 'Guerrière,' was so thoroughly battered before she

* Captain Brenton, Naval Hist.

† The spirit displayed by our seamen on this occasion had never been surpassed. When, as a last resource, Captain Carden attempted to lay the American frigate on board, every man was on deck, including even the badly wounded, and men who had lost an arm, and they all cheered, "Let us conquer or die!" But an accidental shot struck the 'Macedonian's' fore-brace and prevented her laying the enemy on board. It is to be added that during nearly the whole action the 'United States' carefully shunned close fighting, and fought in a Parthian or retreating manner.—*James.—Marshall.—Brenton.*

* The 'Java' was perhaps the very worst appointed and worst manned ship of war we had afloat. This is saying a great deal, for our Admiralty, obliged to keep at sea in all parts of the world such an immense number of men-of-war, straitened in their finances, and finding it difficult to obtain, at short notices, crews for all these ships, had certainly sent to sea a great many vessels exceedingly ill manned. The 'Java' was a French frigate (originally the 'Renommée') which we had captured. She had been patched up and commissioned only on the 17th of August of the present year. The greatest difficulty was found in providing her, in a hurry, with any crew. There were about 60 Irishmen put on board of her who had never been at sea in their lives, except now when they crossed over from Ireland; about 50 mutinous rascals were drafted from a sloop-of-war lying at Spithead; and the press-gangs and the prison-ships furnished the rest. Captain Lambert remonstrated; but the Admiralty, not being able to give him better men, told him that a voyage to and from the East Indies would turn his landsmen, mutineers, thieves, and pickpockets into good sailors; and so perhaps it might have done if the voyage had not been liable to interruption. Eight tried and excellent seamen were, however, allowed to volunteer from the 'Rodney,' 74. But in all, including most of the petty officers, there were not 50 men that had ever been in action, or that could be called seamen. Eighty-six supernumeraries were shipped, but they were nearly all Marine Society boys; and in the total of 397 persons of every description there were a good many more boys. Next to the 'Rodney's' 8 men, the best men on board were the marines; yet, out of their number of 50, 18 or 20 were raw recruits. Before leaving Portsmouth, Captain Lambert declared to some of his friends that, owing to the ineffective state of his crew, he did not consider the 'Java' equal even to a French frigate if he should chance to encounter one.

The 'Constitution' was rather larger and heavier than Commodore Rodgers's ship the 'President.' Her crew consisted entirely of able-bodied men and practised sailors, there being the usual proportion of deserters from English ships, and of other subjects of Great Britain, whose treason and dread of the gallows disposed them to fight desperately. Her total number of men was 477. "The 'Constitution,'" adds the painstaking and accurate historian of our navy, "captured the 'Java' certainly, but in so discreditable a manner that, had the 'Java' been manned with a well-trained crew of 320 men, no doubt remains in our mind, and we have considered the subject seriously, that, notwithstanding her vast superiority of force, the American frigate must either have succumbed or have fled. Indeed, if American report be worth attending to, Captain Bainbridge, once during the heat of the action, had an idea of resorting to the latter alternative; but his first lieutenant, Mr. Parker (a native of Great Britain, we have been informed), succeeded in dissuading him from the measure."—*James.*

surrendered, that the American commodore set her on fire, as Captain Hull had set fire to the 'Guerrière.' The British 18-gun brig-sloop 'Frolic,' Captain Thomas Whinyates, which had been five years in the West Indies, and had a weak and very sickly crew, which had suffered severely in her masts and rigging in a storm the night before, attacked the United States 18-gun ship-sloop 'Wasp' five days only from the Delaware. In less than ten minutes after the action had commenced, and chiefly through the injuries she had sustained in the storm, which made it impossible for her to carry sail so as to tack, the British sloop lay an unmanageable hulk upon the water, exposed to the whole raking fire of her antagonist, without being able to return it with anything more than one of her bow-guns. The American, who had thirty-three minutes' firing almost entirely to himself, kept on pouring broadside after broadside, in order still further to thin the crew on the 'Frolic's' deck, and so make boarding easy, or in the hope that the 'Frolic' would strike and save him the trouble and the risk of boarding. But, let him blaze away as he would, the 'Frolic' would not haul down her colours, although the whole range of her deck was swept, and her captain was so severely wounded that he could not stand without support. It was but dastardly work to continue his unanswered fire, and to shirk boarding at once so helpless a craft. Boarding would have stopped the carnage; but it was not until the action altogether had lasted forty-three minutes, when they could scarcely see a man alive upon the 'Frolic's' deck, that the Americans boarded her. Americans we call them all, for convenience; but the first fellow among them that attempted to get on board the 'Frolic' was a well-known English sailor named "Jack Lang." No resistance could be offered to the numerous boarders; except the man at the wheel, the captain, and the second lieutenant, who was as badly wounded as the captain, and holding on for support, there was hardly any body left upon deck alive, all the rest being wounded, or in attendance upon the wounded below. Another of her lieutenants and her master were mortally wounded; 15 seamen and marines were killed, and 43 seamen and marines were wounded. In her wrecked and logged state, the 'Frolic,' in fact, had lost nearly half of her crew from the murderous and unanswered fire of the American guns. Here there was a less apparent disparity than in the frigate actions, but still there was a real and great disparity of force, even without taking into account the injuries the 'Frolic' had sustained from the storm, or the sickliness of her crew. The 'Frolic' had only 92 men, the 'Wasp' had 138; the 'Frolic' measured 384 tons, the 'Wasp' measured 434 tons.*

The victor was not permitted to carry his trophy into port, for the British 74 'Poictiers' hove in sight in the course of a few hours after the battle, recaptured the 'Frolic,' and captured the 'Wasp.' The boastful republic did not, however, fail to inscribe the name of Jacob Jones, the captain of the 'Wasp,' on the list of her immortals.*

There is an important lesson to be learned from the history of the rapidly democratized American republic, and of the conflict of its parties, wherein, through the nature of the struggle which had dissevered those states from Great Britain, the nature of the country, and the form and nature of the constitution which they had adopted, victory was sure to remain to the mob, or to the demagogues that pleased and flattered the mob, making it inevitable that presidents like Washington and Adams should be succeeded by chief magistrates like Jefferson and Madison: there is also instruction and admonition to be found in the last days of George Washington the Liberator; and therefore we have given some time and attention to these details, not having before said a word about the United States and their affairs since the time when Great Britain recognised their independence. Those national feelings which, we trust, will quit us only with our last breath, have induced us to go into some details of the causes which produced the new war with Great Britain, of the manner in which that war was conducted, and of the plans and objects which the American government had in view, in entering into that unnecessary conflict.

We showed at the close of the year 1811 the temper and policy of Bernadotte as Crown Prince of Sweden, the disposition of the Russian cabinet, and the fixed determination of Bonaparte to attack the Emperor Alexander in his own vast and remote dominions, because that sovereign would not ruin his country by enforcing the Berlin and Milan decrees, and, perhaps still more, because Bonaparte could no longer bear to hear the power of the Czar compared with his own. He treated Bernadotte like a revolted subject and traitor; he summoned Sweden as a vassal, to enforce his decrees against the British trade; he seized and confiscated fifty Swedish merchantmen; and lastly, in January,

* The crew of the American vessel consisted not of invalids wasted by yellow fever and other endemic diseases, but of young and able-bodied seamen, all fresh from port; there was only one boy or lad among them, and he was seventeen or eighteen years old. As usual, many of the crew were British or Irish. Even the midshipmen, and she had twelve or thirteen of them on board, were full-grown men, chiefly masters and mates of American merchantmen, while the one solitary midshipman on board the English sloop was a boy. The 'Frolic' had indeed eighteen boys in addition to her ninety-two men, but they were children, fit only to be used as powder-monkeys.

* Captain Jacob Jones was possibly of the number of those who liked hard dollars better than fame or immortality. But even in a pecuniary way he was tolerably well rewarded. President Madison's government gave 25,000 dollars to Jones, his officers and crew, and a gold medal to Jones, and silver medals to his officers, "in testimony of their high sense of the gallantry displayed by them in the capture of the British sloop-of-war 'Frolic,' of *superior force.*—*James, Naval Hist.*

It is impossible to read any regular American accounts of any of these maritime transactions without being reminded of "the great type of liars," whom Congreve has made proverbial. They have been disproved by the most honourable and truth-telling of eye-witnesses; they have been controverted by official documents, American as well as English; they have been branded for what they are by mechanical or by other very simple processes, such as measuring the size of the opposing ships, the length and calibre of the guns, weighing the balls used on either side, &c.; and yet the Americans and their admirers, with a brazen impudence, continue to this day to repeat the monstrous flams; and Mr. Fennimore Cooper, the most popular of their romance writers, turning naval historian, repeats nearly all of them without abatement, while to some of them he adds flourishes of his own, the materials of which he must have found in the same purely imaginative faculty which constructed the stories of 'The Red Rover' and 'The Last of the Mohicans.'

1812, he sent Davoust, one of the roughest and most brutal of his generals, to take possession of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rugen. This aggression induced Bernadotte, who had been corresponding with Russia before, to sign a treaty of alliance with the Emperor Alexander. The treaty was signed in March, 1812; and in an interview which took place between the Gascon and the Czar their plan of resistance was settled. Though war was not declared, Bonaparte was pouring troops into Prussia, Pomerania, and the Duchy of Warsaw. The frontiers of this Polish duchy touched the limits of Alexander's dominions, and the Poles, inflamed by their old animosities against the Russians, and not yet disabused of the confidence they had put in the French, were ready to arm and act, and were still dreaming about the re-construction of their ancient nondescript, and about their restoration, by Bonaparte, to a national independence. The Emperor Alexander, therefore, reinforced his armies and awaited the attack.

The astute Fouché once more interposed between Bonaparte and his ruin. He presented a memorial full of facts, arguments, and even eloquence; but, together with other advice from better quarters, it was thrown away upon the pride and conceit of the Man of Destiny, who seemed now but a foredoomed man. "I regulate my conduct chiefly by the opinion of my army! With 800,000 men I can oblige all Europe to do my bidding. I will destroy all English influence in Russia, and then Spain must fall. My destiny is not yet accomplished; my present situation is but the outline of a picture which I must fill up. I must make one nation out of all the European states, and Paris must be the capital of the world! There must be all over Europe but one code, one court of appeal, one currency, one system of weights and measures; I will destroy all Russian influence as well as all English influence in Europe. Two battles will do the business; the Emperor Alexander will come to me on his knees, and Russia shall be disarmed! Spain costs me very dear; without that I should have been master of the world by this time; but when I shall become such by finishing with Russia, my son will have nothing to do but quietly to retain my place."* Such was the rhapsody which this strange being returned to his friendly remonstrants and advisers. Though his head was clear, both head and heart were possessed by a sort of monomania; and, just before the campaign and during its progress, as well as after its fatal termination, he betrayed symptoms of an alienation of mind, and of a disordered state of stomach and of general health.

Before quitting Paris, Bonaparte directed Maret, now Duke of Bassano and minister for foreign affairs, to write a letter to Lord Castlereagh proposing negotiations with England, on the basis of the *uti possidetis*. He now professed to be willing to grant nearly everything that he had refused during the negotiations which preceded the rupture of the Peace of Amiens—to allow Sicily to remain under the Bourbon Ferdinand IV., and Portugal to remain under the House of Braganza; but he still insisted that Spain should be secured to his brother Joseph. At such a moment no statesman could be blind to the motives which dictated this proposition for peace with England, and none but a traitor or an idiot could have entertained the proposition. It was quite enough for Lord Castlereagh to reply, as he did, that our engagements with the Spanish Cortes, acting in the name of Ferdinand VII., rendered our acknowledging Joseph impossible.

Early in May Bonaparte grossly insulted the Russian minister at Paris, and sent him his passports. On the 9th of May the Emperor of the French, with his young Austrian empress, set off for Dresden. Obedient to his summons, the kings of his own making, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Westphalia, and other tributary princes, met him in the fair Saxon capital. Thither also repaired the Emperor of Austria, with his empress; and the King of Prussia, who could not bring his queen, for she had been slain by the evil tongue and evil doings of Bonaparte and his agents. His Prussian majesty had been already obliged to sign a treaty which placed 20,000 men of his diminished army at the disposal of Bonaparte. The Emperor of Austria now engaged to furnish 30,000 men to act against Russian Poland. After brilliant festivals, and balls and plays, wherein Talma played to a parterre or pit of kings, Bonaparte quitted Dresden and his wife, and posted to Thorn, where he arrived on the 2nd of June. His immense army was already assembled in Poland, chiefly between the Vistula and the Niemen. Europe had never seen such a condensed host: there were 270,000 French, 80,000 Germans of the Confederation of the Rhine, 30,000 Poles, 20,000 Italians, Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, Romans, Neapolitans, and 20,000 Prussians! On the 24th and 25th of June this immense army, in three large masses, crossed the Niemen, then the boundary of the Russian empire, and entered Lithuania, without meeting with any opposition. The Russian army, under Barclay de Tolli, 120,000 strong, evacuated Wilna, the capital of the province, as the French approached, retiring slowly and in good order towards the river Dwina. Another Russian army under Prince Bagration, 80,000 strong, was stationed near the Dnieper. On the 28th of June Bonaparte entered Wilna, where he remained until the 16th of July, more and more confident that the Russians would not dare to face him in the field, and that the obstructions of nature must yield to his iron will and the confidence and energy of his army.*

* Fouché.—Abbé de Pradt.

* While at Wilna, Bonaparte received a deputation of Polish patriots from the diet of the duchy of Warsaw, who entreated him to proclaim the union and independence of Poland. His answers were cold, cautious, or enigmatical. He told them that he had guaranteed to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, the part of Poland which he actually possessed; and that for the rest they must depend upon an inscrutable Providence and their own efforts. The effect of this answer, and of the marauding, ruffianly conduct of his army in Poland, and in Lithuania, which had once been a part of Poland, he and that army felt to their cost when they had to fly through those regions from the icy hammer of winter and the sharp spear of the Cossacks.

In the meanwhile the native country of Kosciuszko was treated as the country of an enemy. So enormous a force required supplies commensurate; and, as the armies had always been accustomed to live at large, according to Bonaparte's theory and practice that every war should support itself, the French commissariat was very defective, and the French government averse to making any great outlay for provisions. Those which had been ordered to be collected in Wilna and other places came on but slowly, and the markets of Lithuania, an impoverished country, were but thinly supplied. The Russians, who from the first had determined to retire into the heart of their own country, and to draw the invaders after them, had removed all their stores into the interior. The French and Germans, and we believe we must add the Poles and the very Lithuanians who were following the tricolor flag, went about the country marauding and plundering, feeding their horses on the green corn, violating the women, and killing those who resented such treatment. The preceding year, 1811, had been a year of misery and affliction to Lithuania, for the harvest had been a very bad one: the present year promised a sure augmentation of wretchedness, for, like locusts, these hordes of men destroyed far more than they consumed, wasting the unripe corn, and the only hope for the future. The richest and most fertile of countries could hardly have supported for any length of time such enormous masses of wasteful men; but Lithuania was at all times thinly peopled and miserably poor, and the Russian provinces beyond it were mostly in the same condition. It was madness to think of carrying on war in such regions as it had been carried on in fat Belgium, in fertile Italy, and in the well-peopled and well-cultivated parts of Germany. His long and unavoidable stay at Wilna, which brought him almost a month nearer to the winter, must have been very fatal to Bonaparte's operations, even if they had not been extravagant and all but hopeless from the first. Many symptoms of discouragement were already visible, and some of these were derived from accidents and from the elements. We have seen, even in the fury of the French revolution and of the French atheism, that certain superstitions clung to the unbelieving hearts of the French. This continued. As Bonaparte first reached the bank of the Niemen, in the darkness of night his horse stumbled and threw him on the sand. Some voice instantly said, "This is a bad augury! A Roman would give up the enterprise." When that frontier river was crossed, and when the grand army began to penetrate into the sombre pine forests of Lithuania, their ears were struck by the solemn sounds of distant thunder, which, for a time, were mistaken for the distant firing of artillery: the summer sky was overcast, till the day, in those forests, looked like night; and then the thunder rolled nearer and nearer, and the forked lightning burst over their heads. The hearts of the men were awe-stricken, and many were heard to say that this too was a bad omen. The thunder and lightning were followed by torrents of rain and by gales of wind; and the insupportable heat of the atmosphere was suddenly changed into a distressing cold. As early as this the horses of the army had begun to perish; and a great deal of baggage and camp equipage had been abandoned in the sands of Lithuania, between the Niemen and Wilna. At last enormous droves of cattle—looking when on the march like armies themselves—were collected for the use of the endless host, were driven forward by Polish peasants under the escort of Polish lancers, to be killed and eaten day by day; and the grand army quitted Wilna, followed by a train of baggage waggons, provision waggons, and other vehicles, which seemed to form still another army. But 20,000 men were left behind in badly provided and insecure hospitals; and more than 100,000 men took with them diseases which required the application of remedies not safely used in cold climates and at the wintry season by soldiers, or by any class of persons constantly exposed to the inclemency of the atmosphere. Demoralised and diseased, a very large part of this army of invasion merited as much, at starting, the name of "*une race gangrénée*," as it did when retreating, discomfited and scattered by the angry breath of Heaven, and perishing on the interminable snow-covered plains of Russia.* In their march through Lithuania rather more than less than 100,000 men dropped off from the ranks through death or sickness, through desertion, or through the surprises and captures made by the Cossacks, who had already taken the field: the rain fell in torrents; the roads were execrable; the horses continued to perish; the cattle died off or were wasted to mere skin and bone. According to a high authority in such matters,† the Russian general, Barclay de Tolli, was a chief quite capable of conducting this defensive war successfully; and it appears that de Tolli did not mean to fight at all until Bonaparte should be surrounded by a vast desolation of snow and wilderness, and that the battles which the Russians fought between their frontiers and Moscow were all against de Tolli's opinion. In these engagements, however, the Russian infantry more than maintained their old reputation for steadiness and hardihood; and, all the while that they were retreating, no attempt to disorder them succeeded, and no actual attack made by the French van—though the impetuous Murat charged with it—could make any serious impression.‡ The two

* An eloquent Protestant clergyman of Geneva, in a thanksgiving sermon in the year 1815 for the deliverance of his country from the French, and for the re-union of Geneva to the Swiss Confederacy, described this Grand Army of Bonaparte as "*une race gangrénée, qui n'était plus bonne qu'à mourir!*"

† General Moreau. This exile—once the rival of Bonaparte—while residing in the United States of America, strongly expressed these opinions to our able and amiable diplomatist, Sir Augustus Foster.

‡ "Whenever attacked," said an officer on Murat's staff, "the Russians formed into squares, solid or hollow. We could sometimes knock off a little angle of those squares, but *entamer* those squares we never could. Murat pursued too rapidly to allow of any heavy artillery keeping pace with him; and our light pieces (when we had any), and our charges with sabre, lance, or bayonet, and our fusilading, were all thrown away upon those dark immovable masses."—*Private information from a distinguished Italian officer who served on Murat's staff, and who was scarcely from his side during the whole campaign.*

armies marched almost day and night: every morning the Russian rear-guard seemed to have escaped from Murat; every evening Murat was again close up with it; and nearly every evening he attacked it; but the bold and crowned dragooner always found the Russians well posted, to all appearance fresh and well fed, while his own immense host of cavalry had very often to fight upon empty stomachs.* Neither men nor horses could stand the long continuance of this work: many died, or fell sick or lame, and became useless upon the road; some were killed or wounded in every attempt upon the Russian squares; the loiterers and the disabled were carried away prisoners, or were dispatched to another world by the flying Cossack pulks, or by the armed Russian peasantry and townspeople: and all this fatigue, all these losses were uncompensated by any exciting or brilliant achievement. Dearly as he loved "the rapture of the fight," Murat grew heartily sick of this war, and wished himself back in his sunny city of Naples long before he reached the bleak and dreary town of Smolensk.

After partial engagements at Mohiloff and Witepsk, Barclay de Tolli continued his retreat upon Smolensk. Some of the French generals would have paused; but their chief determined to follow the Russians. He observed that forward marches alone could keep such a vast army together; that to halt or retire would be the signal of dissolution: "We must therefore advance upon Moscow, and strike a blow in order to obtain peace, or winter quarters and supplies." Leaving a body of reserve in Lithuania, and the strong corps of Marshal Macdonald on the Dwina towards Riga, Bonaparte crossed the Dnieper on the 15th of August, the anniversary of his fête, or the day of St. Napoleon —the saint which he had forced into the Roman calendar, and had made the greatest of all saints. And while the army was crossing the river—the ancient Borysthenes, from which, in the decline of the Roman empire, the barbarians had marched to the walls of Constantinople—France and all her dependencies were re-echoing with the salutes fired in honour of the great day or of the great man. Murat and a part of his cavalry were the first to gain footing on the opposite bank, which was partially covered by Cossacks, supported by a beautiful Russian division, formed *en bataillons carrés*, or in the usual impenetrable squares. Murat now hoped to get a handful of laurel, for the Russian division seemed to have the intention of keeping its ground, or of making an attempt to drive the French horse back into the river. Nearly the whole of the grand army was present on the opposite bank as spectator, for it had been concentrated previously to the passage of the river. Murat hurraed and charged, and hurraed and charged again and again; but he could not *entamer* the division without that French artillery for which he had disdained to wait: and he lost in a useless display of bravery a considerable number of men,

* Général Comte de Ségur.

and had once more to gnash his teeth at the steadiness and order and the inexpugnability with which that solid and staunch infantry withdrew towards Smolensk. On this, as on nearly every other occasion, the Russians were enabled to retire peaceably upon their main body. Murat's impetuosity was much censured by the French army, and by Bonaparte himself. They now had entered Russia Proper with about 180,000 men. The day after crossing the Dnieper—on the 16th of August —Bonaparte found Barclay de Tolli waiting for him under the walls of Smolensk. But the Russian general only intended to keep the French in check while the inhabitants were carrying off or destroying provisions and all those things which the enemy most wanted; and after a little hard fighting de Tolli evacuated Smolensk, and continued his retreat upon Moscow. The Russian rear-guard set fire to the town before they quitted it, and the place became a horrid black ruin, incapable of giving shelter to foe or friend. The sight of these flames, and of the universal conflagration that gathered round the invading army as it advanced into Russia Proper—for, either by the inhabitants or by the soldiery and the Cossacks, nearly every town, village, and hamlet was set on fire, and then deserted—was calculated to demonstrate the nature of the resistance, and the hopelessness of the invasion; but Bonaparte obstinately kept his eyes shut, and rushed onwards to his doom. On the 7th of September he fought the bloody battle of Borodino, and gained a victory, but at the cost of nearly one-fourth of his army, or of that part of it which was advancing with him. On neither side were the wounded counted; but 10,000 French and 15,000 Russians lay *dead* on that bloody field. He took scarcely any prisoners or guns; and his loss was much more serious to him than was that of the Russians to them. Whole French battalions had been annihilated almost to a man.* There was no flight, no confusion, no loss of heart, or of a noble military countenance; the Russians continued their retreat the day after the battle, in the greatest order, though the French were treading on their rear. On the 14th of September they traversed the city of Moscow, which most of the inhabitants had already evacuated: and on the same day the French entered into that desolate capital. No Russians were seen in Moscow, except convicts and men of the poorest and most desperate class. That very evening a fire broke out in the town, but it was extinguished during the night. On the next day, the 15th of September, Napoleon took up his quarters in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Czars; and pompous bulletins were issued and dated from that spot. On the following night the fire broke out again, and Moscow was in flames in a dozen quarters at once, and at points opposite to and altogether unconnected with each other. The high winds of autumn fanned the flames and

* The Russians had good positions and some formidable redoubts but in number they were certainly not superior to the French. When the battle commenced each army had on the field about 120,000 men.

gradually spread them all over the city. Nothing could now stop or check the conflagration. On the third day of its raging Bonaparte abandoned the Kremlin, where he had run great risk of being blown into the air, as an immense quantity of ammunition had been collected in that palace, and as sparks and fragments of burning matter were flying all about. On the 19th the rage of the fire abated, after having destroyed 7682 houses, or about four-fifths of the city. Lodging might still have been found for the troops, although fires did continue to break out as if by involuntary combustion; but there was no obtaining proper supplies of provisions; and the French were obliged to live chiefly on the flesh of their horses, which was salted down. If he had begun a retreat at once, Bonaparte might yet have saved a very large portion, if not the mass, of his immense army; but he remained among the ruins of Moscow for five weeks, inert and apparently stupified, talking oracular nonsense which could no longer impose upon any rational mind, and sending people to negotiate with Alexander, whose object it was to gain time—who now wanted no other negotiators, and scarcely any other generals, than snow, frost, and famine. At last, on the 19th of October, when the severity of winter had already set in, the *Grande Armée* began its retreat. Their leader knew not which way to lead it so as to have the best chance of obtaining provision and shelter. He attempted to retire by Kaluga, but the terrible reception which the Russians gave him at Malo Yaroslavitz compelled him to take the road by Smolensk, by which he had advanced, and thus to retreat through a country that was now as bare as a desert. Every one is familiar with the astounding loss of life, and the sufferings and horrors that ensued. The starving, diseased, disorganised, and mutinous columns were followed by the Hettman Platoff and his avenging Cossacks; and the Russian grand army was never far distant. The French had left Moscow 120,000 strong, but by the time they reached Viazma on the Wop they were reduced to 60,000 fighting men. On the 6th of November they were overtaken by the Russian winter with all its terrors. They now died like rotten sheep. The survivors at last reached Smolensk, to which place some stores and provisions had been brought up for them. On the 14th of November Bonaparte left Smolensk with about 40,000 men able to carry arms. His rear divisions had now to sustain almost daily attacks from the Russians and Cossacks; but the frost and the snow, the nipping blasts of night which swept over those vast open, treeless, houseless plains, killed more than sword and spear, and bullets and cannon-balls. When he arrived at Oresa, in Lithuania, Bonaparte had only 12,000 men with arms in their hands; and his 40,000 horses had dwindled down to 3000. But, on approaching the river Berezina, he was joined by a corps of reserve of nearly 50,000 men. One-half of the army thus reinforced was lost in effecting the passage of the Berezina; and after that terrible passage there was scarcely the semblance of an army, scarcely a remnant of discipline or of courage to be found anywhere. On the 3rd of December Bonaparte arrived at Malodeczno, whence he issued his famous *Twenty-Ninth* bulletin, which agitated or astounded the whole of Europe. Fiction and invention could no longer be available; the extent of his disaster could not possibly be concealed; and this time—for the first time and the last—he told the whole truth, frankly confessing that except the Guards he had no longer an army! Two days after this—on the 5th of December—he took leave of some of his generals, and stole away from the wretched remains of his troops to commence a rapid flight towards France. He travelled in a sledge, accompanied by Caulaincourt, and was so fortunate as to escape the Cossacks. On the 10th of December, at a late hour, he arrived at Warsaw, where he might be considered safe. During his very short stay in that city, his conversation proclaimed either that his intellect was partially alienated, or that he was the most wretched, heartless, and contemptible despot that had ever trifled with the destinies of mankind. The Abbé de Pradt, then his resident minister at Warsaw, found him at the posting-house warming himself by a smoking wood fire. "Ha! Monsieur l'Abbé," said he, "from the sublime to the ridiculous is but a step! There is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous!" And he kept striding up and down the smoky room, rubbing his hands, and repeating this *mot*, which Thomas Paine had emitted before the name of Napoleon Bonaparte had been heard in the world, and the idea of which had been enunciated, with slight variation of expression, many times and centuries before the days of Paine. He reached Paris on the 18th of December, at night.* As he stood in the luxurious and splendid apartment of the Tuileries, warming himself before a blazing fire, he said, "Gentlemen, it is much pleasanter here than at Moscow!"† The loss of the French and their auxiliaries, in the whole of the Russian campaign and retreat, is estimated at 125,000 slain in fight; 132,000 dead of fatigue, disease, hunger, and cold; and 193,000 prisoners, including 3000 officers and 48 generals. They had left behind them 900 pieces of cannon, and 25,000 waggons, cassoons, &c.

Ever since the opening of the Russian campaign the eyes of Europe had been turned with intense anxiety to the regions beyond the Vistula and the Niemen. The countries that were groan-

* He had travelled all the way *incognito*, and with amazing rapidity. He arrived at Paris twenty-four hours after the publication in the 'Moniteur' of the famed Twenty-Ninth bulletin which had been written at Malodeczno. His arrival was unexpected: even the Empress Maria Louisa was ignorant of his coming; and all were taken by surprise when he drove up to the Tuileries.

† One who was himself a cynic and an egotist has said, with some point and truth, "The great error of Napoleon, 'if we have writ our annals true,' was a continued obtrusion on mankind of his want of all community of feeling for or with them; perhaps more offensive to human vanity than the active cruelty of more trembling and suspicious tyranny. Such were his speeches to public assemblies as well as individuals; and the single expression which he is said to have used on returning to Paris after the Russian winter had destroyed his army, rubbing his hands over a fire, 'This is pleasanter than Moscow,' would probably alienate more favour from his cause than the destruction and reverses which led to the remark."—*Lord Byron, note to Canto III. of Childe Harold's Pilgrimage.*

ing under French oppression anticipated, from the success or failure of this Sesostris-like expedition, enfranchisement and a restored nationality, or a confirmed slavery. At first every bulletin announced a victory or an unopposed advance, and every courier brought intelligence which seemed to unthinking minds to demonstrate that Russia was incapable of contending with Bonaparte, who led in his train the armies and the princes of nearly all Europe. Others, who better knew the capabilities of the country for prolonging a defensive war, doubted whether the Emperor Alexander would prove true to himself, and whether, after his army had been repeatedly defeated, and after the ancient capital of his empire had fallen into the power of his enemy, he would not be induced to negotiate, and in the end to submit. If others entertained as much anxiety as England—and many countries must have been far more anxious—none could render Russia so much countenance and assistance as England could, and did. The unprofitable war with the Turks was still in progress when Bonaparte determined to invade the dominions of the Czar. At the opportune moment England stepped in as a mediatrix, and Mr. Stratford Canning, then a young diplomatist,* speedily, and with great ability, negotiated a treaty between Sultan Mahmoud and the Emperor Alexander, which enabled Russia to withdraw from the Danube an army of from 30,000 to 40,000 men, and to bring that army to the Berezina, upon the flank of Bonaparte's flying and disorganised forces. It was not the fault of Mr. Stratford Canning that the conquered conqueror was allowed to escape across that freezing Russian river: if the obtuse Russian admiral who commanded that liberated army of the Danube had not loitered on his way, and had not made mistakes as to his lines of march, neither Bonaparte nor a single man belonging to the Grand Army, which had penetrated to Moscow, would have effected the passage of the Berezina. These preliminaries of peace between Russia and Turkey were ratified at Bucharest as early as the 28th of May. But two months before this a treaty of alliance had been signed at Petersburgh between Sweden and Russia, Bernadotte being encouraged thereto by the assurances he had received from the British cabinet. And in the month of July a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and Sweden was ratified; and in the month of August, when Bonaparte was penetrating into the heart of the Russian empire, with victory in his van, a treaty of peace and union was ratified at Petersburgh between Great Britain and Russia, which renewed all their ancient relations of friendship and commerce. The Russian fleet, which would have been frozen up and rendered almost helpless if left in its own ports, was sent to winter in England—a measure which was indeed a token of mutual confidence, as well as of the sense of present danger on the part of Russia.†

* Now Sir Stratford Canning, and ambassador to the Ottoman Porte.
† Dr. John Aikin, Annals of the Reign of King George III.

It was chiefly English money or English credit which set the army of the Danube in motion, and which put the other armies and commissariats of Alexander in a better condition than had been usual with them. It was the undiminished and unstained English credit at Petersburgh, Stockholm, and at every trading town on the Baltic Sea—it was the undoubting faith in British bills of exchange and in our home-vituperated bank-notes—that enabled Russia to put on her panoply of war, and that contributed, almost as much as the angry elements, to the destruction of the invading hosts. A French officer who accompanied General Lauriston to the Russian head-quarters once said to us, "We had been led to believe that your credit was gone, that England was bankrupt; but, when I found everywhere that your bills of exchange and bank-notes were received and passed as if they had been gold, I trembled for the result of our daring enterprise!" English aid, both privately and publicly, was promptly given to the Russians who had suffered in the war. We are old enough to have a distinct recollection of the generous sympathy and enthusiasm with which a large subscription was raised in the city of London for the purpose of rebuilding the city of Moscow.

Parliament, with a newly elected House of Commons, assembled on the 24th of November. Its most noticeable measures previous to the Christmas recess were a grant of 100,000*l.* to the Marquess of Wellington, and a grant of 200,000*l.* for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

A. D. 1813. After some stormy debates in the Commons on the American war, in which the opposition not only blamed the ministry for the negligent manner in which the maritime part of the conflict had been conducted, but also charged them with having been the aggressors, and with having provoked an unnecessary and fatal contest, Lord Castlereagh, on the 18th of February, moved an address to the prince regent, expressing entire approbation of the resistance proposed by his royal highness to the unjustifiable claims of the American government, a full conviction of the justice of the war on our part, and the assurance of a cordial support from that House. The opposition renewed their censures, but they were too weak to try a division: the address was agreed to, *nem. con.*, as was another in the House of Lords to the same effect.

The budget was introduced on the 31st of March. The requisite supplies of the year were stated at more than 72,000,000*l.*, out of which England and Scotland were to furnish more than 68,500,000*l.* This was a larger amount than had been voted in any preceding year; but the American war promised to be expensive, and it was generally felt that at this decisive moment we ought to put forth all our strength, in order to finish the contest in Spain, to prolong our aid to Russia, and to give encouragement and assistance to the other nations of the Continent that should rise and throw off their chains. All the estimates were voted by im-

mense majorities. Among the ways and means were war taxes to the amount of 21,000,000*l.*, a fresh loan to the same amount, and a vote of credit for 6,000,000*l.* On all points the ministerial majorities were stronger than they had been for many years. The Russian campaign, and the annihilation of Bonaparte's immense army, had made many converts in the country, and the conduct of the American republic had inflamed the feelings of nationality. At an early stage of the war Lord Liverpool had predicted that the day might come when an English army should march into Paris, and bivouac in the Bois de Boulogne and on the heights of Montmartre. Though little given to the indulgence of fancy, his lordship had long been laughed at for this prediction; but now the fulfilment of it seemed no longer impossible, or even improbable; and before the year closed Wellington descended from the Pyrenees, and his British army got a firm footing on the soil of France. Our great general had not been deceived in any of the sanguine hopes he had derived from the Russian war. On his side the year 1813 was a year of victories and of the most splendid achievements.

The Russian catastrophe not only prevented Bonaparte from reinforcing his marshals in Spain, but it also obliged him to recall the best of them, and the only one among them whose generalship had cost Lord Wellington any very serious thoughts. This, of course, was Marshal Soult, who, early in the year, was removed from the Peninsula to oppose the Russians, then about to advance through Germany to the banks of the Rhine. Soult, however, took only 20,000 men with him, thus leaving about 70,000 men to oppose Wellington, besides the army of Suchet in the eastern provinces. The Army of Portugal, as it continued to be called, was now placed under the command of General Reille, who had his head-quarters at Valladolid; the Army of the Centre, under Drouet, was distributed round Madrid; and the Army of the South had its head-quarters at Toledo. All these forces were nominally under the command of King Joseph; but, as Joseph was no soldier, and never could learn to be one, he was assisted by Marshal Jourdan, who could only have earned his great reputation of former days by having been opposed to incompetent or unfaithful generals. Generals Clausel and Foy commanded separate divisions in Aragon and Biscay. Before the campaign began, Andalusia and Estremadura in the south, and Galicia and Asturias in the north, were entirely free from the French.

Doing at last what they ought to have done at first, the Spanish provisional government, with the consent and approbation of the Cortes, made Lord Wellington the commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, and took some measures to improve the discipline and effectiveness of their troops. In the main, however, these things remained but as a good intention, for the regency had hardly any money except what they received from England, the insurrections and wars of independence in the South American colonies stopping at the fountain-head the supplies which Spain had been accustomed to receive from that quarter; and the pride, ignorance, and indocility of the Spanish commanding officers, and the slothfulness and indiscipline of the Spanish troops, were evils not to be remedied of a sudden, or in the course of one trying campaign. And therefore the only army upon which Wellington could rely for field operations consisted of about 63,000 British and Portuguese infantry, and about 6000 cavalry. His lordship commenced active operations about the middle of May, making the allied army enter Spain in three separate bodies; the left under Sir Thomas Graham, the hero of Barrosa, the right under the indefatigable Hill, and the centre under his own immediate command. The combined movements of these three divisions were so well managed that the French were taken by surprise. On the 1st of June they were in full retreat before Graham; and, Graham being joined by Wellington, these two divisions pushed forward for Valladolid. On the 3rd of June Hill effected his junction, and the allied army was also joined by the Spanish army of Galicia, and by a Spanish force from the South. As Lord Wellington advanced, Joseph Bonaparte fled from Madrid, for the last of many times. He was followed by his court and retainers, who hastily packed up what they could carry with them. The French army retired to Burgos, where they had strengthened the works of the castle. But on the 12th of June, Wellington being near at hand, the French abandoned Burgos, blew up the fortifications of the castle, and retreated to the Ebro. This line, so much nearer to their own frontiers, they thought they could defend; and they threw a strong garrison into the fortress of Pancorvo, a little in advance of the river. They were much mistaken. Avoiding the fortress, and everything which rendered the passage of the Ebro dangerous or difficult, and finding out a new road through a rugged country, Lord Wellington completely turned the French position on the Ebro, and drove them back upon Vittoria, after an engagement at Osma. By the 20th of June the whole of the allied army was beyond the Ebro and concentrated near Vittoria.* On the 19th the enemy, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having Marshal Jourdan as his major-general and director, had taken up a strong position in front of Vittoria, their left resting upon the heights which terminate at La Puebla de Arganzon, and extending from thence across the valley of the Zadorra, in front of the village of Arinez, the right of their centre occupying a height which commanded the valley to

* The left of the army crossed the Ebro on the 14th of June, by the bridges of San Martin and Rocamunde, and the remainder on the 15th, by those bridges and that of Puente-Arenas. On the 16th they continued their march towards Vittoria. On the 16th and 17th the enemy were rather active; but the rear brigade of a division was cut off by Major-General Charles Alten, who took 300 prisoners, killed and wounded many, and dispersed the rest of the brigade in the mountains. There was some more smart fighting; and between the 12th and the 19th of June the Marquess of Wellington had 153 men wounded, and 27 killed.—*Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

the Zadorra, and their right being stationed near the town of Vittoria, being destined to defend the passages of the river Zadorra, in the neighbourhood: they had a reserve in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha. By this disposition the French covered the three great roads from Madrid, Bilbao, and Logroño, which unite at Vittoria. Though few on either side may have thought of them, there were traditions and reminiscences attached to the spot: on the ridges which the French army occupied, or in the country within sight of them, our Edward the Black Prince had fought and won the great battle of Najara, defeating the French army of Bertram du Guesclin. The nature of the country through which the allied army had passed since it had reached the Ebro had necessarily extended its columns; and Wellington halted on the 20th, in order to close them up. He also moved his left to the ground where it was most likely it would be required, and carefully reconnoitred King Joseph's or Marshal Jourdan's positions, with a view to the attack to be made on the following morning, if the French should still remain in them. The enemy kept their ground, and early on the morning of the 21st of June the glorious battle of Vittoria was begun.

The operations of the day commenced by General Sir Rowland Hill obtaining possession of the heights of La Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. At the moment of Hill's attack Jourdan reinforced his troops stationed on those heights, and, after the heights had been carried by the allies, he made repeated and desperate efforts to recover them; but all was in vain, and Hill's battalions, among whom was a Spanish brigade under General Morillo, kept possession of those important heights throughout the battle. The contest here was, however, very severe, and the loss sustained considerable: General Morillo was wounded, but remained on the field; Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. H. Cadogan was mortally wounded, but, though he knew that he was dying, he had himself carried to a place whence he could see all the operations.* Under cover of the possession of these well-defended heights, Sir Rowland Hill, with all the rest of his division, successively passed the Zadorra, at La Puebla, and the defile formed by the heights and the river Zadorra, and attacked and gained possession of the village of Subijana de Alava, which also stood on a height. Here, too, the French made desperate efforts to recover possession; but they were not more successful than they had been at La Puebla. Jourdan now ordered the French left to fall back for the defence of the city of Vittoria. In the meanwhile the rest of the allied army had come, or was fast coming, into action, moving on in two other separate columns of attack. The difficult nature of the country prevented the communication between these two columns, and between either of them and Hill's column, which formed our right. For some time Wellington was left in an anxious state of uncertainty, not knowing whether Hill had succeeded, or whether the column under the command of the Earl of Dalhousie had arrived at the station appointed for it. But everything went well, and as he had ordered: the combined movements were all executed with rare precision, both as to place and time. The fourth and light divisions, under General Cole, and forming part of our middle column, crossed the Zadorra by the bridges of Nanclaras and Tras-Puentes, immediately after Sir Rowland Hill had got possession of Subijana de Alava, and, almost as soon as these had crossed, the Earl of Dalhousie's column arrived at Mendoza; and the third division, under Sir Thomas Picton, crossed at a bridge higher up, being immediately followed by the seventh division, led on by Dalhousie in person. As the allied divisions passed the river the scene exhibited to those on the heights was one of the most animating ever beheld by soldiers. "The whole country," says one who was both an actor and a spectator, "seemed to be filled with troops; the sun shone bright; not a cloud obscured the brilliant and glowing atmosphere. From right to left, as far as the eye could reach, scarcely the most diminutive space intervened between bodies of troops, either already engaged or rapidly advancing into action; artillery and musketry were heard in one continued, uninterrupted volume of sound, and, although the great force of French cannon had not yet opened upon the assailants, the fire had already become exceedingly violent."* These four united divisions, now forming the centre of the allied army, were destined to attack the height which commanded the valley of the Zadorra, and on which the right of the French centre was placed, while Sir Rowland Hill should move forward from Subijana de Alava to attack the left. But Jourdan, having weakened his line to strengthen his detachments on the hills,

* "General Morillo had led his attack with his accustomed gallantry, and although twice wounded declined quitting the field, but requested reinforcements. Sir Rowland Hill ordered Colonel Cadogan, with part of the brigade under his temporary command, to ascend and secure the success of the attack. Thus assailed, the enemy, alarmed for the safety of that flank, detached troops from the centre of his line, who meeting the British and Spanish force, now established on the very summit of La Puebla heights, a warm and severely contested action took place. Pressing forward at the head of his brigade, Colonel Cadogan was mortally wounded by a musket-ball. In a hopeless state as to the possibility of recovery, no attempt was made to carry him from the field, where, enthusiastic to the last, he requested removal to a situation from whence he could gaze on the triumphant progress of companions with whom he had so frequently participated in victory. His fall was deeply regretted. . . . . The evening previous to the battle, when informed that it would certainly take place, his exultation was unbounded: going into action as the commender of that noble brigade appeared the climax of his wishes and the forerunner of distinction: before the conflict terminated he was numbered with the dead."—*Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative of the Peninsular War.*

Lord Wellington was deeply affected by the death of the truly noble and brave Cadogan, and by the thought of the deep affliction which his loss must cause to his surviving friends and connections. These feelings are always expressed on similar occasions by his lordship in short but affecting sentences. His sympathy extended to every good and brave officer, whatever might be his rank or name. He could bestow it even upon failure and misfortune when he thought that the failure had proceeded only from error of judgment. It was, in the highest degree, needful for such a man, so placed, to conceal his emotions, and to have his feelings under control; but nothing can be more incorrect than to charge Wellington with insensibility of heart, or a stoical indifference to the loss of friends and brother-soldiers and the other inevitable woes of war! The best corrective of this fallacy is the careful perusal of the duke's own dispatches.

* Colonel Leith Hay, Narrative.—

abandoned his position in the valley of the Zadorra as soon as he saw Wellington's disposition to attack it, and commenced his retreat in good order towards Vittoria. Before retreating the French had met the heads of our advancing columns with a destructive fire; but General Picton's division—the always fighting third—having come in contact with a strong body of the enemy, had driven it back, and had taken its guns.

As Jourdan fell back upon Vittoria, closing up his long lines, which had been far too much extended, our troops continued to advance in admirable order, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ground. In the meantime, while this was passing in front, General Sir Thomas Graham, moving along the road from Bilbao with our left, had attacked the French right, which was posted on the heights beyond the Zadorra, above the village of Abechuco, and had dislodged it from thence, and then, ascending the right bank of the Zadorra towards the Bayonne road, he carried the village of Gamarra Mayor; and at nearly the same time the Spanish division of Longa carried the village of Gamarra Menor, which is on the right bank of the river opposite the Bayonne road, which runs along the left bank, the heights of which were occupied by two divisions of French infantry in reserve. In the execution of these services Graham's divisions, including Spanish as well as Portuguese troops, were closely and desperately engaged; and all behaved admirably, some Portuguese Caçadores particularly distinguishing themselves. The enemy had a division of infantry advanced on the great road from Vittoria to Bilbao in order to keep open the line of retreat to the latter city; and the right of this division rested on some strong heights which cover the village of Gamarra Mayor. Both Gamarra Mayor and Abechuco were strongly occupied as *têtes de ponts*, and could not be carried without great difficulty. It was Major-General Robertson's brigade of the fifth division that most gallantly stormed and carried Gamarra Mayor, advancing in columns of battalions, under a very heavy fire of artillery and musketry, and without firing a shot. Robertson's brigade was, however, assisted by two guns of Major Lawson's brigade of artillery. At this village the enemy suffered severely and lost three more pieces of cannon. The village of Abechuco had been carried by Colonel Halkett's brigade, supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portuguese infantry, and covered by a strong battery, consisting of horse and foot artillery. During the attack at Abechuco the French had made the greatest efforts to repossess themselves of the village of Gamarra Mayor; but they had been gallantly repulsed by the fifth division, under the command of Major-General Oswald.*

When the French had been driven from all their positions, and their main body had been driven through the town of Vittoria, the whole of the allied army co-operated in the pursuit, which was continued by all till after it was dark. The movements of the troops under Sir Thomas Graham, and their possession of Gamarra and Abechuco and of the Bayonne road, intercepted the enemy's retreat by that high road to France. They were, therefore, obliged to turn to the road leading to Pamplona; and they were unable to hold any position beyond Vittoria for a sufficient length of time to allow their baggage, stores, and artillery to be drawn off. The whole, therefore, of the artillery which had not already been taken by Lord Wellington's troops in their successive attacks of positions, together with all their ammunition and baggage, and nearly everything else they had, was captured close to Vittoria. "I have reason to believe," wrote his Lordship, "that the enemy carried off with them one gun and one howitzer only." As darkness set in, the French columns mixed and dispersed, running off in all directions. The intruder Joseph had a very narrow escape;* his travelling-carriage, his papers, were taken, and several of his attendants were captured or cut down, or shot in their flight by the revengeful Spaniards. To the French it was an irremediable, a fatal defeat—it was the most complete defeat they ever experienced in Spain; and few battles anywhere have been more decisive. The immense quantity of artillery introduced by Bonaparte into his armies had made it imperative on Wellington to increase the number of his own guns; and never previously had so large a body of British artillery been engaged as at Vittoria. The French army rallied at no point of its line; nor was there the slightest effort made by them, after passing the city of Vittoria, to check the rapid pursuit of the allies. To escape with nothing but life, and the clothes on their backs, seemed to have become their sole object. Their artillery-drivers cut their traces, left their guns on the uneven rough ground, and galloped off with their horses.† The amount of spoil gathered by the pursuers was immense, and of the most varied description, resembling in many particulars the spoils of an Oriental rather than those of a European army. Joseph Bonaparte—who had been nicknamed by the sober Spaniards "King of the Cooks," "Little Joseph of the bottles"—was a self-indulging, luxurious, sensual, voluptuous man; and wherever he went he carried with him all his luxuries and means of enjoyment. His splendid sideboard of plate, his larder, and his cellar, or its choicest contents, fell into the hands of the conquerors: his fine wardrobe, some of his women, and some of his plunder—including splendid pictures by the old Spanish masters—were taken also. Many of the French officers had followed Joseph's example as far as their means allowed; and thus the finest wines and the choicest

* Col. Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

* The 10th Hussars entered Vittoria at the moment that Joseph was hastening out of it in his carriage. One squadron of the tenth, under Captain Wyndham, gave pursuit, and fired into the carriage; and Joseph had barely time to throw himself on a horse and gallop off under the protection of a body of dragoons. The carriage was taken, and in it the most splendid of his trinkets, and some of the most precious articles he had abstracted from the palaces and churches of Spain.

† Colonel Leith Hay.

viands were picked up in profusion. "The wives and mistresses of the officers had gathered together in one house, where they were safe, and from whence they were sent in their own carriages with a flag of truce to Pamplona. Poodles, parrots, and monkeys were among the prisoners. Seldom has such a scene of confusion been witnessed as that which the roads leading from the field of battle presented; broken-down waggons stocked with claret and champagne, others laden with eatables dressed and undressed, casks of brandy, apparel of every kind, barrels of money, books, papers, sheep, cattle, horses, and mules, abandoned in the flight. The baggage was presently rifled, and the followers of the camp attired themselves in the gala-dresses of the flying enemy. Portguuese boys figured about in the dress-coats of French general officers; and they who happened to draw a woman's wardrobe in the lottery converted silks, satins, and embroidered muslins into scarfs and sashes for their masquerade triumph. Some of the more fortunate soldiers got possession of the army chest, and loaded themselves with money. . . . . The camp of every division was like a fair; benches were laid from waggon to waggon, and there the soldiers held an auction through the night, and disposed of such plunder as had fallen to their share, to any one who would purchase it."* "The soldiers of the army," said Lord Wellington, "have got among them about a million sterling in money, with the exception of about 100,000 dollars which were got for the military chest."† Among the innumerable trophies of the field was the baton or marshal's staff of Jourdan. Lord Wellington sent it to the prince-regent, who gave him in return the baton of a field-marshal of Great Britain. Of arms and materials of war there were taken 151 pieces of brass ordnance, 415 caissons, more than 14,000 round of ammunition, nearly 2,000,000 of musket-ball cartridges, 40,668 lbs. of gunpowder, 56 forage-waggons, and 44 forge-waggons.‡ When the battle began the numerical strength of the two armies was about equal. But on the side of the allies the Spaniards, though they behaved better than they had hitherto done, were not to be compared with the French soldiery. The French had in many actions made greater slaughter of a Spanish army, but they had never in any one instance reduced an army, even of raw volunteers, to such a state of total wreck.§ They saved themselves from destruction or from captivity by abandoning the whole *matériel* of the army, and by running like a mob. Only about 1000 of them were taken, for, lightened of their usual burthens, they ran with wonderful alacrity; the country was too much intersected with canals and ditches for our cavalry to act with effect in pursuit; and our infantry, who moved in military order, could not be expected to keep up with a rout of fugitives. Moreover—as Wellington deeply regretted—the spoils of the field occupied and detained his troops; and the money, the wine, and the other luxuries they obtained induced some degree of sluggishness. This has happened in all similar cases. And there still remains to be added that the troops in their long march from the Portuguese frontier had worn out their shoes, and were in good part barefooted; while, owing to the slowness with which his supplies had been sent up, Wellington had no new shoes to give them. The French acknowledged a loss, in killed and wounded, of 8000 men; but their loss was unquestionably much greater. The total loss of the allies was 740 killed and 4174 wounded.* Lord Wellington was liberal and even enthusiastic in his praise of all engaged—of officers and men. He particularly acknowledged his obligations to Generals Graham and Hill, General Morillo, and General the Hon. W. Stewart, Generals the Earl of Dalhousie, Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole; to his quartermaster-general, Sir George Murray, who had again given the greatest assistance; to Lord Aylmer,' the deputy-adjutant-general; and to many others, including Sir Richard Fletcher and the officers of the royal engineers. All the more scientific parts of the army had indeed been vastly improved since the time when Wellington first took the command of our forces in the Peninsula; and the department of the quartermaster-general, upon which so much depends, and the service of the engineers, had been brought from a very defective to an all but perfect condition, by Sir George Murray, Aylmer, Fletcher, and other able and painstaking men. Wellington also mentioned in his dispatch that his serene highness the Hereditary Prince of Orange (now King of Holland) was in the field as his aide-de-camp, and conducted himself with his usual gallantry and intelligence.

The news of this decisive battle of Vittoria gave strength, spirit, and union to the allied armies acting against Bonaparte in Germany, dissipated the last misgivings and indecisions of Austria, broke up the congress assembled at Prague, in Bohemia, which before would have treated with the French, and have left them in possession of many of their conquests; and it gave to the voice of the British government and its envoys a vast increase of consideration and influence. Without this battle of Vittoria and its glorious results in June, there would have been no battle of Leipzig in October.

King Joseph hardly once looked back until he had reached the strong walls of Pamplona, in Navarre, among lofty mountains, the offshoots of the Pyrenean chain. The garrison, which had

* Southey.

† Dispatches. "Even dollars became an article of sale, for they were too heavy to be carried in any great numbers: eight were offered for a guinea—English guineas, which had been struck for the payment of the troops in Portugal, and made current there by a decree of the regency, being the gold currency. The people of Vittoria had their share in the spoils, and some of them indemnified themselves thus for what they had suffered in their property by the enemy's exactions. The city sustained no injury, though the French were driven through it, and though great part of the battle might be seen from every window."—*Southey, Hist. of Peninsular War.*

‡ Wellington Dispatches.

§ Southey.

* Out of this number the British had 501 killed, the Portuguese 150, the Spaniards only 89; while in wounded the British had 2807, the Portuguese 899, and the Spaniards 464.—*Wellington Dispatches.*

PAMPLONA.

been reinforced and well supplied, and which had orders to husband its provisions and stores, in case of a siege or blockade (and a blockade or siege seemed now inevitable), admitted the runagate king or pretender, but would not open the gates to the flying, disorganised soldiers, who had lost all signs of discipline, and who were starving. The fugitives from Vittoria attempted to force an entrance over the walls of Pamplona; they attacked their countrymen in garrison as if they had been mortal foes, or English, or Spaniards; but they were repulsed by a fire of musketry. After this they continued their flight across the Pyrenees towards France; but, meeting with some supplies, they rallied in the fastnesses of those mountains, and waited there for reinforcements. General Clausel, who was coming up fast from Logroño with about 15,000 men, and would have been on the field of Vittoria if Wellington had lost any time or had delayed his attack, upon learning the issue of that battle, turned hastily back to Zaragoza, and fled rather than retreated thence, by Jaca and the central Pyrenees into France, losing all his artillery and most of his baggage on the road. General Foy, who was with another French *corps d'armée* at Bilbao when the great battle was fought, fell back rapidly upon French territory and the fortress of Bayonne, being warmly pursued by General Graham. A French garrison was left at San Sebastian, which place, as well as Pamplona, was very soon invested by the allies. Except on the eastern coast, where Suchet kept his ground with about 40,000 men, there was not a spot in all Spain where the French could move or show themselves.

Having established the blockade of Pamplona, and directed Graham to invest San Sebastian, Lord Wellington advanced with the main body of his army to occupy the passes of the Pyrenees, from Roncesvalles, so famed in war and poetry, to Irun, at the mouth of the Bidasoa. His lordship's movements were rapid, and would have been much more so if it had not been for Spanish procrastination and poverty, and for his want of proper ammunition and magazines.* By the 25th of June he was near Pamplona, directing the Spaniards how they ought to proceed with the blockade; on the 28th he was at Caseda, on the river Aragon, where he was compelled to remain some days. In spite of his recent triumph, he found the Spanish people and government still torpid—still waiting for everything to be done for them by others, and by the outlay of English money. The conscript fathers at Cadiz, preluding to what has taken place in more recent days, had begun a hot war against the wealthy clergy and monastic orders; and so

* Through some mismanagement, our convoying ships on the coasts of the Peninsula had been diminished. What our government did with this withdrawn force we can scarcely discover, unless they sent the frigates—where our old frigates ought never to have been sent—to the shores and waters of the United States, to run the risk of encountering President Madison's leviathans. Many of our transports and store-ships were taken by French frigates and privateers on the coast of Portugal. In a dispatch to Earl Bathurst, dated the 24th of June, Lord Wellington alludes to his embarrassments, and says, "Ammunition required for the army has lately been delayed at Lisbon for want of convoy; and it is not yet arrived at Santander, and I am obliged to use the French ammunition, of a smaller calibre than our muskets, to make good our expenditure in the late action. The army cannot remain in this part of the country without magazines, notwithstanding its successes; and these magazines must be brought by sea, or they must be purchased with ready money. *For the first time, I believe, it has happened to any British army that its communication by sea is insecure.* Certainly we have not money to purchase in the country all we want. The increase of the naval force on the Lisbon station is likewise necessary, because our money must be transported from Lisbon by sea once a fortnight. We are too far from Lisbon to transport it by land; and the expense would be enormous."—*Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.*

From the beginning of this war down to its termination, the marching, manœuvring, and fighting parts of the business were what gave the commander-in-chief the least trouble; but he was obliged to attend to everything himself, and through the negligence or mistakes of others he was often left in very embarrassing and critical predicaments.

absorbed were they by these hostilities, that they seemed to have forgotten that there existed such men as Wellington and Bonaparte. In writing to his brother, Sir Henry Wellesley, his lordship complained bitterly of these things. "The people of the country," said he, "never think of what passes. . . . . The people think of nothing but getting rid of the French, and avoiding to contribute anything towards the support of any army. And, if they can accomplish these two objects, they do not care much about others. If the government or the Cortes cared about the opinion of their ally, or about carrying on this war, I should acquiesce in their measures; but it is heart-breaking to see that they care about neither the one nor the other, and that there is no tie over them. All they appear to care about is the war against the clergy; and it appears as if the measures for carrying on the war against the enemy were incompatible with those for the prosecution of the more favourite hostilities against the priests." *

On the 27th of June Lord Wellington had marched with a detachment from the neighbourhood of Pamplona, to endeavour to cut off the retreat of Clausel; but that general had fled so rapidly, that he arrived at Tudela de Ebro before the English could reach him, and his lordship had then returned and resumed his march towards the Pyrenees frontier, to superintend the operations of the whole allied army. His pursuit had, however, prevented Clausel from marching off to the east to join Suchet. On the 1st of July his lordship was at Huarte; and here he was again obliged to halt for two or three days, by want of magazines of provisions and military stores, and money. In the meanwhile the Spanish general O'Donnel reduced the castle of Pancorbo, on the great line of communication between Vittoria and Burgos, and took the garrison of 700 French prisoners. From Huarte his lordship moved to Ostiz, and began to divide and dispose his troops so as to secure the passes of the Pyrenees and keep open those roads into France. This was no easy operation, for the mountain range to be guarded was not less than sixty English miles in length, the practicable passes were not two or three, but six or eight, and there were other rough roads or paths across the Pyrenees, and running between or turning the greater passes, which might be traversed by an enemy so light and active and so accustomed to mountain warfare as the French. Lord Wellington estimated all the passes, good and bad, at not less than *seventy*. It should seem as if the government at home fancied that he might defend the Pyrenees as he had done the heights of Torres Vedras, without allowing the French to penetrate anywhere; but he showed them beforehand that this was impossible.* A change was now indeed about to take place in the character of the contest. It had already been proved that in a *rase campagne*, or in any situation approaching to an open country, the veterans of France were not a match for the British infantry; but now the allied army was to defend a series of mountain defiles, in a country where neither cavalry nor artillery could be employed; our troops were about to enter into a struggle for which they were unprepared by any former experience; while the system of mountain warfare was one for which the lightness and activity of the French troops peculiarly fitted them, and in which they had hitherto been considered unrivalled.†

Some portions of the allied army went right through the mountain passes in pursuit of the French; and upon the 7th of July the last divisions of the army of Joseph Bonaparte, after being driven from the very defensible valley of San Estevan, descended the reverse of the Pyrenees and entered France. Lord Wellington then became master of the passes of San Estevan, Donna Maria, Maya, and the renowned Roncesvalles; and his sentinels looked down from the rugged frontier of Spain upon the level and fertile plains of France, which lay in sunshine at their feet as if inviting their approach. Thus, in five-and-forty days from the opening of this memorable campaign, Wellington had conducted the allied army from the frontiers of Portugal to the confines of France; he had marched 400 miles, had gained one of the completest of victories, had driven the French through a country abounding in strong positions, had put the intrusive king to a flight which was to know of no return, had liberated Spain from everything but the evil consequences of Spanish folly, impatience, vanity, and presumption; and he now stood as a conqueror upon the skirts of France.‡ We have seen the way in which Bonaparte treated his failing or unfortunate generals. Marshal Jourdan, a soldier of the early Revolution, who had acquired fame when Bonaparte was little more than a schoolboy, was now rated as an old-fashioned pedant, as a follower of worn-out and exploded systems of warfare—as if Massena, and Marmont, and Ney, and any of the men of the new school, had been more successful in their struggles with Wellington. Soult, the best of them all, had repeatedly and notoriously failed; but it was Soult that was now chosen to succeed Jourdan, and to head back the torrent of war which now threatened "the holy territory of France." Bonaparte felt the need of Soult's services in Germany; but, seriously alarmed for the safety of his own southern frontiers, he sent away that marshal from the Grand Army with very extraordinary powers, with a sort of Alter Ego character, and with the title of "Lieutenant of the Emperor." Soult was to take the entire command of the defeated troops, to re-equip them, to gather

* Letter dated Caseda, 29th July, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

Even at this moment, this quick and far-sighted man, whose sagacity was hardly ever at fault either in politics or in war, discovered and explained not only his own present embarrassments caused by the mad reformers of Spain, but also the future confusion and anarchy which must result from them. The result we see at the present day, and we have been witnessing it for the last ten years, which have been for Spain years of blood, crime, horror! Nor is there even now any clear prospect of a tranquil settlement.

* Letter to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Lezaca, 25th July, in Dispatches.

† Captain Hamilton, Annals of the Peninsular Campaigns.

‡ Major M. Sherer, Military Memoirs of the Duke of Wellington.

formidable reinforcements, to lead his masses speedily against Wellington, to clear the French frontier and the passes of the Pyrenees, and to relieve Pamplona and San Sebastian, and to drive the allied army behind the Ebro. And all this Soult undertook to do—or he thought it expedient to tell the army that he had undertaken it, and that his hopes were good. He flew through Germany and through France, giving his urgent and imperative orders, and collecting all manner of disposable forces; and on the 13th of July he reached the southern frontier and took the command of the disorganised fragments of Jourdan's army. Soult forthwith issued one of those proclamations or addresses which are necessary with French troops, and which had often been supposed to operate wonders. It was boastful, and flattering to the vanity of the soldiery, who were told that the present lamentable situation of affairs was imputable to others, not to them; and that theirs would be the merit of repairing all that had been done amiss. "I have borne testimony to the emperor," said Soult, "of your bravery and zeal: his instructions are that you must drive the enemy from these heights, which enable them to look proudly down on our fertile valleys, and then chase them beyond the Ebro. It is on the Spanish soil that your tents must next be pitched, and your resources drawn. Let the account of our successes be dated from Vittoria, and let the fête-day of his imperial majesty be celebrated in that city!"*

* Soult paid some very tardy compliments to the British troops and their great commander; but he denied to Wellington any originality of military genius, and he told the French soldiers that it was only from them that the English had at last learned how to fight. "The dispositions and arrangements of their general," said Soult, "have been skilful, prompt, and consecutive, while the valour and steadiness of his troops have been great. But do not forget that it is from you that they have learned these lessons, and that it is to you they are indebted for their present military experience."

When that auspicious day arrived, the 15th of August, Marshal Soult and his army, instead of being at Vittoria, were on the wrong side of the Pyrenees, after having been repeatedly beaten and scattered; and the allied army, instead of having been driven beyond the Ebro, was on the Bidasoa, with a firm footing in France.

Having given the most minute instructions for rendering safe and effectual the blockade of Pamplona, a very strong fortress, wherein were shut up some 4000 French troops, who had more than 200 cannon in battery, Wellington quitted the upper passes of the Pyrenees, and went down to the shores of the Atlantic, to superintend the siege of San Sebastian, with some faint hope of carrying that formidable place before Soult should put himself in motion. But his lordship's means for pressing a siege were, as they ever had been, exceedingly defective, and both the fortress and the garrison were found to be even stronger than he had expected. On the 14th of July batteries were opened against the convent of San Bartolomeo and other outworks. Leaving Sir Thomas Graham to conduct the siege according to a plan which his lordship had drawn up, the commander-in-chief returned to the main body of his army. On the 17th of July the convent and a redoubt were carried by assault; but on the 25th, one of our storming parties was repulsed and hurled back, with the loss of 500 killed and wounded, and 100 taken. Upon this disastrous intelligence Wellington galloped back to the coast; and, finding that even the ammunition was almost exhausted, he gave his orders to suspend the operations of the siege for a time, and to blockade the place and guard the seaward pass, so as to prevent the arrival of any succour from France. The night of this very day,

SAN SEBASTIAN.

as he was riding back to his head-quarters, now established at Lezaca, Wellington received the reports that the great army of Soult, from 70,000 to 80,000 strong, was in rapid motion; that the French had overpowered his troops in two of the mountain-passes on the right of the allied army, had penetrated with overwhelming numbers into the valleys of the Pyrenees, and were pressing onwards for Pamplona. "Well!" said the general to the officer who thus reported, "we must do the best we can to stop them!" And stop them he did, after a whole week of brilliant manœuvres, rapid movements, and almost constant fighting.

Soult, with admirable diligence and ability, had re-organised his army, in nine divisions of infantry, two of dragoons, and one of light cavalry. He had been strongly reinforced, other reinforcements were forming in his rear on the Garonne, and he had been well supplied with artillery, arms, ammunition, and stores. On the evening of the 24th of July he had suddenly collected between 30,000 and 40,000 men on the French side of the Pyrenees, at St. Jean Pied de Port, near the opening of the pass of Roncesvalles. At the same time another column of attack, 13,000 strong, was assembled at Espelette, near the pass of Maya. His plan was to attack at one and the same time the pass of Roncesvalles and the pass of Maya, the roads from which converge on Pamplona. And, accordingly, under cover of some feints and manœuvres, principally made by some thousands of national guards, attached to his regular army, which distracted the attention of the allies towards other roads or paths, the French rushed into those two passes early on the morning of the 25th, Soult leading in person the greater column. In both of the passes, and on the heights above them, there was desperate fighting. They fought on the mountain tops, which could scarcely have witnessed any other combat than that of the Pyrenean eagles—they fought among jagged rocks and over profound abysses—they fought amidst clouds and mists, for those mountain tops were 5000 feet above the level of the plains of France, and the rains, which had fallen in torrents during several preceding days, were evaporating in the morning and noon-day sun, were steaming heavenward, and clothing the loftiest peaks with fantastic wreaths. The British disputed nearly every foot of ground, only yielding at last to the immeasurable superiority of numbers, and then retreating in admirable order to good positions. In the Maya pass alone, where a handful of men opposed for a long time an immense and condensed French column, and where General Stewart never had more than 4000 or 5000 men to bring into action against the 13,000 fighting men of General d'Erlon, the allies lost 1600 men in killed and wounded: of this number 1400 were British troops. All here had fought heroically; but the 92nd regiment suffered most in the unequal contest. The advancing enemy was stopped by the mass of its dead and dying; it never gave way until two-thirds of its men, who were principally natives of Ireland, had fallen to the ground, and even then it rallied on the secondary position. These dauntless Irishmen would indeed have graced Thermopylæ.* D'Erlon had purchased his very imperfect advantage at a dear price: the number of his killed and wounded could not be ascertained, but it was estimated roundly at 1800 men. And, what was of equal importance, was the fact that, after the bloody lesson they had received in the Maya pass—after seeing how a diminutive number of British troops could stand, even when taken by surprise in an isolated position—his men became uncommonly shy of fighting. Marshal Soult's great plan was deranged by the protracted stay of this corps on the Col de Maya, and several ingenious theories have been spun to account for d'Erlon's long delay; but it appears to us that this delay was chiefly, if not wholly, attributable to the discouragement of his troops. In the Roncesvalles pass, General Cole, with 10,000 or 11,000 bayonets, long opposed the 30,000 bayonets of Soult, and when he gave way it was only by a slow and orderly retreat, and to a position where the French did not dare to attack him. Cole lost about 380 men in killed and wounded, and Soult himself acknowledged a loss of 400 men. The French marshal had not gained ten miles of advance, and from the two passes which he had forced the distance to Pamplona was not less than twenty-two miles, with strong defensive positions, and intrepid and increasing enemies between. Upon these considerations, and on account of the immovableness and torpidity of d'Erlon's corps, Soult must indeed have felt that this day's operations were unsatisfactory.† After the two passes had been forced, Picton, with the third and fourth divisions, retired leisurely and in beautiful order before Soult; and on the 27th took up a position, in battle-order, to cover the large Spanish division that was blockading Pamplona, the first great object of Soult's advance. At the same time Sir Rowland Hill fell back and took post at Irurita. Sir George Murray, the quartermaster-general, at the critical moment, had taken upon himself some heavy responsibility; and his movements and arrangements were approved and applauded by Wellington, who on this day joined the main body of the army on the field.‡ The commander-in-chief was received with

* Col. Napier, Hist. of War in the Peninsula.

† Id.

‡ The latter part of Lord Wellington's journey from San Sebastian had been a complete race. Very early on the morning of the 27th he descended the valley of Lanz, without being able to learn anything of the movements of General Picton, who, as was not unusual with him, had acted precipitately and in contradiction to the spirit of his instructions. In a state of painful uncertainty, and at great hazard of being intercepted and taken prisoner, his lordship reached Ostiz, a few miles from Sorauren (both of which places were in a very short time possessed by the fast-advancing French). At Ostiz he found General Long, with a brigade of light cavalry; and here he learned that Picton, having abandoned the heights which he ought to have held, was moving on Huarte. He left Sir George Murray, his able quartermaster-general, at Ostiz, with instructions to stop all the allied troops that were coming down the valley of Lanz. Then, at racing speed, Wellington made for Sorauren. As he entered that village he saw Clausel's divisions on the crest of the contiguous mountain, and concluded that the allied troops in the valley of Lanz must be intercepted if they came down. Therefore he wrote, on the parapet of the bridge of Sorauren, fresh instructions to the quartermaster-general,

enthusiastic cheers by the soldiers, who thus intimated the little doubt they had of being able to drive Soult back across the Pyrenees. There was the same enthusiasm everywhere. On his way to the main body, as he had ridden past the several corps, which were all instantly put in motion, with his own clear orders for their guidance, he was loudly cheered by all the men. The disposable forces of the allies were now concentrated to the right; but their numbers were much reduced by the blockades of Pamplona and San Sebastian. Soult formed his army on the ridge of a mountain, right opposite to the allies; and on the evening of the 27th he moved down and made a partial attack on Wellington's fourth division. The French were foiled and beaten—repulsed even at some points by the Spanish infantry, which they had so long despised. It was made evident that the French veterans who had been engaged in Spain against the British had lost much of their vivacity and confidence, and that a party of Soult's reinforcements consisted of conscripts and new levies, who were hardly equal to a contest with such of the Spanish regiments as had submitted to any degree of discipline. On the other side, the novel sight of the French flying from their levelled bayonets gave the Spaniards great encouragement. But, unluckily, Spanish valour continued to the last to be subject to hot and cold fits; and, through the bad qualities of the great majority of their officers, their discipline could never be perfected. On the following day—the 28th of July, and the fourth anniversary of the battle of Talavera—Soult renewed his attack, and this time in full force. First he fell upon our left, and then he fell on the centre of the British position, which was drawn up on the hills. Nearly the whole brunt of this attack of an army was borne by a single division—by our fourth division, under Sir Lowry Cole, who repulsed the French with the bayonet. In one single instance the French succeeded in overpowering a Portuguese battalion, on the right of General Ross's brigade. This obliged Ross to retire, and thereupon the enemy established themselves for a moment in the line of the allies. But Wellington directed the 27th and 48th regiments to charge them, and the French were presently driven down the hill at the bayonet's point, and with a frightful loss. Soon after the fighting ceased: the French had had more than enough of it. The next day, the 29th, the two armies remained inactive, Soult evidently doubting of his power to break through the allies to relieve Pamplona. He resolved, however, to make one effort more before carrying his tamed eagles back to France; and, giving up all thoughts of forcing Wellington's centre, he moved off a large body on his right with the purpose of turning the British left, by a sudden, heavy, concentrated attack on Sir Rowland Hill. If this attack should succeed entirely, he might be enabled to relieve, by a continued movement to his right, not Pamplona, but San Sebastian; or, if it succeeded but partially, it would open to the French a better line of retreat than any they now possessed, and put him in communication with his strong reserve on the Bidasoa under the command of General Villatte. On the 30th Soult, by manœuvring on the left flank of Hill's corps, obliged that general to retreat from one height to another range about a mile in the rear; but, when the French attacked Hill on that second height, they were repulsed with loss. They repeated their assault upon Hill's front; but Hill was reinforced by troops that marched rapidly from the British centre to the left, and the French brigade was driven down the slopes by the death-dealing bayonets. Every effort of the French ended in the same disaster; and while Soult was vainly throwing his columns against Hill, Wellington attacked the French corps in his own front. These corps had been weakened in order to strengthen their right and dislodge Hill, but they occupied a very strong position between the valley of the Lanz and the valley of the Arga; they were in possession of the strong village of Ostiz, they were protected by rocks and woods, and their ground was lofty, and, to a timid eye, impregnable. But Picton was sent to turn the left of this position by the road of Roncesvalles, and Lord Dalhousie, with the 7th division, was sent across other mountains to turn the right. Our soldiers scrambled over the steep and rugged heights like the goats that were native to them. Picton and Dalhousie turned the two flanks and attacked with the greatest spirit, driving the French out of Ostiz; and, as soon as these flank movements had taken effect, Sir Lowry Cole attacked the enemy right in front with two British and two Portuguese battalions. The French soon gave way, and fled precipitately. They were pursued by Lord Wellington as far as Olague; and here at sunset a halt was called, this part of our army being in the rear of the great French right which had been engaging Sir Rowland Hill, and which had been so well beaten by him. Foiled at all points, every part of the French army began to retreat under cover of darkness; and they kept marching throughout the night. Soult tried no more. At one time his foremost division had been within two short leagues of Pamplona, but he had not been able to do the least thing for that im-

pointing out a safe route by the right, which would bring those allied troops into the rear of General Cole's position. Lord Fitzroy Somerset, the only staff-officer who had been sufficiently well mounted to keep up with Wellington's thorough-bred English chestnut, galloped with these orders out of Sorauren by one road, the French light cavalry dashed into the village by another, and the English general rode alone up the opposite mountain to reach his troops. "One of Campbell's Portuguese battalions first descried him, and raised a cry of joy, and the shrill clamour caught up by the next regiments swelled as it ran along the line into that stern and appalling shout which the British soldier is wont to give upon the edge of battle, and which no enemy ever heard unmoved. Lord Wellington suddenly stopped in a conspicuous place; he desired that both armies should know he was there, and a double spy who was present pointed out Soult, then so near that his features could be plainly distinguished. The English general, it is said, fixed his eyes attentively upon this formidable man, and, speaking as if to himself, said, '*Yonder is a great commander, but he is a cautious one, and will delay his attack to ascertain the cause of these cheers; that will give time for the sixth division to arrive, and I shall beat him.*' And certain it is that the French general made no serious attack that day."—*Colonel Napier, Hist. of the War in the Peninsula.*

portant fortress, the blockaded French garrison of which heard for several successive days the not distant firing, telling them of the desperate efforts made by their countrymen to relieve them, and the resolute determination of the allies that they should not be relieved. On the morning of the 31st Soult's scattered and dismayed forces were in full retreat into France, followed by the allies, who succeeded in taking many prisoners and much baggage. These various combats are called "the battles of the Pyrenees."* The fighting had been of the hardest kind. In a private letter written just after the events Wellington said, "I never saw such fighting as we have had here. It began on the 25th of July, and, excepting the 29th, when not a shot was fired, we had it every day till the 2nd of August. The battle of the 28th was fair *bludgeon* work. The 4th division was principally engaged, and the loss of the enemy was immense. Our loss has likewise been very severe, but not of a nature to cripple us."† The entire loss of the allies, including the casualties of the pursuit, amounted to about 6200 men. "I hope," says Wellington, "that Soult will not feel any inclination to renew his expedition. The French army must have suffered considerably. Between the 25th of last month and 2nd of this, they were engaged seriously not less than ten times; on many occasions in attacking very strong positions, in others beat from them or pursued. I understand that their officers say they have lost 15,000 men. I thought so; but, as *they* say so, I now think more. I believe we have about 4000 prisoners. It is strange enough that our diminution of strength up to the 31st did not exceed 1500 men, although I believe our casualties are 6000."‡

But if all Wellington's orders had been properly obeyed by the officers in command of detached corps, if some of the Spaniards had been where they ought to have been, and if many events which ought to have been in the English general's favour had not turned out unfortunately, Marshal Soult must have surrendered at discretion, and scarcely a soldier of his army could have got through the mountain passes into France. General Hill overtook Soult's rear-guard in the pass of Donna Maria, took many prisoners, and then joined Lord Wellington on the heights above the pass. Soult was in a deep narrow valley, but, not being pursued, he halted in San Estevan. Three British divisions and one of Spaniards were behind the mountains which overlook that town, and the Spaniards that Sir Thomas Graham had detached from the siege of San Sebastian were marching to block up the exits from the valley. Wellington thought he had Soult in a trap: he gave strict orders to prevent the lighting of fires, the straggling of soldiers, and everything that might betray to the French the secret that the divisions of a great army were gathering round them, and he concealed himself behind some rocks whence he could clearly observe every movement of the enemy. Three drunken or marauding English soldiers destroyed the combination and saved Marshal Soult from a most terrible and inevitable disaster: these worthless fellows strolled down the valley, were surprised by four French gendarmes, and were carried to Soult in San Estevan. Shortly afterwards Soult's drums beat to arms, and the French columns began to move out of the town towards the French mouth of the pass. This was on the 31st of July. The way was steep and very narrow, the multitude was great, and the baggage and the wounded men, borne on their comrades' shoulders, formed such a long line of procession, that Soult's rear was still near San Estevan on the morning of the 1st of August; and scarcely had they marched a league from that town when they were assailed by a terrible fire from the skirmishers of our fourth division and some Spaniards who covered the heights on the right side of the deep valley. The French could scarcely reply to this hot fire; their troops and baggage got mixed, many of the men fled up the hills on the opposite side, and Soult, who rode to the spot, could hardly prevent a general flight and dispersion. As it was, many prisoners and much baggage were taken by the allies at every step. As the French advanced, the valley narrowed to a mere cleft in the rocks, and they had to cross a mountain torrent by a crazy narrow bridge. The Spanish generals Longa and Barceñas ought, in accordance with their instructions, to have been with their whole divisions at the head of this chasm and on the bridge; but there was nothing there but a single battalion of Spanish Caçadores, who were not capable of sustaining the French charge headed by General d'Erlon. Thus Soult got out of that *coupe-gorge*. But his perils and his losses were not yet over, for the whole of Reilles's division had yet to pass, and our hard-fighting, hard-marching light division was now close at hand. As the shades of evening were deepening in that deep chasm, the head of our light division, after marching for nineteen consecutive hours over forty miles of rough mountain-roads,* reached the edge of a precipice near the bridge of Yanzi, and saw below them, within pistol-shot, Reilles's division rushing along that horrid defile. A crash of musketry and rifles first told the French of the presence of their foes. A river flowed between them and the English; but the French were wedged in a narrow road with inaccessible rocks on one side and the river on the other—and at the same moment other light troops were coming up

* Or they are severally called the combat of Roncesvalles, the combats of Maya and Linzoain, the first battle of Sorauren, the second battle of Sorauren, and the combat of Donna Maria, the last having been fought on the 31st, in pursuing Soult through that pass.

† Letter to Lord William Bentinck, dated Lezaca, 5th of August, in Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.

‡ Letter to Sir Thomas Graham, id.

* The day had been exceedingly sultry, the fatigue immense. Many men of the light division fell and died convulsed and frothing at the mouth. Others, whose strength and spirit had never before been quelled, leaned on their muskets and confessed that they were done. The whole column was in a state of exhaustion when its head reached the precipice.—*Captain Cooke, Memoirs.—Colonel Napier, Hist. of Penin. War.*

the pass from San Estevan to take Reilles's people in the rear. A British officer, an eye-witness, has thus described the terrible scene which ensued: "Confusion impossible to describe followed; the French wounded were thrown down in the rush and trampled upon; the cavalry drew their swords and endeavoured to charge up the pass; but the infantry beat them back, and several, horses and all, were precipitated into the river; some fired vertically at us, the wounded called out for quarter, while others pointed to them, supported as they were on branches of trees on which were suspended great-coats clotted with gore, and blood-stained sheets taken from different habitations to aid the sufferers."* Brave British soldiers could not fire at such piteous objects as these; they satisfied themselves with keeping possession of the bridge and with charging or firing at those who had still muskets and bayonets or sabres in their hands, and who were trying to force the passage. The evening was rapidly succeeded by dark night, and then, finding out a side path and climbing over rocks and mountains, the greater part of Reilles's forces escaped and joined Soult at Echalar. But they left behind them all their baggage and a great many more prisoners. Yet Lord Wellington was greatly and justly discontented with the result of this day's operations. Marshal Soult, who ought to have been his prisoner, rallied his shattered and disheartened divisions as best he could during the night, bringing his right wing at the rock of Ivantelly to communicate with the left of Villatte's reserve, which was found in position on the French side of the Pyrenees. On the following morning, the 2nd of August, Lord Wellington, who had come up towards this point with his fourth, seventh, and light divisions, fell upon General Clausel, who was commanding Soult's rear-guard, and who was in possession of an exceedingly strong position near the town of Echalar. General Barnes, with his single brigade, about 1500 strong, was the first to arrive at the foot of that hill, and, without waiting for the other divisions, Barnes rushed up the steep height under a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery, charged Clausel's 6000 men, and drove them from their position. Clausel's men were the same which had failed in the attack near Sorauren on the 28th, who had been thoroughly beaten on the 30th, and who had suffered so severely the day before this action at Echalar in getting from San Estevan. It was not in the nature of Frenchmen to stand such a succession of reverses and calamities: their spirit was evaporating like the late rains, and time, and effusion of new blood—an intermixture with other men, who still in their ignorance believed that the English were no soldiers and Wellington was no general, was necessary to re-invigorate them. On the same day, the 2nd of August, the French were dislodged from Ivantelly, a lofty mountain, and here, notwithstanding their position and their numbers, the work was done by Colonel Andrew Barnard with five companies of his riflemen, supported by four companies of the 43rd.*

Soult now drew closer to his reserves behind the Bidasoa, put some of his disorganised corps behind the line of his reserve, and called for reinforcements, and collected all the detachments and national guards that he could. Wellington had, on the 1st of August, directed Sir Thomas Graham to collect all his forces, to advance from San Sebastian, and bring up pontoons for crossing the Bidasoa; but very weighty considerations induced him to abandon this design of following Soult into France; and, therefore, after nine days of incessant motion, and ten serious actions, the two armies rested quiet in their respective positions.† The English flag again waved triumphantly in the pass of Roncesvalles, where it had been seen centuries ago with Edward the Black Prince, and in the pass of Maya, and in all the chief defiles; the British troops again looked down upon the plains of France, they had a firm footing on the skirts of that kingdom, and the foraging parties of the Spaniards often penetrated for miles beyond the frontier. The young Prince of Orange, who had now followed Wellington for two years, and who had a horse killed under him in one of the recent engagements, was the bearer of his lordship's dispatches to the British government.

In the interval of repose on the frontier, efforts were, however, made by the French to relieve San Sebastian, and these were met by an increase of activity and determination on the side of the allies to reduce that place and compel the 4000 French at Pamplona to capitulate. On the 19th of August —and not earlier—transports arrived from England with a good and sufficient supply of heavy guns and mortars, and with one company of royal sappers and miners—a species of force whose formation had been so long and so absurdly neglected by our government and by those who had presided over our war-department (a department too generally intrusted to orators or parliamentary debaters rather than to soldiers).‡ Admiral Sir

* Captain Cooke, Memoirs.

* In the course of the day Lord Wellington, who was still grieving that Soult should have escaped him, was nearly taken prisoner himself. He was standing near the hill of Echalar examining his maps, with only half a company of the 43rd as an escort. The French, close at hand, sent a detachment to cut the party off; and such was the nature of the ground that these Frenchmen would have fallen unawares upon his lordship if Serjeant Blood, a young, intelligent, and active man who had been set to watch in front, had not rushed down the precipitous rocks where he was posted and given the general notice. As it was, the French arrived in time to send a volley of shot after his lordship as he galloped away.—*Colonel Napier.*

† Id.

‡ On the 11th of February, 1812, Wellington had written to the Earl of Liverpool—"While on the subject of the artillery, I would beg to suggest to your lordship the expediency of adding to the engineer's establishment a corps of sappers and miners. It is inconceivable with what disadvantages we undertake anything like a siege for want of assistance of this description. There is no French *corps d'armée* which has not a *battalion* of sappers and a *company* of miners. But we are obliged to depend for assistance of this description upon the regiments of the line; and, although the men are brave and willing, they want the knowledge and training which are necessary. Many casualties among them consequently occur, and much valuable time is lost at the most critical period of the siege."—*Wellington Disp.*

Apparently, Lord Wellington had recourse to some Frenchmen or to some foreigners in the French service, who either had deserted or had been taken prisoners, for, on the 14th of February, 1812, or three days after writing the above letter to the Earl of Liverpool, we find him writing to one of his own generals in Portugal, to send him, in charge of a steady non-commissioned officer, ——— ———, the Ser-

George Collier landed both men and guns from his squadron to assist the besiegers; and great was the assistance derived from our active and intrepid sailors. After some intervening operations and two sallies made by the besieged, who were repulsed with the bayonet, on the 30th the breaches appeared practicable, and Wellington decided that the assault should be made on the 31st. On the morning of the 30th the French were seen in force at Vera, on the right of the Bidasoa, and near the opening of the along-shore road which leads to San Sebastian. The main strength of the covering army now consisted of 8000 Spaniards, posted on the heights of San Marcial, on the left of the Bidasoa. On the morning of the 31st, while the besiegers were waiting for the fall of the tide to commence storming, Soult put his relieving columns in motion: two divisions of the French forded the Bidasoa in front of the Spaniards, and ascended the strong heights with a great show of valour and confidence. The Spaniards let this column come on until it nearly reached the summit of San Marcial; but then they gave a shout and charged with the bayonet. The French instantly broke, fled down the hill, and continued their flight across the river and beyond it; and so panic-stricken and confused were they that many missed the fords and were drowned. In the afternoon the French laid down a pontoon bridge, passed over in greater numbers (it is said that about 15,000 crossed the Bidasoa), and made a general attack on the heights of San Marcial; but the Spaniards there were now supported by some divisions of the allied army on their flank and rear, and Lord Wellington came up from San Sebastian and rode along the Spanish line just as the French were coming on to this attack. The Spaniards received him with loud and joyous *vivas*, and then, full of confidence and enthusiasm, they rushed upon the French with fixed bayonets and again repulsed them and drove them down the slopes with terrible loss. The French continued to run for their lives, but wildly and without any attention to the voices of their officers, and the Spaniards pursued them with the bayonet in their reins. Some rushed into the deep water and were drowned; such numbers got wedged upon the pontoon bridge, that it was broken, swamped, and sank with most of those upon it. These rare Spaniards met with the praise they deserved, the British general saying in his dispatch that their conduct was equal to that of any troops he had ever seen engaged. During this attempt to force the direct road to San Sebastian, another corps of the French endeavoured to pass by another road to the left; but here they were met by a Portuguese brigade, by the brigade of General Inglis, and by our light division, who drove them back across the Bidasoa with loss and in a panic. This day's work cost Soult two generals of division killed, and about 2000 men in killed, wounded, and drowned. It was Soult's last effort for the relief of San Sebastian. But the same day witnessed a terrible loss of life among the besieging army. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon the assault took place, the operations being directed by Sir Thomas Graham in person, and the storm being led by the brigade of General Robinson, in the midst of an awful storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. The work would have been comparatively easier, or probably there would not have been any necessity to storm the town at all, if the besiegers had thrown shells into the town; but this, out of regard to the safety of the inhabitants and their property, and the lives and property of a number of Spaniards who were crowded in the place, Wellington positively refused to do; and he issued the strictest orders that not a shell should be thrown into the town. Nobly supported by a detachment of Portuguese under Major Snodgrass, the British got entire possession of the town, drove the French from their numerous intrenchments in the streets, took 700 prisoners, and made the rest fly up to the castle, which stands upon a rock above the town and above the sea near the end of the promontory. But 2000 brave fellows fell in this assault, or rather series of assaults, and of murderous street-fighting: Sir Richard Fletcher, the commanding engineer—an admirable officer, and one of the best of men—was shot through the heart; Generals Robinson, Leith, and Oswald were wounded; and a disproportionate number of officers were sacrificed, for the French, firing from rests and behind cover, picked them out. Through the accidental falling of a saucisson the great French mine, in the chamber of which there were 1200 lbs. of gunpowder, could not be fired. If this mine had been exploded, our first storming brigade must have been annihilated, and a large part of the town buried in ruins. If Wellington had respected the security of the inhabitants, no such thought was bestowed by the French general, who resorted to all the most destructive and fatal, and—to the town and the people in it—most perilous modes of defence. By the explosions of his infernal machines of all kinds the town was set on fire in various places and at one and the same time; and upon his retreat to the castle he kept firing down the streets, killing more of the inhabitants than of the soldiery, knocking their houses to pieces, and preventing them from attending to the conflagration. But, let the whole truth be told, and let it stand as a shame and a warning. Many of the troops, both British and Portuguese, who had behaved like heroes in the assault, behaved like beasts when it was over, bursting into the wine-cellars and getting drunk, and plundering the houses of the town instead of obeying their officers and persevering in their efforts to extinguish the flames

*geant-Major des Sapeurs* and *Adjutant des Travaux*, and ——————, a French miner. And, in a note to this last letter, Colonel Gurwood says that these men were afterwards employed in the new establishment forming called sappers and miners. The formation of this establishment must have been very slow, and the inattention of the home government must have been great, if more than eighteen months after this time only *one company* of sappers and miners could be sent out to San Sebastian.

and stop a conflagration which was threatening to leave San Sebastian a heap of smoking ruins, and even to consume these brutalised men in the stupor or madness of their drunkenness. These disgraceful excesses lasted through the night of the 31st of August and through the next day; nor was it until the 2nd of September that order was restored.* We would not plead the excuse that similar horrors had almost invariably been perpetrated whenever a town had been taken by storm, and that the French had in almost every instance of the kind carried these horrors to an excess, and exhibited a depravity far beyond what was witnessed here; but we would leave the guilt and the blame where they are due, and indignantly resent the charges of ruthlessness and barbarity brought by the gentle and merciful French against our noble commander-in-chief, and against men of nature's highest nobility like Graham, and Robinson, and Oswald, and the rest; charges which have been taken upon trust and which have been repeated not only by French but also by Spanish and even by some English writers. [Nor would we leave the British and Portuguese soldiers chargeable with a guilt they never incurred.] The charges are, that Wellington ordered shells to be fired into the town, and that the town was purposely set on fire by the British. Even at the time some Spanish newspapers, the organs of that anti-Anglican party who had caused and were still causing Wellington so much embarrassment, and who had repeatedly put in jeopardy the cause for which he was fighting in the Peninsula, insinuated or said openly that he had done all this, and that he had cared nothing for the excesses committed by the British and Portuguese soldiery. These men had lied in their throats before, and they have lied loudly since, but they never carried their power of lying farther than now! The town had been set on fire by the French modes of defending themselves; and, because Wellington and his generals would not set it on fire by throwing shells, 2000 brave men had been sacrificed. No effort was spared by our commanding officers or by our regimental officers to stop the excesses of the troops. Wellington was absent when the town was assaulted and carried;—he was encouraging the Spaniards on the heights of San Marcial, was seeing them drive the French into the Bidasoa, or was busied in sending his orders from post to post, from pass to pass, and, having quitted San Sebastian on the evening of the 30th or morning of the 31st of August, he did not return from Lezaca on the frontier until the 2nd of September; but Graham—a man as gentle and humane as he was brave—and the other officers in command acted up both to the letter and spirit of Wellington's instructions, and before Wellington reached the town every excess had ceased. The town was set on fire by the French in six different places before the assault commenced. Wellington's best defence was in his own manly, plain, and indignant language. The good fame of Sir Thomas Graham was as dear to him as his own. In writing to his brother, Sir Henry Wellesley, who was still residing at Cadiz as British ambassador, the commander-in-chief says, "You will more readily conceive, than I can describe, the feelings of indignation with which I proceed to justify the general, and other officers of that army, from the charge that they designed to plunder and burn the town of San Sebastian. I need not assure you that this charge is most positively untrue. Everything was done that was in my power to suggest to save the town. Several persons urged me in the strongest manner to allow it to be bombarded, as the most certain mode of forcing the enemy to give it up. This I positively would not allow, for the same reasons as I did not allow Ciudad Rodrigo or Badajoz to be bombarded..... Neither is it true that the town was set on fire by the English and Portuguese troops. *To set fire to the town was part of the enemy's defence.* It was set on fire by the enemy on the 22nd of July, before the first attempt was made to take it by storm; and it is a fact that the fire was so violent on the 24th of July, that the storm which was to have taken place on that day was necessarily deferred till the 25th, and, as is well known, failed. I was at the siege of San Sebastian on the 30th of August, and I aver that the town was then on fire. It must have been set on fire by the enemy, as I repeat that our batteries, by positive orders, threw no shells into the town; and I saw the town on fire on the morning of the 31st of August, before the (second) storm took place. It is well known that the enemy had prepared for a serious resistance, not only on the ramparts, but in the streets of the town; that traverses were established in the streets formed of combustibles, with the intention of setting fire to and exploding them during the contest with the assailants. It is equally known that there was a most severe contest in the streets of the town between the assailants and the garrison; that many of these traverses were exploded, by which many lives on both sides were lost; and it is a fact that these explosions set fire to many of the houses. ..... In truth, the fire in the town was the greatest evil that could befall the assailants, who did everything in their power to get the better of it; and it is a fact that, owing to the difficulty and danger of communicating through the fire with our advanced posts in the town, it had very nearly become necessary at one time to withdraw those posts entirely. In regard to the plunder of the town by the soldiers, I am the last man who will deny it, because I know that it is true. It has fallen to my lot to take many towns by storm; and I am concerned to add that I never saw or heard

* When a place is taken by assault, by a civilised and merciful enemy, it is usual to relieve or remove the infuriated storming parties and supply their place with other and cooler troops as soon as possible. At least as early as the morning of the 1st of September an end would have been put to the excesses of the British and Portuguese who had stormed, and who had witnessed the destruction of so many hundreds of their countrymen and comrades, if it had been possible to relieve them; but this possibility did not exist, for the other columns were on the frontiers, fighting hard at San Marcial and elsewhere, or guarding the mountain passes against Soult. In fact, on the 31st of August, the day San Sebastian was stormed, the whole of the left of the army was attacked by the French.

of one so taken, by any troops, that it was not plundered.* . . . . . If it had not been for the fire, which certainly augmented the confusion, and afforded greater facilities for irregularities, and if by far the greatest proportion of the officers and non-commissioned officers, particularly of the principal officers who stormed the breach, had not been killed or wounded in the performance of their duty in the service of Spain (to the number of 170 out of 250), I believe that the plunder would have been in a great measure, though not entirely, prevented." † And there are some circumstances that at least extenuate the conduct of the allied troops in the captured town. From the city of Vittoria onward, in all the country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees—a country of which the French had so long held an almost undisturbed possession—the allies had, in a variety of painful ways, been made sensible of the existence of a numerous and active French party, and of the prevalence of a most hostile feeling, not only to the English and to the Portuguese, but also to the Andalusians and the Spaniards from other provinces who were now marching under the orders of Wellington. The divided states of Italy never nourished greater jealousies or more rancorous antipathies to one another than did the inhabitants of the great Spanish provinces, or of the old kingdoms which had been gradually brought together under one sceptre, without any moral or physical amalgamation; and the feuds of the fifteenth century between English and Scotch were gentleness and affection compared with the hatred that raged between Spaniards and Portuguese in the nineteenth century. A poet who, after the event, corrected in plain prose the disproved vaticinations of his verse, has said that Lord Wellington had done wonders, had perhaps changed the character of a nation, and reconciled rival superstitions; ‡ but it was beyond the power of Wellington either to root out the mutual animosities of the Spaniards and Portuguese, or even to make the Spaniards of Guipuzcoa, or Biscay, or Navarre, cease to hate the Spaniards of Castile, or Leon, or La Mancha, or Andalusia. No other man than himself could so long have kept Portuguese and Spaniards in one army without some great and bloody catastrophe. It might be as much owing to these mad antipathies as to any sympathies or partizanship for the French that the inhabitants of San Sebastian aided and assisted the besieged; but it is an indisputable fact that they both assisted the French and fired upon the British and Portuguese besiegers! This was but a bad return for the mercy and magnanimity of Wellington and Graham, in sparing the town from bombardment, and in preferring to that measure the certain loss of many hundreds of men! After such a provocation, the marvel is, not that the storming parties broke open the wine-cellars of the inhabitants and plundered their houses, but that they did not cut their throats. Yet there was no massacre either of townspeople or of French prisoners, though the latter must have been taken with the "red hand." If some few of the inhabitants were killed or injured by fire-arms and bayonets, this was done by accident during the contest in the streets with the enemy, and not by design. As to the fact that the lives were saved of 700 French, taken in the very heat and fury of the storming, we have, though in a most disgraceful shape, the confirmation of these complaining Spaniards themselves, for they asserted, in the body of their complaints, that the allies had been over-kind to the enemy. "In regard to the charge of kindness to the enemy," said Wellington, "I am afraid it is but too well founded; and that, till it is positively ordered by authority, in return for the ordonnance of the French government, that all enemies' troops in a place taken by storm shall be put to death, it will be difficult to prevail upon British officers and soldiers to treat an enemy, when their prisoners, otherwise than well." But this bloody ordonnance, which had been recently issued by Bonaparte, was of itself calculated to madden any soldiery, and more particularly men who had taken a place by storm after such a frightful loss; and therefore the safety of the 700 French and the kindness shown to them are wonderful proofs of a generosity of nature and aversion to blood; and as such ought to stand as a set-off against the drunkenness and the pillage.* It also rests upon the highest authority, and upon the careful examination and evidence of General Robinson, who led the storming brigade, of General Hay, who commanded in the town immediately after the storm, and of other British officers commanding regiments, that

* "It is," added his lordship, "one of the evil consequences attending the necessity of storming a town, which every officer laments, not only on account of the evil thereby inflicted on the unfortunate inhabitants, *but on account of the injury it does to discipline, and the risk which is incurred of the loss of all the advantages of victory, at the very moment they are gained.* It is hard that I and my general officers are to be so treated as we have been by the 'Xefe Politico' and other unrestrained libellers, because an unavoidable evil has occurred in the accomplishment of a great service, and in the acquirement of a great advantage. The fault does not lie with us; it is with those who lost the fort, and obliged us at great risk and loss to regain it for the Spanish nation by storm." [*At the beginning of this war the place had been given up to the French in a dastardly or treacherous manner by a Spanish garrison. Nor was this the first time that the strength of San Sebastian had been valueless in Spanish hands: in* 1794 *the French republicans, after beating the Spaniards at Fuentarabia and all along that frontier, reduced the place in a few days, and without any siege-artillery.*]

"Notwithstanding that I am convinced that it is impossible to prevent a town in such a situation from being plundered, I can prove that upon this occasion particular pains were taken to prevent it. I gave most positive orders upon the subject."—*Letter to the Right Hon. Sir H. Wellesley, dated Lezaca, 9th October, in Wellington Dispatches.*

† Id. id. "Indeed," subjoins his lordship, "one of the subjects of complaint, that sentries were placed on every house, shows the desire at least of the officers to preserve order. These sentries must have been placed by order; and, unless it is supposed, as charged, that the officers intended that the town should be plundered and burned, and placed the sentries to secure that object, it must be admitted that their intention in placing these sentries was good."

‡ Lord Byron, notes to Canto 1. of Childe Harold.

* The French showed no such consideration or mercy for their British and Portuguese prisoners, of whom a good number had been taken in the unsuccessful assault of the 25th of July. After he had been driven from the town into the castle, Rey, the French general, kept the prisoners in the open yard of the castle-magazine "*sans blindages*," and many of them were killed and wounded by the fire of their own countrymen directed against that building. Rey also made the prisoners work under fire. We give these facts on no questionable or weak authority. Lord Wellington, in writing to Sir Thomas Graham on the 5th of September, four days before Rey capitulated and surrendered the castle, says, "I do not know that I have ever heard of such conduct, and the pretension founded upon it, viz. that we should not direct our fire against the place, is too ridiculous. I request you to send in to General Rey a protest against his keeping his prisoners in the yard of this magazine, '*sans blindages*,' and likewise against his making them work under fire."—*See Dispatches.*

both troops and officers did at first do everything in their power to stop the progress of the fire, which was set to the town by the enemy; and that many lost their lives in the attempt, owing to the fire of musketry kept up upon the roofs of the houses by the enemy in the castle.*

We have dwelt the longer upon this subject, because Spanish writers, both now and recently, have, with barefaced impudence, revived the exploded and disproved calumnies against our great captain and against the character of the British army and nation.

The ease with which the castle was taken from the French after the town had been carried showed how much the allies had sacrificed by not driving them out of the town by bombardment weeks before. The town was stormed on the 31st of August. On the 1st of September some near batteries were opened upon the castle from the town, and shortly afterwards a bombardment was commenced, for it would have been carrying humanity to absurdity to treat the fortress with the same gentleness as the town. On the 3rd Rey proposed to surrender upon terms which were inadmissible. On the 8th, when the castle was flying off in fragments from the fire of our batteries, Rey beat the *chamade* and surrendered. On the morning of the 9th the garrison marched out with the honours of war and laid down their arms. They still amounted to more than 1800 men and officers, but 500 of them were sick or wounded. Thus 2500 men in all were taken, but the allies in the course of the siege had lost nearly 4000 in killed and wounded.

On the 31st of October the 4000 French in Pamplona, having lost all hope of relief, surrendered prisoners of war to Lord Wellington's tried and steady friend Don Carlos de España, who had latterly commanded the blockading forces. There was nothing now in the rear of the allies to cause them any apprehension or to intercept their communications with the interior of Spain. But before the reduction of Pamplona—though not before that event had been rendered inevitable—Wellington called down part of his troops from the bleak mountain-tops and from the gloomy narrow passes, where, to their infinite discomfort, they had been encamped or hutted for more than two months, and led them a march or two forward upon French ground. The men, recently gloomy, looked as if they were going to a fair or a feast, as they trod down from the Pyrenees, and through the defiles of Roncesvalles, and the other passes which their valour had won, but which had given them but a hungry, wet, and cold reception. Early in October Lord Wellington moved his left across the Bidasoa and took possession of the French hills of La Rhune. Soult offered only a very slight resistance, for his army had not recovered its spirit, the reinforcements he wanted were beginning to be still more wanted by his master in Germany, and he had already decided upon a retrograde movement, and had fixed upon the river Nivelle for his line of defence. On the 10th of November the rest of the allied army were called down from their cold and cheerless positions in the highlands of the Pyrenees; and Lord Wellington having made his preparations to march in full force into France, all the troops soon began to descend into the valleys on the French side. Before taking this decisive step, Wellington issued an order of the day to all the troops of the various nations that followed his victorious standard. He told "the officers and soldiers to remember that their nations were at war with France solely because the ruler of the French would not allow them to be at peace, and wanted to force them to submit to his yoke."—He told them "not to forget that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal had been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers and their cruelties towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of the country;"—and that "to avenge this conduct on the peaceful inhabitants of France would be unmanly and unworthy of the allied nations." This proclamation was read over and over again in English, in Portuguese, and in Spanish; and his lordship made it the special duty of all officers to enforce these salutary orders. Nor was the proclamation ever left to remain as an idle piece of rhetoric; his lordship took incessant care to carry it into operation; he enforced the orders most strictly, and, whenever he found any part of his troops attempting to plunder the French peasantry, he not only punished by sharp and summary military law those who were caught in the fact, but he placed the whole regiment or brigade to which they belonged under arms to prevent further offence. It was difficult to convince the vindictive Spaniards and Portuguese, who had so long seen their own country plundered, and ransacked, and wasted by fire and sword, that they ought not to retaliate upon the French, who had attacked them without the shadow of a provocation. Discipline, however, works miracles, and the Portuguese troops, on the whole, behaved well in this as in other particulars. But the undisciplined part of the Spaniards, who had been a thorn in Wellington's side, a beam in his eye, and a perpetual source of anxiety or vexation ever since he set his foot on the soil of the Peninsula, could not be restrained in their revengeful and marauding propensities. Some excuse for them was, that their government had provided them neither with pay nor provisions, neither with clothes nor shoes. To the Spanish general Freyre Wellington said: "Where I command I declare that no one shall be allowed to plunder. If plunder must be had, then another must have the command. You have large armies in Spain, and, if it is wished to plunder the French peasantry, you may then enter France; but then the Spanish government must remove me from the command of their armies. . . It is a matter of indifference to me whether I

* Lord Wellington's second letter to Sir Henry Wellesley on this subject.

command a large or a small army, but, whether large or small, they must obey me, and, above all, must not plunder." At last he took the measure of moving back most of the Spanish troops within the Spanish frontiers.*

The peasantry dwelling near that frontier, and, indeed, the great body of the rural population of the whole of the south of France, between the Garonne and the Pyrenees, between the Rhone and the maritime Alps, and from the Mediterranean shore to the coasts on the Atlantic Ocean, were devout catholics and Bourbonists at heart; they had been borne down after some long and sanguinary struggles by the Jacobins who overthrew both altar and throne, but neither the propagandists of that sect nor the propagandists of the various sects, including the Bonapartean, which had flourished in France since the downfall of Robespierre, had been able to convert them to the modern philosophism, or to uproot their regard for the old dynasty. For some time the expression of their sentiments was subdued by the presence of Soult's army, and by that other army of imperialists which was made up of police-agents, public and secret, prefêts and sous-prefêts, intendants and sous-intendants, with their several staffs of commissaries and clerks, justices, tax-gatherers, commissaries-at-war, douaniers, and those other swarms of employés who all owed their appointments to the central Paris government, and who were all by interest, if not in principle, devoted Bonapartists. But as Soult retired, and as many of this host sought refuge behind the rear of his army, the peasantry began to give sundry signs of good feeling towards Lord Wellington and his army, as also to calculate upon the probability and the means of their taking vengeance upon their own countrymen, of the revolutionary parties, for the wrongs they had suffered, and for the blood of their relatives and friends which had been shed, during the Reign of Terror and since. The military conscription, the excess to which it had been carried, and the prodigious sacrifice of life to which it had led and was still leading, gave more vigour and keenness to the devotional and loyal feeling: the peasantry saw no end to these evils, no cessation to the processes by which their sons were torn from them to fight for the usurper they detested, and to be made food for cannon—*chair à canon.*†

* Colonel Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.—General Sir Thomas Picton was a Welshman more peppery than Fluellin, and appears always to have been in a passion at somebody or something; but much cooler officers than he re echoed the sentiments he expressed as to the value of Spanish troops as co-belligerents in France. In writing to a friend in England, after the allied army had been for some time in the French territories, Picton says with his usual energy of expression: "The Spaniards, instead of being of any service to us in our operations, are a perfect dead-weight, and do nothing but run away and plunder. We should do much better without these vapouring poltroon rascals, whose irregular conduct indisposes every one towards us. The inhabitants of the country appear remarkably well-disposed, and I believe wish us success from their hearts as the only probable means of bringing about what they all most ardently sigh for—peace."—*Letter to Mr. Murryat in H. B. Robinson's Memoirs of Picton.*

† *Chair à canon*, flesh or meat for cannon, was the epithet commonly applied to young conscripts towards the end of this war, not merely in the unwilling south (where Bonaparte was wont to say that there were no Frenchmen), but throughout France.

If Wellington had not prevented the allies from marauding, and plundering, and maltreating the peasantry, self-defence and the common instincts of nature might have interfered with their passionate wish for the restoration of the Bourbons, and have turned them from friends or passive spectators into dangerous, deadly enemies. But the admirable discipline maintained, the care bestowed to see that their property and persons were protected, and that they were fairly paid for whatever they provided, soon removed nearly all fears and jealousies; and they came flocking to the English camp, with their poultry and vegetables, and oil and wine, as to a peaceful and friendly market. Many—men, women, and children—followed our army, and wished it success; and their wishes were still more loudly and enthusiastically expressed when they saw a prince of the house of Bourbon come and join Lord Wellington, and march with the *Drapeau Blanc* with the English advancing columns, to the true Bourbon tune of "*Vive Henri Quatre!*"

Soult now occupied a very strong position on the Nivelle, which had been carefully prepared for him beforehand: his right rested upon St. Jean de Luz, his left upon Ainhoe. On the 10th of November, Hill, issuing from the valley of the Baztan with the British right, attacked the French left on the heights of Ainhoe, beat it, and drove it towards Cambo, on the river Nive; while the centre of the allies, consisting of English and Spaniards, under Marshal Beresford and General Baron Alten, carried the works behind Sarre, and drove the remainder of the French behind the Nivelle. On the same day the allies crossed the Nivelle at St. Pé in the rear of the enemy, who upon this hastily abandoned their ground and works on the left of the Nivelle, and in the course of the night withdrew to their entrenched camp in front of Bayonne. Before engaging in the defiles of the Pyrenees, or entering upon those desperate enterprises, which had cost him so dearly, for relieving Pamplona and San Sebastian, Soult had marked out this entrenched camp, and given orders for its formation: it was partially completed before he withdrew from the line of the Nivelle; trenches were now digging, and redoubts were raising their heads, all bristling with a tremendous artillery, in part drawn from the great dépôt of Bayonne. Here the French certainly thought that they should be allowed some repose. Lord Wellington's head-quarters were established at St. Jean de Luz, on the right bank of the Nivelle; the allies went into cantonments between the sea and the river Nive, where their extreme right rested on Cambo. The enemy guarded the right bank of the Nive from Bayonne to St. Jean Pied de Port. But Lord Wellington, being straitened for room and supplies for his army, determined to cross the Nive and occupy the country between that river and the Adour. On the 9th of December, General Hill forded the Nive above Cambo, while the sixth division crossed at Ustariz, and the French were dislodged from their position

at Ville Franque. In the night all their posts were withdrawn to Bayonne, and on the 10th the British right rested on the Adour. On that same day Marshal Soult resumed the offensive, issued from Bayonne, and attacked the British left, which covered St. Jean de Luz and the considerable dépôt of stores which had been formed there for the use of the allies. Sir John Hope commanded the left; and he met Soult's spirited attack with perfect steadiness. The French, being superior in number, came on with great speed and fury: twice they succeeded in driving in the fifth division of the allies, and twice they were repulsed again, the first time by the ninth British and a Portuguese battalion, the second time by a brigade of the English guards. Night put an end to the desperate combat; and during that dark December night Soult withdrew most of his forces from the position in front of the British left, and made them glide off towards the British centre, in order to attack our light division with overwhelming numbers. But Sir John Hope, knowing or suspecting his design, moved part of his troops to their right to support the light division; and, on the morning of the 11th, the French discovered that their movement had been anticipated, and their chance lost of crushing the light division. Soult instantly made another change in his movements: Sir John Hope had been weakened by lending strength and support to the light division, and therefore the French marshal directed several columns to try another attack on our left. The necessary movement was performed with great rapidity, it was favoured by the nature of the intervening ground, and this time at least Sir John Hope was taken by surprise. The British troops and their allies were occupied in receiving their rations, and their fatigue-parties were employed in cutting wood for the cooks' fires, when "*En avant! En avant!*" (Forwards! Forwards!) and other French shouts were heard from the front, being answered by the corresponding cry of "To arms! To arms!" among the British. The heads of the French columns were close at hand, and the allies had barely time to run to their arms and ranks: yet the attack was gallantly withstood, and at the close of the day Soult had not gained the slightest advantage.* In these several affairs the excellent military conduct and romantic bravery of Sir John Hope excited the admiration of the whole army. In the commander-in-chief this warm admiration was mingled with friendly apprehensions. On the 15th of December he said, "I have long entertained the highest opinion of Sir John Hope, in common, I believe, with the whole world, but every day's experience convinces me more of his worth. We shall lose him, however, if he continues to expose himself in fire as he did in the last three days: indeed his escape then was wonderful. His hat and coat were shot through in many places, besides the wound in his leg. He places himself among the sharpshooters, without, as they do, sheltering himself from the enemy's fire. This will not answer; and I hope that his friends will give him a hint on the subject."*

The situation occupied by Soult gave him almost every facility for masking his movements, and concentrating the whole of his force upon any point of the allied position which he might choose to select for attack. His entrenched camp round Bayonne formed the centre of a circle, within which he might make any alteration in the disposition of his army without being checked or even observed by Lord Wellington. Finding that all his efforts to force the left wing of the allies were unavailing, and fancying that his repeated attacks in that quarter must have induced Lord Wellington to weaken greatly his right, he determined to move in that direction; and on the night of the 12th of December he concentrated his main force for an attack on the British right. Soult was slow in appreciating the promptitude and genius of his opponent, yet he ought, indeed, to have learned by this time to entertain a higher opinion of Wellington than to venture a movement which could be successful only through that general's neglect or want of skill.† The British commander had foreseen precisely what the famed French marshal would do, and had provided for it with his ordinary decision, and with the rapidity which a thoroughly disciplined army, well in hand, enables a general to use. In expectation of this attack, his lordship had requested Beresford to reinforce Hill, whose corps was more particularly menaced, with the sixth division, which crossed the river Nive at daylight; and he further reinforced Hill by the fourth division and two brigades of the third. But it was found on trial that, without these reinforcements, Hill could have withstood the attack. Having passed large forces through Bayonne and the entrenched camp during the night, Soult, moving along the high road from Bayonne, with 30,000 men, fell upon Hill's position, then held by 13,000 men, on the morning of the 13th. At first the massy columns of the French centre seemed to be gaining some ground; but they were soon fiercely repulsed. Soult then essayed an attack on Hill's right; and there, too, the semblance of a first success was followed by a repulse, defeat, and loss. "Hill," said Wellington, "the day is all your own!" Soult, in despair, drew off his remaining troops and retired into his entrenched camp. Nothing of importance occurred during the few remaining days of the year 1813, for the allied army had need of rest and of reinforcements; and it went into winter-quarters for five or six weeks—if so comfortable a name as 'winter-quarters' can be given to the positions and lodgings the troops occupied. The allies had lost between the 9th and the 13th of December alone

* Captain Batty, Account of the Proceedings of the Left Wing of the Allied Army.—The French had come on with the more confidence, from the notion that their surprise had created a panic. "Our soldiers, who had gone in front of our lines at Barouilles to cut wood, ran back in all haste to get themselves armed and accoutred. The French, seeing a number of men running to the rear, imagined that the allies were seized with a panic, and set up loud cheers of '*En avant! En avant!*' In a few moments, however, the whole left wing was formed in perfect order."—*Id. id.*

* Dispatches, letter to Colonel Torrens.

† H. B. Robinson, Memoirs of Picton.

650 in killed, 3907 in wounded, and 504 in missing; and in the combats which had preceded their passing the Nive their loss had been very considerable. But Soult's loss had been far more terrible; Wellington roughly estimated it at three times that of the allies. During all these late operations the troops had had to struggle against the worst weather and the worst roads. "I never," said the British general, "saw such weather, such roads, or such a country!" The total number of the wounded and the sick, and of men actually worn out by incessant fatigue and exposure to wet and cold, was large in the allied camps; and not only were the Spaniards and the Portuguese, but the British troops also, miserably supplied with comforts and clothing. Many of our men had no great-coats, thousands of them had no shoes! There were shoes and great-coats, and comforts of other kinds, in the magazines at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and other places; but through gross mismanagement they were not sent in time to the places where they were wanted; and where brave men were dying for the want of them. Everything that a general commanding in the field could do, and far more than ever British general did before, was done by Lord Wellington; but there were certain capital defects in our regulations at home, in our transport-service, and in other departments, which he could not remedy:—and to all this must, in fairness, be added, the immense drain which was making or had recently been made on our military stores, clothing, &c. by the Dutch, the Hanoverians, and other insurged patriots in Germany. Stern Picton sighed for 20,000 more British troops, with which he doubted not that Wellington might now march into the heart of France; but no reinforcement was sent.

While the grand allied army under Wellington had been gathering all these laurels, the badly-organised expedition which had been sent from Sicily and from the Balearic islands to the coast of Spain, and which had been under the command of so many generals in a short space of time, had done nothing to reflect honour on British arms. But this fault lay more with the British government, and the Spanish commanders and functionaries, and the bad composition of most of the auxiliaries or mercenaries which Lord William Bentinck had sent down from Sicily, than with the British generals who, one after the other, had the misfortune to command such troops and to serve under such disadvantageous and perplexing circumstances. There was failure—perhaps there was disgrace: but this great consideration is ever to be borne in mind—but for the presence of this allied force on the eastern coast and in Catalonia, Suchet, the most successful of all the French generals in the Peninsula, might have started from Valencia, have traversed the breadth of Spain, and either have joined Jourdan and King Joseph with 30,000 fighting men before the disastrous and decisive battle of Vittoria, or have joined Soult when he had forced his way back into Spain through the Pyrenean passes, and was hammering at the allies in order to force his way onward to Pamplona. It was not Mina with his guerrillas, it was not any disposable force the Spaniards had on foot, that could have prevented Suchet's movements anywhere between Valencia and Navarre. After the command of the allied forces in the East had been tossed from hand to hand like a shuttlecock, it was given to Major-General Sir John Murray, who was considered an officer of spirit and of considerable ability. Murray found that the *morale* of this heterogeneous *corps d'armée* was exceedingly bad, and that fierce jealousies and quarrels were raging between the British and Spanish soldiery, and between the latter and the Sicilian and Calabrian corps in our pay. Being, however, ashamed of the long inaction at Alicante, Sir John Murray, early in March of the present year (more than two months before Lord Wellington commenced his brilliant advance from his Portuguese cantonments), moved into the mountainous district of Castalla, drove Suchet's outposts before him, and placed his own advanced posts about Biar. By a corresponding movement the Spanish general, Elio, acting in the open country on Murray's left, got to Yecla and Villena, leaving an open gap between these two places. In April, Suchet took the field in force: on the 11th his general, Harispe, surprised the Spaniards at Yecla, beat them soundly, and killed or took 1500 of them. Other French divisions had entered the gap which Elio had left open to them, and so, on the very next day, an entire Spanish regiment, cut off and shut up in the castle of Villena without the proper means of defence, beat the *chamade* and surrendered. On this same day, the 12th of April, Suchet marched against the advanced post which Sir John Murray had established in the pass of Biar, drove it in, and captured two mountain guns. Then, rushing through the pass, but with only three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, Suchet, on the 13th, attacked Sir John Murray, who had chosen and occupied an excellent position in the mountainous country of Castalla. The French reached the upper slope of the mountain; but a close steady volley from the British 27th, and a bayonet-charge by the same regiment, drove them down again with considerable loss. Some of the Spaniards behaved well, and supported this charge of the 27th, which so disheartened Suchet that he made no second attempt, but retreated immediately through the pass of Biar, and thence by the road by which he had advanced. This was the first opportunity Suchet had had of seeing what could be done by the muskets and bayonets of a single British regiment. Just at this moment, owing to some absurd apprehensions on the part of Lord William Bentinck and our ministers at home, that Murat might invade Sicily with part of the Neapolitan army, and place that island in jeopardy, 2000 British troops were withdrawn and sent back to Sicily.* If Sir John

* These apprehensions were indeed absurd, and for more reasons

Murray was far too weak before, this draft and deduction must have made him, if not helpless, incapable of any further field operations in this part of Spain. Urged by the Spaniards, who made promises which they never kept, and anxious to get Suchet farther from his own line of operations, and out of the fertile and spiritless province of Valencia, Lord Wellington, in May, as he was beginning to move from the frontiers of Portugal, instructed Sir John Murray to embark his forces at Alicante, to convey them to the coast of Catalonia, and there to possess himself, if possible, of Tarragona, or some other maritime fortress, and then co-operate with the Catalan armies or insurgents. Doubting, however, the superiority of the French forces, and wishing, in any case, to make Sir John Murray's movements advantageous to the allies, Wellington instructed Sir John, in the event of Suchet's coming upon him in force before he should have captured a stronghold in Catalonia, to re-embark his forces with all possible expedition, return to Valencia, and there fall upon the French line on the Xucar, before Suchet, whose troops must have a long and fatiguing land-march, should have time to reinforce those lines.* In case of these last movements being made, a Spanish force, under the command of the Duque del Parque, was to approach the Xucar, and co-operate with Sir John Murray in his attack on the French lines. Sailing from Alicante on the 31st of May, Murray came to anchor off Tarragona on the evening of the 2nd of June. The troops were landed the next morning, and by the afternoon of the 3rd Tarragona was invested. The French garrison did not exceed 700 men; but they had abandoned and destroyed the extensive outer works, which would have demanded a great force for their defence, and they had improved the inner works, within the narrower compass of which their whole force was concentrated. Instead of attacking the place at once, Sir John fell upon Fort Balaguer, at some distance, which commanded the only road that leads from Tortosa (where the French had another garrison) to Tarragona. This fort was reduced, and the 80 Frenchmen who defended it were made prisoners. On the 6th, Murray opened two batteries upon Tarragona; on the 7th he opened a third battery; on the 8th there was a practicable breach, but he did not storm, waiting till another breach should be made in the body of the place, which was not assailed, by two heavy batteries, before the 11th, and by this time a French relieving army, composed entirely of veterans, was almost upon him. Suchet, as Lord Wellington anticipated, had quitted Valencia as soon as he learned that Murray was going from Alicante; he had weakened his lines on the Xucar, in order to carry a great force with him into Catalonia. He reached Tortosa on the 9th; but, finding that Fort Balaguer had surrendered, and that his direct road was thus cut off, he left his artillery at Tortosa, and with a division of infantry struck across the mountains, to reach Tarragona by a circuitous route. At the same time General Maurice Mathieu was advancing rapidly along the coast from Barcelona with a French division and artillery. But it should appear that all communication between Suchet and Maurice Mathieu was interrupted; that neither of them knew the force or intention of the other, or what the other was doing; that both these French generals wavered and began movements of retreat; that Suchet, not aware of the advance of Mathieu, feared to engage Murray without artillery; that Mathieu thought it unsafe to advance alone; and that, at one moment, Suchet, Mathieu, and Murray were all running from one another. Double spies, who took pay from both parties, told Murray that the French were coming from the east and from the west, and that the forces of Suchet and Maurice Mathieu when united would exceed 20,000 men. Upon this Murray, against the advice and violent remonstrances of Admiral Hallowell, determined to abandon the siege of Tarragona and to seek safety in an immediate embarkation. The general would consent to no delay; he preferred leaving his artillery behind him to staying to face the French;—and he embarked his forces with such unsoldierly haste that he actually left behind him nineteen pieces of artillery in the trenches. On the 13th, and again on the 14th, he threw his infantry on shore to protect the embarkation of some field-pieces, and in the hope of cutting off a body of the enemy which had now approached Fort Balaguer. But no offensive blow could be struck, and the movements excited the derision of the French. On the 17th Lord William Bentinck arrived from Sicily and took the chief command of this luckless army. Fort Balaguer was destroyed; and then, in conformity with Lord Wellington's in-

than one. Early in the year, when Murat was quarrelling violently with his imperial and most imperious brother-in-law, and was refusing to join him in the German war, overtures for a separate accommodation with England were made to Lord William Bentinck by or on the part of Murat. A certain Ricardo Jones, an Englishman by birth, but who had resided for so long a series of years at Naples as to be rather more of a Neapolitan than Englishman, was secretly sent to a rendezvous appointed by Lord William (the island of Ponza), to propose the conditions on which Murat would declare for the allies and against Bonaparte. These secret conferences, indeed, did not, for the present, lead to any arrangement; but before the 2000 British troops withdrawn from the eastern coast of Spain reached Sicily, it had become evident that Bonaparte must be beaten by the allies in Saxony; and hence, and from other affronts received (because he could not do with a weak and defective cavalry what he had done in former days with the veterans who had perished in Russia), Murat was again devising how he might best make terms with his neighbours the English in Sicily, and be admitted a member of the great European confederacy. And this moment the Calabrians and the inhabitants of other provinces were deserting their homes and flying over to Sicily to escape the French tyranny, to breathe the air of liberty under the old Bourbons, and to implore them and the English to undertake an expedition. An infernal act of treachery had provoked this emigration. General Jannelli, a worthy associate of Manhes, fearing to proceed openly against a Calabrian named Capobianco, the chief of a vendita or lodge of Carbonari, captain of the Urban militia, and a young man possessing property, courage, and great popularity among his countrymen, invited him to a public dinner, received him with smiles, drank to him at table, and then, when the dinner was over, threw his gensdarmes upon him, and had him brought before one of Manhes's military tribunals, which instantly condemned him to death.—*Generale Pietro Colletta, Storia di Napoli.*—*Private information collected in the country, and from some persons who were engaged in these transactions.*

* "You tell me," said Lord Wellington to Murray, "that the line of the Xucar, which covers Valencia, is too strong to force; turn it then by the ocean, assail the rear of the enemy, and he will weaken his strong line to protect his communication; or he will give you an opportunity to establish a new line of operations behind him."—*Dispatches.*

structions, Bentinck led the disheartened forces back to Alicante, to act with the Duque del Parque upon the Xucar. A Spanish corps under General Copons, which had been led into danger by Sir John Murray, who requested its co-operation, was left in a perilous predicament by Murray's precipitate retreat, of which, it is said, he had given General Copons no notice whatever. This Spanish corps, however, escaped into the mountains. At the close of the war Sir John was tried, in England, by court-martial. He was acquitted of all intentional disobedience of orders, but found guilty of abandoning artillery and stores which he might have carried off. His conduct was attributed to an error in judgment, and his sentence was merely that he should be admonished; and this sentence, gentle as it was, was never inflicted.*

On reaching Alicante Lord William Bentinck immediately advanced and joined del Parque, who was true to his appointment, but who had not been able to bring with him so great a Spanish force as had been expected. But laurels grew nowhere for this army; there was no longer any necessity for fighting on the Xucar, as, in consequence of the great battle of Vittoria, the French withdrew their posts, and cleared out of Valencia early in July. Suchet drew his troops into Catalonia, leaving, however, strong garrisons in Murviedro, Denia, Peniscola, and other places, some to the south, and some to the north of the Ebro. Bentinck followed the retiring French, crossed the Ebro by flying bridges, and invested Tarragona on the 30th of July. But before ground was broken Suchet advanced to the relief with more than 20,000 men. Lord William Bentinck, who, at first, had been deceived into the belief that he might trust to the Spanish troops, was convinced by this time that such confidence would be misplaced and dangerous; and, considering that his other forces were not sufficiently strong to contend with Suchet's veteran army, he fell back upon Cambils. Upon this Suchet relieved and removed the French garrison, destroyed the works, together with a part of the town of Tarragona, and retreated behind the Llobregat. This was in the middle of August. The allies now entered the desolate city, and made the convenient port of Tarragona the rendezvous of the British fleet. Early in September Bentinck advanced to Villa Franca, and pushed forward to Ordal a mixed corps of British, Sicilians, Calabrians, and Spaniards. On the night of the 12th and 13th the French surprised and defeated this advanced corps, took their four guns, killed, wounded, or captured about 1000 men, and drove the rest in confusion back upon Lord William Bentinck's main body. On the following day Suchet, in force, drove the whole of the heterogeneous allied army from Villa Franca. The French marshal then retired again to the line of the Llobregat. Shortly after these operations Lord William Bentinck returned to his political and diplomatic duties in Sicily. He was succeeded in the command by General W. Clinton, who found this allied army of the east in and near Tarragona, doing nothing and incapable of doing much; and Clinton, like every one of his predecessors, soon became very desirous of quitting the command of it. But Lord Wellington, whose expectations from this quarter had always been *very* moderate, and who was satisfied that Clinton would do the most that could be done, requested him to remain, and wait the successful progress of the war on the side of the Pyrenees. Clinton repaired the defences of Tarragona, and towards the end of September he advanced to Villa Franca, making a display of force which imposed upon the French and made them believe that he was far stronger than he really was. Once Suchet attempted to surprise him; but he failed completely. In the month of December, upon intelligence that some German battalions near Bayonne had deserted from Soult to Wellington, and still more in consequence of the universal rising of the people in Germany against Bonaparte, Suchet was obliged to disarm all his German regiments, and to send them, well guarded, into France. At the same time some of Suchet's Italian battalions were recalled to Italy to assist in stopping the Austrians in the passes of the Alps, and some of his best French soldiers were drafted off to fill the frightful gaps which had been made in Bonaparte's imperial guards on the field of Leipzig and in other battles in Germany. Still, however, after every deduction, Suchet retained in Catalonia a force in every way superior to that of the allies under Clinton and the Spanish generals who had engaged to co-operate with him, but who, for the most part, preferred the pursuit of little plans of their own. When Clinton proposed to invest Barcelona the Spaniards refused to assist him; and the year closed without any exploit.

In other quarters nearly every day of this year had been a day of crisis. On his return to Paris, on the night of the 18th of December, 1812, Bonaparte found that conspiracies had broken out even in his capital during his absence in Russia; that in many parts of France the people had testified great joy at the several times falsely reported news of his death; that discontent or absolute disaffection had shown itself in different directions, and among various classes; and that some of his marshals and generals were not exempted from the suspicions of his secret police. The senate and the *corps législatif*, however, seemed as submissive as ever; and with the aid of their votes, tongues, and pens he proceeded to recruit his wasted army by fresh conscriptions, and to restore his finances by fresh and unprecedented taxes. To the few who ventured to murmur he said that he had been beaten only by the elements and by unforeseen accidents; that the hundreds of thousands that were at rest under the snows of Russia had acquired as much glory for the country as the always successful armies of former days; that, if he did not now

* Colonel Napier.—Major M. Sherer.—Wellington Dispatches.—Letters of Lord W. Bentinck, General W. Clinton, &c.

meet the Russians on the northern frontiers of Germany, the sacred frontiers of France would be invaded by Russians, Prussians, Austrians, and the armies of all Europe; that he had not forgotten his craft, and would still beat the enemy at a distance if he were properly supported; and, finally, that he could do better without the French than the French could do without him. The new conscriptions were enforced with the utmost rigour; the militia or national guards were drafted into the skeleton battalions of the regular army; some of the guards and other troops were, as we have seen, immediately recalled from Spain; the sailors of the useless French fleets were regimented and sent to serve on land—no possible means were neglected to swell the military force, and to enable the foiled conqueror of nearly all Europe to retrieve his fortunes by one tremendous and decisive campaign. And to such an amount were his forces swollen that, in the year 1813, Bonaparte had (counting all his troops, in all quarters, and of all services) from 700,000 to 800,000 men under arms. Out of this number he collected in Germany, early in the spring, an army of 350,000. But not even the French, with all their alacrity and proneness for the military profession, can be turned into good soldiers in a few months. This army could not be compared to that which had perished in Russia and in Poland; the veteran regiments lost their character through the large intermixture of conscripts and militia, and many of the new battalions were not much better than any common untried militia corps. The cavalry, which requires a long and careful training, was very defective: the pride of the French cavalry, which Murat, the most brilliant of cavalry generals, had so often led to victory, was no more, and, what was next in consequence to this arm, Murat now refused to quit Naples to take the command of it. After many jealousies and quarrels the rupture between the two brothers-in-law was completed by the late Russian disasters. Bonaparte vilified the military conduct of Murat during the retreat from Moscow, and, forgetting how speedily he himself had abandoned the wreck of that army, he accused Murat of having quitted the army too soon and in a dastardly manner. He treated the hero of a hundred battles, whose head and body were seamed with wounds, as a poltroon; and he contrasted his conduct during the flight from Moscow with that of Eugene Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy, who had, indeed, conducted himself admirably on that fatal retreat. The crowned son of the innkeeper, who had carved out his own fortune with his sabre, always considered the son of the guillotined Marquis de Beauharnais as a courtly young man who had owed his fortunes to his mother Josephine, and to his own suppleness and submissiveness of behaviour. As an Italian potentate Murat had long been jealous of his neighbour the viceroy of Italy; but to compare that viceroy with him as a soldier was to inflict an insult which his Majesty of Naples could not bear. Some furious correspondence between the emperor and his brother-in-law * was succeeded, on the part of Murat, by overtures for a friendly correspondence with the English in Sicily, which was soon afterwards commenced by Murat, who hoped that, by a timely defection from the Emperor of the French and a treaty with the allied powers of Europe, he might secure to himself and his descendants the Neapolitan throne. The absence of his person and prestige would have been felt on the plains of Saxony. But Murat's wife, Carolina Bonaparte (who most of all the family resembled her brother Napoleon), made use of her great influence over the weak and undecided mind of her husband; and Marshal Ney, police-minister Fouché, and other Frenchmen wrote argumentative and flattering letters to prove that the fate of King Joachim was inseparably linked with that of the Emperor Napoleon, and to declare that the whole French army desired to see him among them, while the French cavalry was impatiently demanding their old heroic leader. Yielding to all these and other influences Murat went into Germany; but it was with a doubting head and an unwilling heart. There was also a visible shyness among many of the veteran officers, and more particularly among such as had gained titles, decorations, great estates, and abundance of money. Many of these were getting on the verge of old age, and all wished to enjoy the fruits of their labours and dangers. One of this class had exclaimed, with a coarse oath, as far back as the campaign of 1809, which saw Marshal Lannes and many other officers of the highest rank numbered with the slain—"This little rascal will never stop until he gets us all killed—all!"† Bernadotte gave to the Emperor

* Bonaparte, in the fury of his passion, wrote a letter to his sister Carolina, in which he told her in plain terms that her husband, Murat, was an ungrateful scoundrel, a liar, traitor, and (in politics) a fool; said that he was unworthy of his close family connexion with him, the emperor, &c. To this Murat replied with equal passion, "The wound on my honour is inflicted, and it is not in the power of your majesty to heal it. You have insulted an old companion in arms, faithful to you in your dangers, not a small means of your victories, a supporter of your greatness, and the reviver of your wandering courage on the 18th Brumaire. Your majesty says that, when one has the honour to belong to your *illustrious* family, one ought to do nothing to hazard its interests or obscure its splendour. And I, sire, tell you in reply, that your family received from me quite as much honour as it gave in uniting me in matrimony with Carolina. A thousand times, though a king, I sigh after the days when, as a plain officer, I had superiors, but no master. Having become a king, but finding myself in this supreme rank tyrannised over by your majesty and domineered over in my own family, I have felt more than ever the need of independence, the thirst of liberty. Thus you afflict, thus you sacrifice to your suspicion the men most faithful to you and the men who have best served you in the stupendous road of your fortune; thus Fouché has been immolated by Savary, Talleyrand sacrificed to Champagny, Champagny himself to Bassano (Maret), and Murat to Beauharnais—to Beauharnais, who has with you the merit of mute obedience, and that other merit (more gratifying to you because more servile) of having cheerfully announced to the senate of France your repudiation of his own mother. I can no longer deny to my people some restoration of commerce, some remedy for the terrible evils inflicted on them by the maritime war. From what I have said of your majesty and of myself, it results that our mutual old confidence and faith are gone. Your majesty will do what you most like, but whatever may be your wrongs towards me, I am still your brother and faithful brother-in-law—Joachim."—*Generale P. Colletta, Storia di Napoli.*

We know, upon other authority, that a letter quite as pungent was written and sent; but from what we know of poor Murat's literary acquirements (he could never spell either French or Italian, or speak even his own language with tolerable grammatical correctness), we much doubt whether he could have written this letter himself. It was said to be perfectly well known in a certain circle at Naples who it was that composed the stinging epistle for him.

† Bourienne.

of Russia a list of disaffected French officers, and this list included the names of Massena, Augereau, and several other marshals.

On the 23rd of March the *corps législatif* declared to their emperor in a most flattering address that all that they and the French nation had done or could do for him was too little; they thanked him for the sacrifices which he had called upon them to make for the preservation of his dynasty; and they promised him an unlimited assistance—*une assistance sans bornes*. Bonaparte in his reply told the president and messieurs les députés that the French had entirely justified the opinion he had always had of them; that he had been called by Providence and the will of the nation to constitute the great French empire; that his march had been gradual, uniform, analogous to the spirit of events and the interests of his people; that in a few years more his great work would be completed and consolidated; that all his designs, all his enterprises, had but one object, the prosperity of the French empire, which he wished to remove for ever from English law or dictation; that the world must be astonished at the rapidity and tranquillity with which his recent and immense losses had been filled up, and would judge thereby of what efforts the French would be capable if the necessity should ever occur of their defending their own territory or the independence of his crown; that he was soon going to put himself at the head of his troops and confound his enemies; and that in no negotiation and in no case whatsoever would he permit the integrity of the French empire to be put in question, or listen to any proposition for surrendering any of the conquests which France had made. He concluded with promising them a grand show and solemnity. "As soon," said he, "as the cares of war will allow us a moment of repose, we will call you back to this capital, together with the notables of our empire, to be present at the coronation of the empress, our well-beloved spouse, and of the hereditary prince, the King of Rome, our very dear son. The thought of this grand solemnity, at once religious and political, moves my heart! I will hasten the epoch in order to satisfy the desires of France."

Bonaparte had ever been jealous of any extensive delegated authority: he had not appointed any regency in 1812 on starting for the hazardous Russian campaign; but the recent conspiracy of General Malet, together with some other embarrassing circumstances, and the artful plan of pleasing and flattering his party among the Austrians, now determined him to organise a government in Paris which might supply his personal absence; and to appoint his wife, Maria Louisa, regent. Upon his demand, the senate, on the 2nd of February, issued its consultum; and on the 30th of March Bonaparte conferred the regency on the Emperor of Austria's daughter. This certainly gratified and duped many of the French. Could it be expected that the Emperor Francis would join the enemies of his son-in-law, or assail a country actually governed by his own child, and to the throne of which his own innocent grandchild was heir?

On the 15th of April Bonaparte quitted for the last time his favourite palace of St. Cloud. On the evening of the 16th he was at Mayence, where he inspected the troops and had an interview with several of the German princes of the Confederation of the Rhine. By the 25th he was at Erfurt, where, in 1807, he had dazzled and fascinated the young Czar, and had conferred with him on the mighty project of dividing Europe into two empires, with Alexander on the throne of the one and Napoleon on the throne of the other.

The Emperor Alexander had lost little time in putting his armies in the track of the fugitive enemy. He took the field himself in the very midst of that horrible winter, and flew in sledges over the snow from Petersburgh to Wilna, where, on the 22nd of December, 1812, his now concentrated army and his hordes of Cossacks saluted him with the most enthusiastic hurrahs. From Wilna the Russian army advanced in two grand divisions, the one taking the direct road by Warsaw, the other taking the road by Königsberg and the northern provinces of Prussia. The majority of the Poles now received Alexander as a deliverer; the Prussians, with so many wrongs to avenge upon the French, welcomed the Russians with transports of joy; and such was the national enthusiasm and the rage against Bonaparte that no attempts of the Prussian king and government could possibly have prevented or delayed the junction of the Prussian with the Russian troops. General Yorck, who commanded the 20,000 Prussians who had been sent to serve as a contingent force in the invasion of Russia, had behaved with rare sincerity and moderation. He was serving against his will and against the will of his sovereign, he was serving against the dearest interests of his country; and, when the retreat from Moscow became a *débâcle*, he was so placed, in the line of retreat, that if he had only moved his corps the French loss must have been still more frightfully increased, while if he had turned his arms against them, and had fallen upon them in their confusion—as many of his officers and nearly all his men wished him to do—not one out of every ten of the French fugitives that afterwards rallied and made head in Germany would have escaped. But Yorck remained true and steady to the treaty which bound his master to the French, until the moment when his sovereign revoked his orders, and declared that treaty to be broken by Bonaparte. The French still occupied Dantzic, Glogau, Stettin, and other Prussian fortresses on the Oder; they had 30,000 men near Posen, and a strong garrison in Berlin. Frederick William was in a manner besieged in his own capital, and most of his troops were scattered in the midst of French cantonments and formidable French garrisons. Notwithstanding, on the 22nd of January his Prussian majesty suddenly quitted Potsdam and

repaired to Breslau, where he could give the hand to the advancing Russians, and correspond directly, or confer personally, with the Emperor Alexander. Even before his departure became known the Prussian students and the secret political societies had begun to preach a national crusade against the French, and to animate the great body of the people as well as the troops with their own patriotic enthusiasm. It was clear that the battle of Jena and the fate of the loved and mourned Queen of Prussia would soon be avenged.

After an interview with the Czar, Frederick William sent to Bonaparte to propose an armistice, the conditions of which should be that the French should evacuate Dantzic and all the Prussian fortresses they occupied on the Oder, and retire behind the Elbe into Saxony, in return for which the Emperor Alexander would stop the march of his victorious armies and remain behind the Vistula. But this proposition was indignantly rejected by the Emperor of the French, who had learned nothing from misfortune, and who would not see his own increasing weakness. On the 28th of February, or as soon as he learned the rejection of his proposition by France, Frederick William concluded a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with Russia. This treaty, being ratified at Kalisch, became the basis of the *Sixth Coalition* against France. By the treaty Prussia engaged to furnish 80,000 men, without counting her *levées en masse;* and Russia promised 150,000 men. Austria was invited to join the league, which as yet proposed little more than the liberating of all Germany; but the court of Vienna, though it increased its armies, and collected an imposing force in Bohemia, close to the frontiers of Saxony, professed a desire to remain neutral. It was, however, known to the French that Prince Metternich was again corresponding in a very friendly manner with the English government. They had taken the surest if not the honestest method for acquiring this information—they had stopped one of Metternich's couriers and opened his letters. Even after this Austria offered her mediation; but Bonaparte would hear of no cession of territory on his part either in Germany or in Italy; and, as for Spain, although he had nothing left there save Suchet's diminished *corps d'armée*, he still insisted that his brother Joseph should be king.

The Russians now blockaded Dantzic, and advanced from the Vistula to the Oder, where they were joined by the Prussian general Bulow and his veterans. Eugene Beauharnais fled before the allies; and he was sorely molested on his retreat by the Prussian insurgents and pulks of Cossacks. On the 4th of March, Berlin was evacuated by the French; even Dresden was evacuated on the 27th of March; and, after having reinforced some of the French garrisons left in the countries from which he had fled, Beauharnais rallied behind the Elbe with about 40,000 men. But every day brought some fresh proof of the detestation in which the French were held throughout Germany—brought some unquestionable evidence that the fire was at last kindled in the great Teutonic heart. Fifty, a hundred insurrections broke out simultaneously; and day and night the cold March air was filled and warmed by the patriotic songs of the German students, who had thrown away their pens and books for swords and muskets, and who were calling upon all classes—upon every man or youth of the Germanic breed—to follow their example, and aid in expelling the oppressors and demoralisers of their country. Körner's 'Men and Cowards,' and 'Song of the Sword,' wrought more miracles than the 'Marseillese Hymn.' Germany had slept and dreamed for an unseasonably long time, but her wakening was sublime and full of hope. Ten thousand Cossacks under Tettenborn, aided by the insurgents, swept clear of the French the whole of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and then inundated the country on the Lower Elbe. This carried the flames of insurrection into other states and populous cities. On the 12th of March the French authorities fled from the insurgent citizens of Hamburg, who had been reduced to a state of despair, and almost of beggary, by the finishing hand of that greatest of plunderers and freebooters, Marshal Davoust. Denmark, the old ally and servant of France, was isolated, and in consequence adopted a system of armed neutrality—in which she was not wise enough to persevere. Beauharnais repulsed the Russian division of Wittgenstein, dispersed, on the 5th of April, a corps of observation established at Magdeburg, threatened the road to Berlin, and stopped for some days the advance of the allied van. After this check, however, the allies advanced and occupied Leipzig. Beauharnais had been rapidly reinforced by troops from all parts of France and from Italy; and now, on the 25th of April, when his stepfather arrived from Paris, the line of the Elbe was defended by a force far superior (numerically) to any that the Emperor Alexander and Frederick William had near to it. The natural march of Russia lies eastward; in advancing from her western frontier her movements have always been, and must long continue to be, somewhat slow and uncertain. As soon as he reached his army Bonaparte determined to resume the offensive, hoping to strike a grand blow before the allies should have time to collect their forces in one great head, and by a single battle to recover Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin. Some of the Russian generals, in command of divisions which had been too widely scattered, were taken by surprise; other commanders, both Prussian and Russian, were too far in the rear to know of the rapid approach of Bonaparte, who, on the 2nd of May, fought and won—but not without immense sacrifices—the battle of Lutzen. On the 21st he attacked the Russians and Prussians again, and obliged them to retire from the well contested field of Bautzen. But in both these affairs Bonaparte had been on the very verge of a defeat: the two victories led to no decisive result; the allies retired

in good order, losing few prisoners and no guns. Bonaparte bitterly complained of this; but his generals observed to one another that these were no longer the days or the troops of Marengo, Austerlitz, or Jena, when one battle decided the fate of a war. On the 1st of May, in a bloody combat which preceded the general action at Lutzen, Marshal Bessières was slain; many old companions in arms perished both at Lutzen and at Bautzen; and two days after the latter battle, in another engagement with the retreating allies, Bonaparte's favourite aide-de-camp, General Duroc, was laid low, being struck and frightfully mangled by a cannon-ball. This time, at least, the feelings of humanity overpowered the stern Man of Destiny. Duroc was his old and most faithful companion—Duroc was one of the few men who were personally attached to Bonaparte, without regard to loss or profit, or good or evil fortune, and one of the few to whom Bonaparte was personally and sincerely and affectionately attached. It was a superstition too, both at the French court and with the French army (where such notions were anything rather than uncommon), that there was a sympathy or mysterious connexion between the fate of Duroc and the fortunes of his master. The dying man was carried from the field where he fell to the house of a clergyman near the spot. Napoleon went to see him, and was deeply affected. Nor did he speedily recover the command of himself: to the aides-de-camp and other officers who came pressing round him for instructions, he said, with a hollow voice, "Put off everything till to morrow!" It was the only instance in which he refused or neglected to attend to the military reports brought to him.*

On the 14th of June, Great Britain made herself a party to the coalition, or to the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia.† Some English officers of the highest rank repaired to Germany and to the head-quarters of the allies, and abundant assistance was promised. The best present aid we could give was to find full employment for the large body of veterans still left in Spain. This was understood by the allies; but Lord Wellington surpassed all the expectations they had formed of him, high as those expectations indubitably were.

The allies withdrew both from Leipzig and from Dresden; and Bonaparte entered the fair capital of Saxony. He now consented to an armistice, which was to extend from the 5th of June to the 22nd of July. Austria still professed goodwill, and an anxious wish to mediate; and Metternich himself hurried to Dresden, to proffer his good offices, and to act with the whole weight and authority of the cabinet of Vienna. He proposed that the French should entirely evacuate Germany, and that the Rhine should be the boundary of the French empire in that direction. The successive revolutionary governments of France, and Bonaparte himself, had repeatedly declared that the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the seas, were the natural boundaries of France; Metternich did not ask him to give back Savoy in the Alps, or his vast conquests and annexations beyond the Alps; the only point he insisted upon being the renunciation of everything beyond the Rhine. This would have left France far too powerful, and in fact more powerful than she had been with her extended German frontier; but Bonaparte arrogantly and resolutely refused either to give up the ground he had occupied beyond the Rhine, or to abandon the Confederacy of the Rhine, which was nothing more than a French combination against the independence and security of Austria, Prussia, and all Germany. He had annexed the country as far as Hamburg and Lübeck to the French empire; he had made new French departments of it; and he declared it to be a fundamental law of the French empire, and his own fixed and unalterable principle, that such annexations of territory should never be rescinded; that what once had become French must for ever remain French. To Metternich's remonstrances he replied with indecent rage. He evidently thought to terrify this minister as he had terrified or bewildered Cobentzel, the Austrian diplomatist, after his first splendid victories; but the times and the men were very different; and nearly every fact and circumstance at all connected with the case induces the belief that Metternich not only despised his wrath, but equally enjoyed the presumption and the obstinacy which made him neglect his last hope of salvation. True to his old practice, when Bonaparte found that insolence and bullying would not do, he tried the effects of cajolery and temptation. He would not think of offering or promising to give back to Austria her large and rich possessions in Upper Italy; but he tempted her with the promise of Dalmatia and all the poor and rugged Illyrian provinces, hinting that they might be extended, both inland and along the sea coasts, at the expense of Austria's ancient foe, the Ottoman empire. The offer was mean to the extremity of meanness; but what we know of the *animus* of Vienna statesmen or politicians forces us to entertain some doubt as to the effects which would have been produced if, in addition to the Illyrian provinces, he had offered to give up Lombardy and Venice to Austria. Spurning the contemptible bait, Metternich replied that things had come to that pass that Austria could no longer remain neutral; she must either be with France or against France; that Germany had been long enough tormented by these wars, and it was time she should be left to rest and to

* A. Vieusseux. Life of Bonaparte.

† On July the 8th a convention, known by the name of the Convention of Peterswalden, took place between Great Britain and Russia. On September the 9th a triple treaty of alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia was ratified at Toplitz; and on the 3rd of October a preliminary treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Austria was signed at the same place.

The court of Denmark could not yet free itself from its French toils; and on the 10th of July, when the French had gained the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, when the star of Bonaparte seemed again to prevail, and while the congress of plenipotentiaries were assembled at Prague, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and guarantee between France and Denmark was ratified at Copenhagen. It could not but happen that the Danes should be made to pay afterwards for this conduct of their government. But there was more than this:—on the 3rd of September, when Bernadotte and his Swedes, far away from their own frontiers, were advancing with the allies into the heart of Germany, Denmark declared war against Sweden!

national independence. Such, however, was the awe in which some of the advisers of the European sovereigns still stood of the mighty means and military genius of the ruler of the French, that conferences for a peace were resumed at Prague, in Bohemia, Bonaparte engaging to prolong the armistice till the 10th of August; nor was the unmanly and now irrational diffidence fully dissipated until the news of Wellington's great achievement at Vittoria was carried through Europe and across the mountains of Bohemia. The diplomatists of the allied powers then sounded a higher note; the armistice expired on the 10th of August, and Austria joined the allies.

Months before the declaration of Austria the English government had sent very important aids into the north of Germany; it called upon his majesty's old and not unattached subjects the Hanoverians to rouse themselves into action and join the common cause; it furnished with a liberal hand money, arms, ammunition, stores, clothing, &c., not only to the Hanoverians, but to the Prussians, and also to the Swedes, who were about to commence operations from the southern shores of the Baltic. Lord Castlereagh's brother, Sir Charles Stewart (now Marquess of Londonderry), was dispatched to the seat of war, charged, on the part of his sovereign, with all the correspondence relating to the Prussian, Swedish, and Hanoverian armies. Sir Charles assuredly performed the difficult duties of his mission with great firmness and ability, and it now seems to be generally acknowledged that it was chiefly he who kept Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, true and steady to the coalition. Sir Charles had especial letters of authorisation to Bernadotte; during the natural doubts and vacillations of that extraordinary Frenchman, that soldier of fortune and enthroned man of the revolution, he hardly ever quitted him; and it was considered that to Sir Charles Stewart, in a great measure, was owing the presence of Bernadotte and his brave Swedish army on the decisive field of Leipzig. The Hanoverians flew to the arms which were offered to them by England with enthusiasm; Brigadier-general Lyon was appointed to command them and the troops of the Hanseatic towns. A regency was formed; and shortly afterwards the Duke of Cambridge repaired to the country. In addition to our immense supplies of military stores, our government allotted 2,000,000*l.* sterling to sustain the operations of Bernadotte and his Swedish army, and 2,000,000*l.* more was given as a direct aid to Russia and Prussia. At the same time 500,000*l.* was granted to Russia, in order that she might give equipment and efficiency to her fleet. Upon these largesses Russia undertook to raise her force in the field to 200,000 men, and Prussia to raise hers to 100,000. Even now, but for English money and English credit, and the promptitude of our manufactories in producing arms and all the materials of war, the allies would have failed in their campaign.

A series of battles was fought about Dresden on the 24th, 25th, and 27th of August, between the Austrians and Prussians on one side and the French and their German and other auxiliaries on the other. Bonaparte was decidedly successful, and on one occasion at least the Austrian generals were guilty of some of their old absurdities in dividing their forces, or they pursued that line of conduct which still leaves a doubt in many minds whether they were traitors or only incurable fools. But, in rashly pursuing the allies into the mountains of Bohemia, Vandamme, with a corps of 30,000 men, was cut off and surrounded, and was finally made prisoner at Culm, with about 8000 of his men. Oudinot was beaten at Gross Beeren by the Swedes and Prussians commanded by Bernadotte. Ney, who was sent to replace Oudinot, only succeeded to his misfortunes, being soundly beaten in the battle of Dennewitz, which was fought on the 6th of September, in the neighbourhood of Berlin. The Prussian Blücher, too, was now taking vengeance for all he had suffered in and after the campaign of Jena. On the Katzbach, in Silesia, he routed the French opposed to him, and dislocated Bonaparte's base of operations. Of all the allied generals Blücher was the most active, energetic, and daring. It was now he obtained from the army the name of "Marshal Forwards;" for he was ever forward, and almost always fighting. As a consequence, he was sometimes exposed to checks and losses; but on nearly every occasion the hero could say that his misfortunes arose not so much from his going too fast, as from the rest of the allies going too slow. The month of September passed in desultory warfare, attended with very long marches and countermarches, which the young French conscripts had not stamina to support. Bonaparte's armies lost both strength and ground on every side; and his German allies and auxiliaries began to forsake him. Even where princes and governments would have kept their un-German and ruinous compacts with him, they were mostly prevented by the determined spirit of their subjects, who had learned to sing Körner's 'Song of the Sword,' and who had caught the Teutonic flame. The King of Bavaria made a separate peace with Austria; the King of Saxony and ex-Grand-Duke of Warsaw was more steady, but his Saxon troops, like the rest of the German auxiliaries, began to desert from the French. At last, after a painful struggle between pride and necessity, Bonaparte turned his back to the allies, and began his retreat upon Leipzig with a dispirited army. He was closely followed by Russians, Austrians, Prussians, and Swedes. At Leipzig he determined to make a final stand. "Give me but one victory," said he, "and Germany may yet be saved!" He fought two bloody battles at Leipzig, but neither of them was a victory for him. On the 16th of October the first battle took place: it was fought gallantly on both sides, but the allies had now a great superiority in numbers, and the French were repulsed and driven close upon the ramparts of the city.

On the 18th the second battle was fought: the French divisions soon lost ground, 10,000 Saxons raised the patriotic shout for Germany, left them in a body, and went over to the allies. After this nothing remained but flight; and even for flight it was too late an hour. Bonaparte made his dispositions to effect his retreat towards the Rhine; but, while his army was filing out of Leipzig, on the morning of the 19th, by a long narrow bridge, or rather a succession of bridges, the allies, after a desperate struggle with the French rear, burst into the town, and, the bridge being blown up to prevent the allies from pursuing those who had already passed over it, 25,000 Frenchmen, caught in the town as in a trap, were compelled to lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners of war. The retreat from Leipzig was almost as disastrous as the retreat from Moscow. The French army was completely disorganised. Bonaparte was, however, able to fight his way at Hanau, through the Bavarians, his late allies, who now attempted to oppose his passage back to France, and to keep him at bay until the Russians and Prussians should have time to come up and fall upon his flanks and rear. The affair of Hanau took place on the 30th of October; and, if the Bavarians had been somewhat stronger and more active, the war must have ended here with the destruction or capture of the Emperor of the French. On the 1st of November Bonaparte was at Francfort, and, in a vain attempt to keep up an illusion in France, he wrote to his empress-queen and regent, saying that he sent her twenty colours taken by his armies in the battles of Hanau, Leipzig, &c. "It is an homage," said he, "which I love to render you. I desire that you may see in it a mark of my great satisfaction with your conduct during the regency which I have confided to you." But he could find no rest at Francfort or at any other place on German soil. At last he reached the Rhine, and passed over the 70,000 or 80,000 men, who were all that remained to him out of the army of 350,000 with which he had opened the campaign in the month of May. Having placed this fragment of the Grand Army on the left bank of the Rhine, he set out for Paris, where he arrived late on the evening of the 9th of November.

Although there had been sundry jealousies, suspicions, disagreements, and collisions of policy, interests, and projects, the allies had visibly improved upon their former coalitions, and had conducted this campaign with more unanimity and spirit than had yet been witnessed. The course of the war was marked with many singular and striking incidents. General Moreau, the hated rival of Bonaparte, who had been so long living in an uncomfortable exile in the United States of America, was invited by the allied sovereigns to join their armies, and to assist, with his military genius and experience, in overthrowing the tyrant of his country and the oppressor of Europe. Moreau's ardent republicanism had been much cooled by time and experience, and by what he had seen of the working of that system of government in America; his wife had continued to be a passionate Bourbon royalist, and she is said to have lost none of her great influence over the mind of her husband—a weak mind in all matters unconnected with his profession. Moreau arrived from New York at the seat of war in the month of August, as hostilities after the armistice were recommencing, and adopted the title of aide-de-camp to the Emperor Alexander. His career in his new capacity was very short: in the battle near Dresden, fought on the 27th of August, while in earnest conversation with the Emperor of Russia on the progress of operations, he was struck by a French cannon-ball, which, passing through the body of his horse, carried away both his legs. During the surgical operations which followed he smoked his cigar and displayed the greatest coolness and fortitude. Three days after the battle he wrote a laconic and very characteristic letter to his wife, in which were these well-known words: "*Ce coquin de Bonaparte est toujours heureux* —That rogue Bonaparte is always lucky." A French officer attached to his person and his fortunes finished the letter, and assured Madame Moreau that the doctor had just told him that, if all went on as it was now going, the general would be able, within five weeks, to travel in a carriage; but poor Moreau died the very next day (on the 1st of September).

On the 26th of August, the day before Moreau lost his legs at Dresden, there perished on the Lower Elbe one who had done far more than he for the allied cause. Theodor Körner, the young, gallant, and spiritual patriot and poet, the Tyrtæus of this German war, fell with his carabine in his hand, in the midst of a band of German students. His comrades removed his body and buried it under a tree; and for a mark and present monument they cut his name upon the bark of the tree. But the little pool of blood became a well-spring of patriotism; his death was envied even more than it was regretted by his enthusiastic young countrymen; and his war-songs and his invocations of liberty and independence became consecrated in the popular mind.

About 80,000 men whom Bonaparte had left behind him in Magdeburg, Stettin, Dantzic, and other Prussian fortresses, all surrendered to the allies, a little sooner or a little later. Dantzic held out the longest; but even that strong garrison capitulated on the 24th of December. During their precipitate and most disorderly retreat, the French, nearly every time they were attacked in any force, surrendered by regiments or by whole divisions at a time. Their military *morale*—except among the Imperial Guards and some few veteran regiments whose force had not been wasted in the Russian campaign—was either completely gone, or had never been acquired. Bonaparte, at the high tide of his triumphs, had never seen even the worst-commanded of the Austrian armies reduced to such a plight! At

almost every step the light troops of the allies and the keen Cossacks captured prisoners, guns, stores, and other *attirail*. More than once Bonaparte himself narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the bearded spearmen from the Don and Volga. In one day 50 more pieces of artillery were discovered and captured; and others were buried in the earth by the men who could no longer drag them on or defend them. As they went on they blew up their caissons, making the mountains of old Germany re-echo as with the successive explosions of volcanoes. Of the *corps d'armée* of Marshal Marmont, composed of the best French troops, only 3000 remained on the 28th of October. Colonel Sir Hudson Lowe, who had come into Germany to assist General Sir Charles Stewart, and who rendered good service to the allies, accompanied "Marshal Forwards" in his hot pursuit of the French, and transmitted to Sir Charles some brief but striking accounts of the destruction and misery he saw on his way. The sufferings of the French were indeed extreme. "For an extent of nearly fifty English miles, from Eisenach to Fulda, carcasses of dead and dying horses, without number; dead bodies of men, who had either been killed, or perished through hunger, sickness, or fatigue, lying on the roads or in the ditches; parties of prisoners or stragglers, brought in by the Cossacks; blown up or destroyed ammunition or baggage-waggons, in such numbers as absolutely to obstruct the road, sufficiently attested the sufferings of the enemy; whilst pillaged and burning towns and villages marked at the same time the ferocity with which he conducted himself. ..... The dead and dying were frequently mixed together, lying in groups of six or eight, by half-extinguished fires on the road-side."*

The enormous losses of this campaign, being superadded to the wholesale destruction of the Russian retreat, and to the vast sacrifices of life which the route at Vittoria and Soult's battles with Wellington in Spain and among the Pyrenees had cost the French people, and the rapid approach of the grand allied army on one frontier, while Wellington was threatening them on the other frontier, now caused a very general discontent, and gave encouragement to that disaffection which had begun to manifest itself in so many quarters at the beginning of this disastrous year. So long as victory and conquest followed the standard of their emperor, so long as the national vanity was elated, and the expense of the war supported by the countries into which it was carried, the great body of the nation could, with a wonderful facility, reconcile themselves to the tremendous loss of lives and of limbs; but defeat, reverse, disgrace quickened their domestic feelings, made them ask for their brothers and their children, and rendered, for the first time since the Revolution, the war odious in their sight. They had previously borne nearly twenty years of almost incessant war, and every year, every separate campaign, however glorious or successful, had witnessed the immolation of immense numbers; and all this they had borne with a light heart and with very little murmuring—*Nos enfans sont morts sur les champs de la victoire et pour la gloire de la France;*—but one single year of disaster had changed their tone, and now it was, *Nos moyens, nos frères, nos enfans sont sacrifiés à l'ambition d'un tyran.* The suddenness of the change is, in itself, a full proof of its cause and origin. At first the senate renewed their professions of entire devotion to the person and dynasty of the emperor, and affected to treat his recent disasters as reparable, and as attributable to anything rather than to Napoleon the Great. On Sunday the 14th of November, five days after his return to Paris, the august senators waited upon him in the palace of the Tuileries, with an address of felicitation or congratulation. The senator who delivered the address (it was Lacépède, the naturalist) spoke not of the 200,000 men who had been killed, maimed, or made prisoners in Germany, but only of the great danger to which the person of the emperor had been exposed. "Sire," said the president, "the efforts of the enemies of France have been seconded in vain by the defection of your allies, and by unexampled treasons, by extraordinary events, and by sad accidents; your majesty has surmounted all; you have fought for peace!" An anathema on the allies for refusing peace to the Emperor of the French on his own extravagant terms, at Dresden or at Prague, was succeeded by the assurance that all the peoples of the Continent stood in greater need of peace than the unconquerable French; that if the enemies of France would not listen to the cry of more than 150,000,000 of souls, and consent to treat for peace, or, if the allies should seek to impose disadvantageous conditions upon France, then their false hopes would all be destroyed, then the French people would show, by their self-devotion and their sacrifices, that no nation ever better knew its duties towards their country, their honour, and their sovereign! From all that was said in this senatorial and congratulatory address it might be fancied that the allies were not upon the frontier, and that their emperor had returned not conquered, but a conqueror. But the senators had become little more than court lacqueys; the farce they played was laughed at, and it could not be repeated outside of the walls of the palace. The legislative body—as a body—had for a length of time been almost as servile as the senate; but there were some fiery and impatient spirits in it, who remembered the days of the republic, and who were emboldened by the fallen fortunes of its destroyer, and by the popular discontent, to despise the imperial decree which made them a dumb legislature, and to shake the tribune once more with their ominous voices. After so long a silence, their speech was startling:—new Mirabeaus seemed rising from the grave. They appointed a committee to draw up a report on the state of the nation; Raynouard,

* Marquess of Londonderry, Narrative.

Lainé, Gallois, and two other members who had a character for independence, were of the committee. The report which they laid before the legislative body, on the 28th of December, expressed a desire for peace consistent with the honour and welfare of France, and a wish to know what steps the emperor had taken to attain so desirable an object; and it ended by saying, "While the government will take the most effective measures for the safety of the country, his majesty should be entreated to maintain and enforce the entire and constant execution of the laws which ensure to the French citizens the rights of liberty, property, and security, and to the nation the free exercise of its political rights." The legislative body, by a large majority, ordered the report to be printed. This was a language which Napoleon had not been used to. He immediately ordered the doors of the hall of the legislative body to be closed and guarded by soldiers, and the copies of the report to be seized at the printer's. On the 31st an imperial decree adjourned this bold-speaking legislature. On the following day there was, as usual, a grand court levee, and among those who repaired to the Tuileries in their embroidered coats to wish the emperor "a happy new year" was a deputation or a group of members of the *corps législatif*. Bonaparte addressed these members in a most violent and coarse speech, not unaccompanied with menacing gestures. "Messieurs," cried he, as soon as they approached him, "you might have done a great deal of good, and you have done nothing but mischief! Eleven-twelfths of you are good men, the rest are factious! What do you hope for by putting yourselves in opposition to me? Do you hope to seize the power of the state? What are your means? Are you the representatives of the people? No! I am the representative of the people! Four times have I been called to power by the nation, and four times have I had for me the votes of five millions of French citizens! I have a just title, and you have none! You are nothing but the deputies of the departments of the empire! I alone am the representative of the nation! What could you have done in the present circumstances, when the thing to be done is to repulse our invading enemies? Could you have commanded armies? Would you have had strength enough to bear the weight of the factions? They would have crushed you, and you would have been annihilated by the Faubourg St. Antoine and the Faubourg St. Marceau! Would you have been more powerful than the Constituent Assembly and the National Convention? Where are those statesmen now? What has become of the Guadets and the Vergniauds? They are *all dead*, and your fate would soon have been the same as theirs. How have you dared to vote such an address? In a moment when the enemy (Wellington) has broken through one of our frontiers, can you seek to separate yourselves from me? Do you not know that it is against me alone that the allies are waging war? But they know that if I fall the French nation will be helpless. ..... Your committee has acted in the spirit of the Girondists. Your M. Lainé is a conspirator, an agent of England, with which country he is in correspondence by means of the advocate Desèze;—the rest of you are factious! I will keep my eye on M. Lainé; he is a rogue. ..... Although I have received from nature a strong and proud character, I felt the want of consolation. I have sacrificed my passions, my ambition, my pride, for the good of France! I expected some gratitude, some sacrifices, some consolation from you; and you vote me this scandalous committee report. You have coupled an atrocious irony with reproaches. How can you reproach me with my misfortunes? I have supported them with firmness and honour, because I have a strong and proud character, and if I had not had that pride of soul, I should not now be seated on the first throne of the universe! ..... My throne is in the nation, and I cannot be separated from it without a fatal injury—for the nation has more need of me than I have of the nation!" After much more passionate declamation of the same sort, he said, addressing himself rather to the rest of that crowded audience than to the *corps législatif*, "But in three months we shall have peace; our enemies will be driven from our territories, or I shall be dead! We have more resources than you imagine. Our enemies have not conquered us, and they never shall conquer us; they will be driven back faster than they came." He then dismissed the deputies, telling them to go back to their departments, and there tell the people that their emperor was sincerely desirous of peace, and that a peace without dishonour would be secured by victory within three months.

Although some men had reappeared in their secret sessions, who both felt that the imperial throne was not worth three months' purchase and who now wished its overthrow,* the senators incurred no such reproaches. They voted and decreed whatever was bidden. They had already passed a decree for a new conscription of 300,000

* Talleyrand, who had been so grievously insulted, had not only been invited back to the senate, but had been named a member of its special committee; and in this capacity he had with his usual adroitness put forward the absolute necessity of an immediate peace, and that too upon conditions which it was well known the Emperor of the French would not assent to. From the moment he arrived at Paris all eyes and thoughts were fixed upon him. "Qu'en dit M. Talleyrand? or, What does M. Talleyrand say about matters?" was the question of everybody; but it was a question which the cautious, astute statesman was in no hurry to answer. When all countenances were twitched and convulsed with excitement and passions of various kinds, he preserved the Dead Sea calm of his own; and when all tongues were wagging from morning till night, and from night till morning, he was more taciturn than he had ever been. Nothing could take him off his guard, nothing excite him: he met men of all parties, and stood their eager scrutiny and sharp interrogatories without betraying his own deep, fixed thoughts, and without committing himself in any way. A few bons-mots was all that could be got out of him. It was, we believe, at this period that he met the very inquisitive M. de ———, who squinted frightfully, or, as the French idiom expresses it, saw crookedly (*voyait de travers*). "Well, how do you think things are going on now?" said the querist. "*Tout comme vous voyez, Monsieur,*" replied Talleyrand. But all this while Talleyrand's wit and genius were planning the foundations of a peace, with or without Bonaparte, and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, if there should remain no alternative but *that*, or the chances of a prolonged war, or of the dismemberment of France, or a return of a Reign of Terror, with its Jacobin Clubs and its guillotines.

men, including all those who had escaped the conscriptions of former years; and they had nearly doubled the taxes. But the people were worn out by the tremendous sacrifices they had already made, particularly since the Russian catastrophe: their newly found repugnance to the horrors of war continued, even to the evaporation of their patriotism; and, although Wellington and the English had a firm footing within their southern frontier, and although Russians, Prussians, and Austrians were rushing towards, or had fairly crossed, their other frontiers, they made it impossible in many departments to raise either the men or the money required: and in some quarters, where the Bourbon royalism and the spirit of Catholicism were still strong, the people threatened insurrection. The Vendée was on tiptoe, and waited but for the signal; the populace of Avignon, of Marseilles, and of other cities and towns in Provence were athirst for blood and vengeance,—were little less ferocious than had been the Jacobin bands of Jourdan Coupe-Tête, when they perambulated that country in 1793 to butcher every man or woman that preferred the Catholic church to the Temple of Reason, and the dethroned king to the best of republics. All parties and factions had been and were alike fierce and vindictive. It was in the unchanged nature of Frenchmen that they should be so. The twenty years which had rolled away since the Jacobin atrocities had not carried away with them the passionate desire of retaliation; they had carried many of the sufferers to their graves, but the children of those sufferers survived; they saw in many instances the destroyers of their parents possessed of the little family property, and self-interest, filial affection, and a deep-rooted religious fanaticism all urged on these men of the South to acts of vengeance and violence. Some of their worst deeds were not committed now, but at a later period, after the final overthrow of Bonaparte at Waterloo; but enough was now done to mark the fierce character of the people, and to show that in them or from them the falling emperor could have no hope. Those excited men of the South would even have hailed with joy the project of dissevering for ever their provinces from the rest of France.

Bonaparte had said before this that, rather than give up Holland, he would sink it under the sea. But by this time nearly the whole of that country was freed from his intolerable dominion. Several previous attempts had been made; and at the beginning of the present year, when all the consequences of the Russian campaign were known, an extensive insurrection had been planned at Amsterdam in favour of the long expelled Prince of Orange. The confederates had opened some secret communications with England, and were confident of support from that quarter. But the violence of the French in enforcing the conscription in the Dutch provinces, in order to increase the army with which Bonaparte was to meet the allies in Germany, drove the people into premature insurrection, and disjointed the good plan which had been framed. At the Hague, Rotterdam, Oud-Beverland, and other places, the mob, without any previous concert, rose upon their oppressors, destroyed the parish-registers necessary for the enrolment or conscription lists, took the town of Leyden, and hoisted there the flag of their old stadtholder, amidst enthusiastic and incessant shouts of "Orange Boven!" This spontaneous and premature popular insurrection was quenched in blood. But when news arrived of Bonaparte's defeat at Leipzig, and of his ruinous retreat thence, the Amsterdam confederates, and other bands of patriots, resumed their labours. At first they proceeded with great caution and secrecy; but on the 15th of November, when a portion of the grand allied army was close upon their frontiers, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, hoisted the Orange colours, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that House. The French authorities thought proper to quit the city; and on the next day a proclamation was issued, in which twenty-four Dutchmen were called upon by name to assume the temporary administration of affairs. On the evening of the 16th the confederates at the Hague received intelligence of all that had been done at Amsterdam, and a corresponding demonstration was made forthwith in that city. The confederates appointed the zealous Orangist Count Styrum governor of the Hague in the name of the Prince of Orange; and the new governor issued a proclamation in the name of his prince announcing the happy change. So completely had the country been drained of its native troops and resources during the three years and a half that it had been annexed to France, that Count Styrum and the confederates could scarcely muster 1000 Dutch soldiers; and they had no arms, ammunition, accoutrements, military stores, artillery, or horses. Of money, as a matter of course, there was none left: the exigencies of Bonaparte had demanded immense supplies, and the French functionaries had carried away with them every stiver that was left. The proceedings of the patriots were the more courageous, as the French were in possession of all the fortresses and strong places of the country, and as General Molitor had a French corps 4000 strong in Utrecht, only twelve leagues from the Hague. But, though chilled by some tardiness and reservation on the part of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the confederates relied upon prompt aid from England; and their hopes were not disappointed. They sent deputies over to London to tell the Prince of Orange that his nineteen years of exile were over, and to invite him back to assume the government. Favoured by wind and weather, this deputation reached the British capital —where they excited a fresh joy and exultation— on the 21st of November. By the 25th the Prince of Orange had embarked in a British man-of-war; and he proceeded to his native country with the assurances of the British government that every necessary aid should be given to him, whether in

troops or arms, money or military stores. The prince entered the city of Amsterdam on the 1st of December, in the midst of popular rejoicings; and he forthwith assumed the title, not of Stadtholder, but of Sovereign Prince of the United Netherlands. The present aid sent to him by the allies amounted to some 300 Cossacks; but a more valid support soon arrived from England and from other quarters, and then the French were easily driven out of the open country and all the weaker fortresses. In their reverses the French committed many shameful outrages. Some of them fled into Belgium; but others threw themselves within the formidable walls of Bergen-op-Zoom. Measures were promptly adopted for the formation of a Dutch army, and within the short space of four months 25,000 men were raised, armed, and equipped.

Before this time the Danish government had been made to rue its bad policy in concluding the last treaty with the French, and in declaring war against the Swedes, which was tantamount to a declaration of hostilities against the whole European alliance. From the north of Germany Bernadotte found leisure to march against the Danish frontier; and he took with him a force far superior to any that the royal Dane could show in the field. The Swedes presently overran Holstein, surrounded the Danish army, and reduced its commander to sue for an armistice. The armistice was granted, but only upon the hard conditions that the Swedes should continue to occupy Holstein and part of Sleswig, and be free to reduce some remaining fortresses within those limits.

It had been hoped that the patriotism of the Swiss, who had been robbed by the French of Geneva, the canton of Vaud, and the great Alpine pass of Mont Simplon, and who had suffered other and more intolerable evils (though, *because* they were stronger and braver than their neighbours, the Swiss had suffered much less than other people from the Gallic domination), would have induced them to anticipate the conduct or follow the example of the Dutch. But after the battle of Leipzig, and as part of the allied armies was coming within sight of the Rhine and of their frontier, an extraordinary diet was summoned to deliberate on the best means of keeping the flames of war out of their country. This diet, which met in November, ordered some Swiss militia to guard or watch the frontiers on the Rhine, and at the same time issued a proclamation asserting the absolute neutrality of the nineteen cantons. This proclamation was communicated to Bonaparte and to the allied sovereigns, with the expressed hope or wish that both the belligerent parties would respect the neutrality, and not seek to pass troops through any part of the Swiss territories. This would have covered France on her eastern and most vulnerable frontier, and would have shut out the allies from some of the best of their combined movements of invasion. The Emperor of the French, who had never respected such neutrality, seems to have deluded himself with the hope either that the allied sovereigns would be more scrupulous than he, or that, if they attempted to pass through Switzerland, the march of their forces would be opposed, and the Swiss, with their traditional, hereditary antipathy to Austria, would join the French. But, if such were really his hopes, he was sadly deceived. The allied sovereigns were determined not to be stopped by the proclamation of the diet; they offered indeed to guarantee the neutrality of the cantons; but they insisted on their troops crossing through part of the Swiss territory in order to enter France in the most advantageous manner. They urged that the conflict in which they were engaged was no ordinary war for separate interests and aggrandizements, but a rising of Europe in arms to free herself from the intolerable ambition of one man, who would not allow other nations to remain at peace or to be masters of their own territories. They admitted that the Swiss, of all the peoples of Europe, had perhaps the least reason to be dissatisfied with Napoleon; it was upon this consideration they were not called upon to take up arms against him; but, on the other hand, it must be expected and demanded from them that they should not oppose the allies who were advancing in their own defence to obtain peace by force of arms and upon the soil of France, since peace could not be gained from Napoleon in any other way. On the 19th of December a conference took place at the advanced posts of the allies, now not far from Basle; and Count Bubna, the Austrian commander, told the Swiss deputies that his troops would assuredly enter the Swiss territory on the following day, and proceed to France by the shortest road, adding that it now depended on the Swiss whether they would oppose them and be treated as enemies, or allow them to pass and be considered as friends. In the latter case Bubna engaged that the greatest regard should be paid to Swiss property of every kind, and that the soldiers of the allies should maintain the strictest discipline. The Swiss authorities immediately entered into a convention with the Austrian generals, by which the march of the allies was to be regulated. At the same time Count Capo d'Istria, as envoy from the Emperor Alexander, and M. Lebzeltern, as envoy from the Emperor Francis, reached Zürich, where the Swiss diet was sitting, and delivered a note from their sovereigns, which proved the death-note of Bonaparte's Swiss mediatorship. "The Act of Mediation," said the two emperors, "having been the work of a foreign influence, inimical to the rest of Europe, is incompatible with the principles of the great European confederation, and the allied powers, without pretending to interfere in the internal affairs of Switzerland, cannot any longer allow that country to remain under the tutelage of the French empire." The true Swiss pride had long been wounded by this imposed state of tutelage: instantly nine of the old cantons, with Zürich at their head, named deputies, who, on the 29th

of December, declared that the Bonapartean act of mediation was dissolved, and then addressed an invitation to all the other cantons, old or new, acknowledging their independence, and the integrity of their respective territories, as at present constituted, and urging them to send deputies without delay to meet them at Zürich, and to concert and establish with them a new federal pact for the whole of Switzerland. Except by Berne, Freyburg, and Solure, who wanted to get back the territories which had been dependent upon them, and who demanded that the old federal pact of the thirteen cantons should be re-established as it existed before the French revolution and the interference of Bonaparte, all the cantons accepted the invitation, and sent their deputies to Zürich.* Thus the eastern as well as the southern and northern frontiers of France were left open to the allies; and beyond the Alps and the Apennines the irritated Murat was ready to raise his standard of defection, with a plan of campaign concerted to deprive his brother-in-law of the whole of Italy and its resources. At the close of the year 1813 little was left to Bonaparte except what the French call *un beau désespoir*.

Our imperial parliament, assembling much earlier than usual, met and discussed this great crisis of the civilised world, some time before the Emperor of the French addressed his refractory *Corps Législatif*. On the 4th of November the session was opened by the prince regent in person. After a brief allusion to the king's continued indisposition, the speech from the throne, which was unusually long, and which had been composed with very unusual care, passed to the subject of the great and splendid successes with which his majesty's arms and those of his allies had been blessed in the course of the present year. It noticed the now prosperous state of British commerce, which no effort of the enemy had been able to crush. It then dwelt upon the decided conviction which now happily prevailed throughout so large a portion of Europe, that the war in which the allied powers were engaged against the ruler of France was a war of necessity, and that his views of universal dominion could be defeated only by combined and determined resistance. The grand rising of the Germanic people was hailed as one of the happiest and most promising of events; and it was safely predicted that public spirit and national enthusiasm would triumph there, as they had done in Portugal and in Spain, which had set the example to the oppressed nations of the continent. The speech then proceeded to unfold, in general terms, the views of policy entertained at this juncture by the British government and its allies, and to urge the necessity of our continuing our vast efforts until the struggle should be over, and the opportunity offered of restoring the blessings of peace. After attributing the long and far-extended war to the insatiable ambition of the ruler of France, the prince regent said, "Still, no disposition to require from France sacrifices of any description inconsistent with her honour, or just pretensions as a nation, will ever be on my part, or on that of his majesty's allies, an obstacle to peace."

The speech was received with universal assent and joy; the voice of opposition was charmed into silence, or into open and hearty concurrence; so much unanimity had not been seen in parliament for a very long time; in both houses the addresses were carried without the slightest opposition. Statesmen who had long been in the shade, and who had so often and so violently differed with the present and the preceding ministry, especially as to the conduct of the war and the management or mismanagement of our foreign alliances, now came forward to offer their enthusiastic congratulations, to recommend, by their own high personal examples, the spirit of unanimity, and to support the government in its demands for the great finishing effort to be made by the country. Lord Grenville quitted his beautiful retreat at Dropmore, and his then matchless plantation of cedars and pines, and appeared in London busy among the busiest, and in the House of Lords all radiant with joy. His consanguinity seemed to entitle him to share in some of the triumph which would have been awarded to William Pitt, if Pitt had lived to see these days of exultation and glory. Lord Grenville's speech was one of the most eloquent and most statesmanlike of all that were delivered in parliament at this crisis. He correctly ascribed the long successful career of the French to that uniform system of separation and disunion by which they dissevered and alienated those continental powers, which, had they rightly understood their mutual interests, would have been allied and fastened together twenty years ago by one common and indissoluble bond for the defence of their freedom and independence. The Marquess Wellesley was equally warm in his congratulations on the events which had changed the destinies of Europe. "Nothing," said the marquess, "can be now more true than the last words which that great statesman Mr. Pitt delivered in public —'England has saved herself by her firmness, and has saved other nations by her example!'" The premier, Lord Liverpool, though little given to oratorical displays, or to any other display, delivered a speech full of glowing passages, and of gratitude for the past and of hope for the future. The lamentable failures and disjunctions of former coalitions were known to the whole world; he need not dwell upon them. "But why did the present coalition differ from the preceding ones? What was this new life which gave so irresistible an impulse to the present confederacy? It was the feeling of national independence, that noble sentiment which impels all men to stand before the liberties of their country! This feeling, which first arose among the nations of the Peninsula, had given the war a new character. There had been

* A. Vieusseux, Hist. of Switzerland, from the irruption of the Barbarians to the present time. London, 1840.—State papers, manifestoes, &c. issued during 1813-14.

before wars of kings and of governments, but none like this war, between nations, between peoples! And all our principles of policy and prudence must have been belied if the issue of the present confederacy had not been very different from that of any of the former coalitions."

In the House of Commons even Mr. Whitbread, who had so often called upon the government to renounce its war policy, joined his voice in applause and thanksgiving, and declared that never did a more favourable opportunity present itself for us to exert our whole strength. He particularly recommended that an immediate and effectual assistance should be sent to the brave Dutch. But in this house the most eloquent speech was delivered by Mr. Charles Grant, jun. (now Lord Glenelg), who praised Lord Wellington particularly for this—that by an undaunted and intrepid spirit, the sure proof of a genius conscious of its resources, he had been enabled to defy the public opinion as to the invincibility of the French. Wellington had never sunk under the weight of the enormous fame which had been made to surround Massena, Marmont, Jourdan, Soult, and the other great French marshals, and he had successively foiled or vanquished them all. Mr. Grant drew a vivid picture of the grand allied armies as now existing, and as now advancing, with victory perched on every banner—of nobles, and kings, and princes, the royalty and the aristocracy of Europe, fighting in the ranks; of crowds of accomplished captains, of men full of patriotism and heart, instead of armies heartless in the cause, generals corrupt or incapable, sovereigns and princes blind alike to their fame and to their true interests! Lord Castlereagh, with a not unbecoming national pride, detailed some of the exertions which England had made in the course of the present year. When the grand campaign of the allies began in the North, every party was poor, and needed immediate supplies of money; the great arsenals and storehouses of Europe were still in the hands or under the control of the enemy, the military magazines of Prussia were his, the magazines of Russia had been nearly exhausted by the immense demands of the preceding year, and thus arms, ammunition, &c., were as much wanted as money. The British government had lost no time in supplying these wants; and in several cases ministers had taken the whole responsibility upon themselves, and had made large disbursements without the previous vote of parliament. Independently of the glorious services of our own army in the Peninsula, independently of the direct aid that had been given to Spain and Portugal, indirect aid had been afforded to the Spanish and Portuguese armies to a great extent. It frequently occurred that they were in utter want of military stores and equipments; and in many instances the necessities of those armies had been supplied from our own commissariat. The aid which had been granted to Spain alone during the last year, in money, stores, &c., amounted to about 2,000,000*l.* sterling. During the last two years, Portugal had received in the same way 2,000,000*l.* For Sicily, 400,000*l.* had been voted; for Sweden, who had well earned the money, 1,000,000*l.* There had been paid in subsidies to the great allied powers nearly 4,000,000*l.* Russia had received 2,000,000*l.*, which had enabled her to join the common cause with so immense an army; and the aid given to Prussia had enabled her to double the amount of the force for which she originally pledged herself, or to throw into the field 200,000 men. Austria, upon taking the field, had been accommodated with bills of credit of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, together with 100,000 stand of arms and a large quantity of military stores. In the mere article of small-arms, in addition to the great expenditure and waste of our own army, we had, in the course of the year, sent 500,000 muskets to Spain and Portugal, and 400,000 to other parts of the continent, as subsidiary aid. Wherever a government, or a people had stepped honestly forward, and had asked for assistance, it had been promptly given by England. This promptitude, and this display of our prodigious resources, which, after so many years of war, were found to be greatest, most matured, and best systematised when they were most needed, had encouraged the friends and dismayed the enemies of Britain. It was not to be supposed that the war even now could be terminated without further exertions on the part of England; nor would his lordship calculate that the expenditure of the next year would fall below the standard of this year. In round numbers he estimated the sum necessary for military expenses on the continent for the year 1814 at 10,000,000*l.*, namely, 4,000,000*l.* for the Peninsula, and 6,000,000*l.* for Germany, &c. During the year, the entire British force under arms, in all parts of the world, exceeded 230,000 men; yet, notwithstanding our heavy losses in the Peninsula and among the Pyrenees, the sacrifice of human life was but a small per centage on the whole. Lord Castlereagh now intimated, in very general terms, that perhaps it would be expedient to employ for a short time from 15,000 to 20,000 British troops in Holland. To meet this contingency, and other exigencies of the service which might arise, he did not recommend any actual increase of our armed forces, but merely proposed a bill to allow a number of men from the militia regiments, in no case exceeding three-fourths of any regiment, to volunteer into the line on payment of an additional bounty to each man. These militiamen were to be accompanied by their own officers, to whom encouragement was to be given for their volunteering, in military rank, pay, half-pay, pensions, &c. It had, indeed, been for some time past chiefly from our regular militia that our line had been fed and reinforced; and some of the best materials of Lord Wellington's army had been volunteers from our well trained and steady militia regiments. Lord Castlereagh's proposal was assented to almost by acclamation. In exposing the fatal consequences

of any inconclusive transitory peace with Bonaparte, Lord Castlereagh exhibited the unprecedented amount of French prisoners who were now in the hands of England and her allies, and who would be liberated and restored to the enemy by the conclusion of any peace. This now obstructed force might of itself be sufficient to prevent the tranquillity of Europe. The mass of prisoners—sailors and soldiers—in England alone, was immense; and it was principally through the necessity of guarding these dangerous, ingenious, and often turbulent captives that our government was obliged to take care not to reduce the militia too much.

It was resolved at the same time not to decrease, but rather to increase, the naval forces of Great Britain; and that 140,000 seamen and 31,000 marines should be employed for the ensuing year. They had turned their attention rather tardily to that quarter; they had been obliged to send a very large fleet into the Baltic, and to scatter their ships in almost every sea, and in all the four quarters of the globe; but now ministers had adopted schemes for sweeping the American flag from the ocean. There were some faint attempts at opposition, some niggardly strictures on the expenses we were incurring, and on the greatness of the sums paid to the allied governments or spent in the Peninsula; but these murmurs found no echo in the country, which was excited by victory and comforted by the conviction that the fall of the greatest enemy it had ever known was now close at hand. Those who lived in London, or in its neighbourhood, in the years 1812 and 1813, can never wholly forget the popular enthusiasm which prevailed, as month by month, and, at last, week by week, some tidings of a fresh victory obtained by Wellington, or Kutusoff, Wittgenstien, Bulow, Blücher, or Schwartzenberg, reached the metropolis—can never forget the scenes presented at the illuminations and rejoicings for the battles of Salamanca, Vittoria, and the Pyrenees. The hearty English shouts and hurrahs of that million of voices still ring in our ears; we still see the captured glittering French eagles as they were displayed to the public gaze in Downing Street; and, although thirty long years have passed since then, our heart can still beat and thrill at the sight, even as it then did under a boyish breast; and cold and un-English is the heart that, with the same recollections, has not the same feelings.

The parliament had been assembled early, with a view to a long prorogation. It was, on many accounts, not advisable that a popular assembly should continue publicly debating the great question of war and peace during the last critical stages of the war; but what was of still more importance was, that ministers should be relieved, for a short season, from their parliamentary attendance and toils, and be so enabled to devote an exclusive attention to the last act or the last scenes of Bonaparte. The great business in hand was to terminate the war; there would be time to deal with other business afterwards, when men's minds would be less agitated. The Commons had voted all the supplies and subsidies proposed, and they had already dispatched all the most pressing questions relating to home affairs. The state both of public and private business appeared to admit of an unusually long adjournment, without any inconvenience or risk to any interests; and, besides, a recent act gave the crown power, in case either of prorogation or adjournment, to re-assemble at any time both Houses, within the space of fourteen days. Upon the 26th of December Lord Castlereagh moved the adjournment of the House till the 1st of March, 1814; and a similar motion was made by ministers in the House of Lords. In both places some strong objections were taken. It was said that the adjournment was for much too long a period, and that the proposition ought to be rejected with indignation; that ministers, after obtaining from the generosity of parliament all that they asked for, wished to gag its mouth and prevent its deliberations; that before the 1st of March arrived the condition of Europe might be wholly changed; that England was now standing foremost in these mighty scenes of war and negotiation, yet the ministers of the crown wanted to act the whole of the grand drama without the assistance of parliament. The ministerial motion was, however, carried in both Houses without a division; and thus the government was enabled to devote its whole attention to the arduous task in hand.

A.D. 1814. The last act of the drama was played off with wonderful rapidity. We shall adhere to the course we have lately followed, and give precedence to the operations in which Lord Wellington and the British army were immediately engaged, for these events appertain most to English history. The operations of this comparatively small army had lost none of their importance and not an atom of their glory, by being brought into comparison with the mightier masses of the allies gathered on the Rhine and the borders of Switzerland. Wellington and his army, moreover, were at the beginning of the year farther advanced on the soil of France than any of the allies. Instead of sending reinforcements, which they might very well have done after the passing of Lord Castlereagh's militia volunteering bill, our government thought it proper to recall some of Wellington's battalions, with some of his best officers. Thus, at the close of 1813 they had recalled Sir Thomas Graham in order to send him into Holland, to take the command of the British forces gradually collecting there. They appear to have contemplated a still greater reduction of the noble little army which had revived all the lustre of our military fame, and given to it a new illustration; but, if they ever seriously entertained this unwise project, they yielded to the remonstrances, or rather to the plain, straightforward, unceremonious statement of facts made to them by our great captain. It was necessary to the character of his army that Wellington should remind ministers of what it had

done; and this he did in his usual frank manner: "By having kept in the field, in the Peninsula," said his lordship, "about 30,000 men, the British government have now for five years given employment to at least 200,000 French troops of the best Napoleon had, as it is *ridiculous* to suppose that either the Spaniards or Portuguese could have resisted for a moment, if the British force had been withdrawn. The armies now employed against us in France cannot be less than 100,000 men, indeed more, including garrisons; and I see in the French newspapers that orders have been given for the formation at Bordeaux of an army of reserve of 100,000 men. Is there any man weak enough to suppose that one-third of the number first mentioned would be employed against the Spaniards and Portuguese if we were withdrawn? They would, if it was still an object to Bonaparte to conquer the Peninsula; and he would succeed in his object. But it is much more likely that he would make peace with the powers of the Peninsula, and then have it in his power to turn against the grand allied armies the 200,000 men, *of which* 100,000 *men are such troops as those allied armies have not yet had to deal with.*"* His lordship not only took nothing and allowed nothing to be taken from the French people among whom his army was cantoned, but he also disbursed considerable sums for maintaining a police in the country, which must otherwise have been exposed to lawless excesses and to a temporary anarchy, as the Bonapartean authorities had all fled, and no French civil authorities had succeeded them.

Bonaparte hoped that by dictating a treaty to the weak-minded Ferdinand, he might bring to his assistance in the threatened interior of France the whole of Suchet's army, with all the French garrisons remaining in Valencia and Catalonia; that by restoring the old dynasty he might induce the belief that he gave up for ever all thoughts of the Peninsula, or—failing in this—that he should have the advantage of seeing the sudden return of the Bourbon prince followed by a fierce social war between the Royalists, the clergy, and the monks on the one hand, and the Cortes and the Liberales on the other. Fully aware of the advantages to be derived from suddenness and secrecy, Bonaparte sent to the weak and spiritless captive of Valençay one M. de Laforest, who had formerly been ambassador at Madrid, but who now travelled under the feigned name of M. Dubois. This emissary reached Valençay and concluded his negotiations before the English or the Spanish Cortes knew anything of the matter. There was, however, some demur on the part of the poor Bourbon prisoner of state. Laforest, in the name of his master, demanded that Ferdinand should concert means for getting the English entirely out of the Peninsula. Ferdinand felt that this would be no very easy or grateful task: he represented that he could make no treaty, that he could take no measures, without the consent of the Spanish regency; that he was ignorant of the real state of his own country, as during the five years and a half he had been kept in France he knew nothing more of the state of affairs than what he read in the French newspapers. Laforest said that those newspapers had exhibited the true state of things; but it was scarcely possible that Ferdinand should be so dull as to believe him. The secret ambassador employed the arguments which Bonaparte put into his mouth; and, absurd and monstrous as they were, these arguments were certainly calculated to work deeply into the mind of a despotic prince who could have no notion of any form of government except absolute monarchy. Laforest told him of the daring and democratic tendencies of the Cortes, who had been enabled, by the assistance of British arms, to assemble and keep together. Great Britain, he said, being almost a republic herself, and being eager to swallow up the Spanish commerce and colonies, had encouraged Jacobinism and anarchy in Spain, in order to destroy both the monarchy and the nobility, and erect a weak dependent republic. This state of things could not but be distressing to France, the near neighbour of Spain, and therefore it was that the Emperor Napoleon was so anxious to prevent it, by restoring Ferdinand, and concluding a previous treaty of amity and alliance with him. At last the captive prince consented that one of the Spanish noblemen in France should negotiate a treaty with M. Laforest. The Duque de San Carlos was immediately dispatched by Bonaparte to Valençay; and on the 11th of December (1813) a treaty was concluded and signed. It stated that the Emperor of the French recognised Ferdinand VII. and his successors as kings of Spain and of the Indies; that the Emperor of the French recognised the integrity of the Spanish territory as it existed before the war, and would deliver up to the Spaniards such provinces and fortified places as the French still occupied in Spain; that Ferdinand VII. obliged himself to maintain the integrity of his territory &c., and to make the English evacuate all provinces and places in or belonging to Spain immediately; that the two contracting powers bound themselves to maintain their maritime rights against England, &c.; that all Spaniards who had adhered to King Joseph should re-enter upon the honours, rights, and privileges which they had enjoyed under him, and upon all the property of which they might have been deprived by the Cortes, and that all prisoners on both sides should be immediately sent home. [This last clause, if it could have been executed, would have given to Bonaparte, at the critical moment, many thousands of veteran troops, whereas he had few or none of that description of force to give back to Spain.]* Ferdinand now addressed a letter to the Spanish regency, this

* Dispatches; Letter to Earl Bathurst, dated St. Jean-de-Luz, December 21st, 1813.

* Ferdinand also bound himself to pay annually to his father, Charles IV., the sum of 30,000,000 reals; and in case of his father's death, an annuity of 2,000,000 reals to the ex-queen, his mother.

being the first communication which he had knowingly been permitted to hold with his own country since his entrapment at Bayonne. Of the Cortes, the representatives of the nation, he took no notice; and it was evidently his wish, and the counsel of his brother Don Carlos, his uncle Don Antonio, and the other Spaniards who surrounded him, that the Cortes should cease to exist. Some rational doubts may be entertained as to some subsequent parts of these mysterious transactions, for they are told on one hand by partisans of Ferdinand, who wish to save the character and enhance the patriotism and political penetration of their king, and they are related on the other hand by disappointed, enraged Liberales, who maintain that their prince, or king, was a drivelling idiot, capable of trick and cunning, but incapable of patriotism or any other magnanimous feeling. According to one party, he knew, through Madame de Talleyrand and the light of his own reason, that the downfall of Bonaparte was a certainty; and, even without this consoling knowledge, he would have preferred remaining in his captivity and exposed to the old fate of dethroned and imprisoned kings (with which, they say, he was more than once menaced), to returning to the Spanish throne with dishonour to himself, or danger or dishonour to the Spanish nation. According to the other extreme party, he still believed in the irresistible destiny of Bonaparte; he would even now have consented to a matrimonial alliance with the Bonaparte family; and he cared not to what dishonour he sunk himself and his country, provided he could only return to reign, to re-establish the Inquisition, and to take a bloody vengeance on the men who had revived the ancient and free institutions of Spain. But the story, as told by Ferdinand's apologists, is sufficiently base. The Duque de San Carlos, who had negotiated the treaty, was made the bearer of it, and of Ferdinand's royal letter to the Regency. And the Duque was secretly instructed by the king to inquire into the spirit of the Regency and Cortes, and if he should find them devout, loyal men (and not tainted with infidelity and Jacobinism), he was then to let the Regency know—but in the greatest secrecy—that his royal intention really was that the treaty should be ratified, if it could be done without injury to the good faith which Spain owed to her allies, and without injury to the public weal. Should the Regency be of opinion that the treaty might be ratified upon an understanding with England temporarily, and until his return to Spain should be effected, upon the supposition that he (without whose free approbation it could not be complete) would not ratify it when at liberty, but declare it to have been constrained and null, then and in that case he wished the Regency so to ratify it, because the French could not reasonably reproach him, if, having acquired information concerning the real state of Spain, which had been withheld from him in his captivity, he should refuse to confirm the treaty. But, continued these Jesuitical instructions, which were meant to dupe the Spanish Liberales as well as Bonaparte, if the Duque de San Carlos should, upon his diligent and secret inquiry, find out that the Regency and the Cortes were really infected with infidelity and Jacobinism, then he was to reserve his explanations, and simply demand from them the ratification of the said treaty; for, if such were the principles of the governing party in Spain, the sooner the king returned to curb it the better, and the ratification of the treaty by them would not prevent his majesty from continuing the war against the French, if the interest and *good faith* of the Spanish nation should require it. But this last reserved intention of King Ferdinand was to be kept profoundly secret, close in the deepest recesses of the Duque de San Carlos's Spanish heart, lest through any babbling or *treachery* it should be made known to the French government.

The duque travelled from Valençay under a feigned name, as M. de Laforest had travelled to that place, Ferdinand being apparently quite as anxious as Bonaparte that his mission should not be suspected by the English. The duque took the eastern road, entered Spain by Catalonia, and, with the treaty of Valençay and the royal letter in his pocket, he arrived secretly at Suchet's head-quarters, on his way to Madrid. It is said that this arrival had the immediate effect of paralyzing the Spanish *corps d'armée* of General Copons, who had promised to co-operate actively with General Clinton, but who was now fully informed by some of Suchet's people, or by the Duque de San Carlos himself, that amicable arrangements had been entered into, which would render equally unnecessary the presence of Clinton's and Wellington's armies, and any further campaigning or fighting on the part of any of the Spanish generals. It is added, that, but for the promptitude with which the Cortes quashed the worse than duplex treaty, General Copons, regardless of the safety of Clinton and his army, would have concluded a separate armistice with Marshal Suchet. The Spanish regency was now a nullity, as the Cortes, with their one chamber or house, had made themselves an executive as well as legislative body, and had monopolised all the powers of government. When San Carlos made the treaty known, he found that the Cortes were not so very anxious for the return of their sovereign, and that they would not ratify the treaty either with or without the mental reservation which Ferdinand recommended. On the 8th of January the regency, at the bidding of the Cortes, replied to his most Catholic majesty, that they were happy to hear of his good health and noble sentiments; that they and the Spanish people were very faithful, loyal, and affectionate; that they would continue to make the greatest sacrifices to see him placed upon the throne of love and justice which they had prepared for him; but that for the present they must content themselves with declaring that he was the beloved and desired of the whole nation. And then followed their abso-

lute rejection of the treaty. It was their duty, they said, to put him in possession of a decree passed by the Cortes on the 1st of January, 1811. And this decree, which they enclosed in their answer to Ferdinand, was that by which the Cortes enacted that no treaty concluded by the king during his restraint and captivity could be recognised by Spain. Bonaparte, who was now as eager to withdraw the remnant of his troops from Spain as ever he had been to send his armies thither, released Generals Palafox and Zayas from the donjon of Vincennes, and sent them to Valençay, to persuade Ferdinand to exert himself in order to procure an immediate armistice between Suchet and the Spanish generals. Don Pedro de Macanaz had arrived before, and the canon Escoiquiz soon followed Palafox and Zayas: the canon had apparently the same mission as the two generals, and, as a churchman, he might be eager for the restoration of his king, as the most probable means of putting an end to the war which the Cortes were madly waging against church property and ecclesiastical dignitaries. M. de Laforest, who continued at Valençay, now proposed to the assembled Spaniards, that they should all exert themselves in working out the wishes of King Ferdinand and of the Emperor Napoleon for a general suspension of hostilities, "humanity requiring that all useless expenditure of blood should be avoided." Marshal Suchet had been appointed by the emperor his commissioner for executing the evacuation of the Spanish fortresses and territory; Suchet had full powers to treat for an armistice, and it therefore depended solely upon the Spanish government to expedite this business and put an end to the horrors of war, which had so long desolated their country. The generous emperor, too, was quite ready to release all his Spanish prisoners; the generals and officers should travel post, the common soldiers should be marched to the frontier, and be delivered up as fast as they arrived. Could Spaniards who loved their king and country hesitate? Macanaz and Escoiquiz assented to all that the French diplomatists said, and Palafox undertook to go into Spain and there endeavour to accomplish his wishes. This was before the Duque de San Carlos had reached Madrid, or before any intelligence had been received from him. Ferdinand therefore gave Palafox a duplicate of the duque's commission, in case any accident might have befallen that *incognito* envoy upon the road; and also a letter, in which he, the king, expressed his belief that the regency would have ratified the treaty before Palafox's arrival at Madrid. But at the same time Ferdinand gave Palafox secret instructions to see the English ambassador at Madrid, and tell him, in the king's name, that the treaty was a hoax. Palafox arrived safely at the Spanish capital, but his journey was useless. On the 28th of January the regency, or rather the Cortes, replied that they must refer his majesty to their former letter and to the decree therein contained; that an ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary had now been named on his majesty's behalf, to attend a congress (the congress of Chatillon), in which the allied powers were about to give peace to Europe; that in that congress the Spanish treaty would be concluded; that it would soon be ratified, not by the regency, but by his majesty himself in his royal palace of Madrid, &c.

Lord Wellington had been vexed by these transactions; but he had not been taken by surprise. He had clearly foreseen that Bonaparte would adopt some measures of the sort in order to get back Suchet's army, and to excite disturbances in Spain. He had obtained information respecting the mysterious journey of the Duque de San Carlos, of the treaty of which he was the bearer, and of the papers connected with it: he knew perfectly well of Palafox's expedition; and he expected that Bonaparte would make a second effort, and meet the wishes of the Cortes by withdrawing his troops from Spain without exacting any conditions. But he was indignant at the conduct of General Copons in concealing what he knew of the Duque de San Carlos' arrival and the nature of his mission, and in making no report to him. His lordship knew better than any man that the irreconcilable pretensions of the Liberales and royalists must sooner or later plunge Spain into an anarchy; but he hoped to have done with the war before this great storm could break out in his rear.

As soon as his lordship could get his supplies, and could put his army in motion, he commenced a series of operations intended to drive Marshal Soult, not only from his entrenched camp under the walls of Bayonne, but also from all the country on the left of the Adour. Early in February, in spite of the badness of the weather and the roads, he, by a succession of brilliant movements and partial engagements, drove Soult before him, making him abandon the Bidasoa altogether, quit his entrenched camp and cross the Gave d'Oléron, an affluent of the Adour. On the 27th of February he fell upon the marshal's army concentrated at Orthez, routed it, and pursued it to the banks of the Adour. In this battle of Orthez the allies had 277 killed and about 2000 wounded or missing; but the French loss was very great in the battle, and still greater in the retreat, for the fresh conscripts deserted in masses, throwing away their arms, and flying like a rabble. On the 1st of March Wellington's head-quarters were at St. Sever, beyond the Adour. Through the victory of Orthez and this rapid advance, the French garrison in Bayonne was left to its own resources, and the high road to the important city of Bordeaux—a city teeming with royalists and counter-revolutionists—was thrown open to the allies. Sir John Hope, with a division of the army, immediately invested Bayonne; and Marshal Beresford was detached with two divisions to occupy Bordeaux. On the arrival of Beresford the mayor and most of the inhabitants of Bordeaux, of their own accord, proclaimed Louis XVIII. As the allied powers had not yet pledged themselves to support

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the Bourbon cause, or not to treat with Bonaparte as the ruler of France, Lord Wellington had most particularly and emphatically instructed Beresford not to originate nor encourage any rising of the Bourbon party; on no account to encourage hopes which might be disappointed, or to excite insurrectionary movements which might be put down and avenged with blood, if the allied sovereigns should eventually negotiate a peace with the present ruler, and leave Bonaparte on the throne of France. In all directions the same delicate regard was paid to the future safety of the French royalists, nor was any encouragement given to them as an active counter-revolutionary party until Bonaparte had abdicated the throne and taken his departure to the island of Elba. A general insurrection of the south would have facilitated the work in hand, and would have given great satisfaction to the Bourbon princes and their agents, who for some time past had constantly surrounded and importuned the British general, and who had not unfrequently complained that he was injuring their cause by throwing cold water upon the loyal enthusiasm of the French; but it suited not the political morality of Wellington to commit the lives and fortunes of these royalists before he knew that they would not be abandoned by the allies. And yet, while Wellington was pursuing this line of conduct, and while the headlong French royalists were blaming him for not protecting them from the consequences of their own rash conduct, Marshal Soult and General Count Gazan issued a turgid and insulting proclamation, accusing the British commander of fomenting revolt and civil war in France; of seeking to obtain, by means of intestine factions, those advantages which he could not gain by the sword. And this, too, was said when the sword of Wellington had cut his way from the frontiers of Portugal far into the interior of France, unaided, unsupported, but thwarted or impeded by an infinitude of causes which would have broken the heart or have turned the brain of almost any other commander. This disgraceful proclamation, which could still deceive thousands of Frenchmen remote from the scene of action, did, indeed, go to prove the justness of a remark which his lordship had made long ago, when the system was in its perfection—that it was impossible for people in France to know the truth, the whole system of Bonaparte's government being based on trickery and deception.

On the 18th of March Lord Wellington advanced his victorious army to Vic Bigorre, and Soult retreated to some good positions at Tarbes. It was thought that the French marshal would stand and fight a general battle here, but he did not, continuing, on the 20th, his retreat towards Toulouse, where he arrived on the 24th. The main object of Soult's movements was to facilitate a junction with Marshal Suchet, who, through the imbecility of King Ferdinand and the want of activity and daring in Copons and the other Spanish generals in the east, had been allowed to withdraw 14,000 men from Catalonia, in addition to another force, of from 8000 to 10,000, which he had previously detached into France. Seeing that nothing could be gained by keeping him, while there was a chance of gaining much by releasing him, Bonaparte ordered Ferdinand to be let loose from his pleasant prison bower at Valençay, and whisked across the Pyrenees. The captive king reached Perpignan on the 22nd of March, and there agreed with Suchet to allow him to withdraw, not only the forces he had in the field, but also the garrisons he had in the fortresses of Catalonia, which garrisons were all blockaded

by Spanish troops, and very near the capitulating point. But the Cortes had previously resolved that these garrisons should not be allowed to return to France with their arms; and they referred the question of the king's unwise agreement with Suchet to Lord Wellington, who declared, in the strongest manner, that the said garrisons in Catalonia, or any other French force whatsoever, ought to be allowed no capitulation, except on the condition of their being prisoners of war. From 15,000 to 18,000 Frenchmen were shut up in these garrisons; they were not conscripts, but, for the most part, veteran troops, with a spirit as yet unbroken by any decisive defeat; and, if Suchet could have united his whole force and have brought it to join Soult on the Garonne, the enemy must have been too strong for Wellington, whose forces were much weakened by the blockade of Bayonne and the occupation of Bordeaux. Suchet, however, had already detached 10,000 men into France, and he was allowed to move off with the 14,000 disposable men he had in the field. From the defiles of Catalonia, where he ought to have been crushed or reduced to the plight of Dupont at Baylen, Marshal Suchet marched across the broad isthmus which joins France to the Pyrenees and to Spain; but it was the beginning of April before he reached Narbonne, and then he halted. He had still a very long march to perform before he could join Soult. And, as part of the Austrian army, which had poured into France through Switzerland, had reached Lyons, and had established its outposts considerably to the south of that great city, he may have had some apprehension that they would interpose in force between him and Toulouse. Besides, it is evident that he had never had any great desire to place himself under Soult's orders, or to unite the unbroken veterans he had saved to the broken and disorderly army which could stand nowhere.

Soult, as we have seen, arrived at Toulouse on the 24th of March; on the 27th Wellington was close to him, in front of Toulouse; but the broad, deep, and rapid river Garonne flowed between them, the best passages were defended by French artillery, and the English pontoons and other means of carrying over troops, cannon, and stores, were very defective. It was therefore the 9th of April before Wellington got the allied army to the right bank of the Garonne. On the 10th was fought the bloody battle of Toulouse. This has been held to have been a useless display of heroism, and unnecessary waste of human life; but the British general knew not the events and causes which had rendered the combat unnecessary; and in fighting he had one grand object in view, which was to beat and scatter the army of Soult before it could be joined by Suchet, and to prevent that union of the two marshals which might have revived the hopes of the abdicating emperor, and have brought him down to the South to try another throw of the dice. If this had happened, and if the Austrians had not moved forward from Lyons with much more rapidity than they usually employed, the weakened army of Wellington would have been exposed at least to the chances of a defeat, and of a long and disastrous retreat. Soult now occupied another entrenched camp of a very formidable description, on the eastern side of the city of Toulouse, on a range of heights between the river Ers and the great canal of Languedoc. He had redoubts and entrenchments, and tremendous *têtes de pont* both on the river and on the canal, which must both be crossed by the allies. Although Bonaparte had made very large drafts upon Soult's army of the South to strengthen his own army in Champagne, the marshal had pretty nearly an equality of numbers, while in artillery he had a great superiority. According to the best calculation which has been made, Soult had not less than 42,000 men, while Wellington had, in British, Germans, and Portuguese about 30,000, and in Spaniards about 15,000. Nearly the whole position was bristling with Soult's guns; and many of these were so placed in battery on the summits of hills that they could make a plunging fire into the ascending attacking columns. Moreover, there were many strongly built houses, which had been fortified and crammed with *tirailleurs*: and there were scattered villages, strong stone walls separating the vineyards and orchards, and a multiplicity of streamlets, and of trenches cut for the purposes of irrigation. All the roads, too, were detestable, some of them knee-deep with mud or soft slippery clay, which was far more disadvantageous to those who had to march considerable distances to get to the attack than to those who were fixed and stationary, and who had to meet the attack behind prepared and fortified lines.* Most fortunately the 18th hussars, under the immediate command of Colonel Vivian, had attacked and defeated a superior body of French cavalry, had driven them through the village of Croix d'Orade, had taken about 100 prisoners, and had given the allies possession of an important bridge over the Ers. As day dawned on the morning of the 10th of April (it was Easter Sunday, the holiest of all Sabbaths, a day of peace and reconciliation, and the church-bells of the distant villages were calling the devout peasantry to matins and early mass) the columns of the allies began to move to their various points of attack, and to one of the fiercest and deadliest scenes that war can present. Marshal Beresford moved first with the 4th and 6th divisions, who crossed the Ers by the bridge of Croix d'Orade, gained after some hard fighting possession of the village of Montblanc, and then attacked and carried some heights on Soult's right, and the redoubt which had been intended to cover and protect that flank: but the French were still in possession of four other redoubts, and of the entrenchments and fortified houses, from which they could not be dislodged without artillery—and to drag heavy guns up those

* It had rained pitilessly for many days; and the rain, besides making the bad roads worse, had swelled the river Garonne, had delayed the passage of the allied army, and had given Soult the more time to complete his defences.

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steeps and along those execrable roads was work that must require great time, and the exertions of men as well as horses. Nearly at the same moment that Beresford fell upon Soult's right, Wellington threw forward the Spanish division of General Freyre to fall upon Soult's left. At first these Spaniards were repulsed, and, being panic-stricken by the destructive fire of the French redoubts, and then being charged by French bayonets, they staggered, wavered, and began a flight down the hills, which might have been attended with very fatal consequences; but one Spanish regiment, the Tiradores de Cantabria, got well under the French entrenchments, stood as firm as a rock, and then the British light division, coming up at the charging pace, rallied the Spaniards who had given ground, and advanced with them to the attack with an irresistible fury, and with a contempt of wounds and death. General Mendizabal, who was in the field as a volunteer, General Espeleta, several chiefs of corps, and officers of the staff were wounded, and the men were mowed down by whole ranks at a time; but there they stood on the brow of that bloody hill until Wellington was enabled to reinforce them, and until Beresford had made sure of the victory by breaking, crushing, and turning the French right. Beresford had been obliged by the badness of the roads to leave his artillery in the village of Montblanc; and, notwithstanding all the exertions that were made, some time elapsed before the guns could be brought up. During this trying interval Beresford's two divisions were exposed to the hottest fire of Soult's batteries; but the men sheltered themselves as best they could behind the redoubt they had captured. As soon as his artillery arrived (it was about the hour of noon), Beresford continued his movement along the ridge, and carried, with the single brigade of General Pack, the two principal redoubts, and all the fortified houses in the enemy's centre. The enemy made a desperate effort from the side of the canal of Languedoc to regain those redoubts, but they were repulsed by the British bayonets with considerable loss; General Taupin, who had led them on, was slain; and, Beresford's sixth division continuing its movement along the ridge of the heights, and the Spanish troops making a corresponding movement upon the front, the French were soon driven from the two redoubts and the entrenchments they had on their left; and the whole range of heights, which Soult and his engineer officers had taken such pains to fortify, remained in the undisturbed possession of the allies and of Marshal Beresford. The ground not admitting of the operations of our cavalry, they had no opportunity of charging the retiring foe, who withdrew with some confusion across the canal of Languedoc into the town of Toulouse, which Soult at one time thought of defending. Victory could not be gained upon such ground, and in the teeth of so many strong works, without great loss: 600 of the allies lay dead on the field, about 4000 were wounded; Colonel Coghlan of the 61st was killed in the attack on the heights, General Pack was wounded, Colonel Douglas of the 8th Portuguese regiment lost his leg, and many brave officers were maimed and disabled. There is the usual difficulty in striking the balance of loss: Soult confessed to 3200 in killed and wounded; and, as his people had fought in good part under cover, and had not

contended long after they had lost their redoubts, fortified houses, and entrenchments, it is probable that his army suffered somewhat less than the allies. Our loss fell the heaviest on Marshal Beresford's sixth division; for, although his fourth division had been exposed on their march along the French front to a galling fire, they were not so much engaged as the sixth. Other divisions of the army were not engaged at all. But Picton, with his fighting third division, got his Welsh head heated, and committed an act of imprudence, engaging in earnest where he had been ordered only to make a feint, and storming a tremendous *tête de pont* which he had been ordered to observe. In the repulse sustained at this point a good many of the fighting men were laid low, Major-General Brisbane was wounded, and Colonel Forbes of the 45th was killed. Before the hour of *Ave Maria* the allies were established on three sides of Toulouse, and the French were driven by Sir Rowland Hill from their exterior works in the suburb on the left of the Garonne within the ancient walls of the town.*

On the night of the 11th Soult evacuated Toulouse by the only road which was yet open to him, and retired by Castelnaudary to Carcassonne. He left behind him in the town 1600 wounded men, three generals (Harispe, Baurot, and St. Hilaire), various pieces of artillery, large quantities of ammunition, and stores of all descriptions. All these were taken by the allies. On the 12th Wellington entered Toulouse, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants, who were thus relieved from the dread of a siege. His lordship found the white flag of the Bourbons flying, and all the authorities and a large proportion of the inhabitants wearing white cockades and scarfs. The mayor had quitted the town with Soult's army, but his *adjoint*, with a numerous deputation, presented an address to his lordship, requesting him to receive the key of the good and loyal city, in the name of "Our dear King," Louis XVIII., who had become the dearer through twenty years of cruel suffering; and also to accept on his own account the boundless gratitude which the people of Toulouse felt for his lordship's grand, generous, and (in history) unparalleled conduct. Lord Wellington told them, as he had told the people of Bordeaux, that the only wish of the government he served was, and ever had been, a peace founded upon justice, and the independence of Europe; that he had every reason to believe that ambassadors of the allied powers were still engaged in negotiating such a peace, "if it were possible to obtain it from the actual government of France;" that he saw that the city of Toulouse, like a great many other towns of France, contained persons who were anxious to throw off the yoke and to assist in the restoration of the House of Bourbon, but that they must judge for themselves whether, after the information he had given them, it would be prudent for them to declare against the existing government. If they should declare in favour of the Bourbons it would be his duty to treat them as allies so long as the war lasted; but he must remind them that, if the allies should make peace with Napoleon, it would not be in his power after such peace to give them any more assistance or protection. But the people of Toulouse had already committed themselves by hoisting the white flag, and they were now knocking the statue of Napoleon from its base and pulling down and destroying the eagles and other emblems of the imperial government; and in the afternoon of that day the English Colonel Cooke and the French Colonel St. Simon arrived from Paris, with the news that the allies had entered the French capital, that a provisional government had been established in the name of Louis XVIII., and that Bonaparte had abdicated at Fontainebleau as far back as the 4th of April, or six days before the battle of Toulouse was fought. From Lord Wellington's head-quarters Colonels Cooke and St. Simon proceeded to those of Marshal Soult. They had a good ride for it, as Soult's army had gone off at such speed that they had marched twenty-two miles in the first night. They were furnished with intelligence and with documents of the most undoubted authenticity, but the French marshal said he could not think himself justified in submitting to the provisional government, as he had received no orders or information from the Emperor Napoleon. All that Soult would do was to propose an armistice. In a polite and delicate letter, written on the 14th, Lord Wellington excused himself from accepting the armistice, unless the marshal should previously acknowledge the provisional government of France. It seemed still imperative to prevent the junction of Soult and Suchet, whose two armies might become the *noyau* of a civil war in France in favour of Napoleon's pretensions for his son the King of Rome, or in favour of Napoleon himself. That daring, desperate man had not yet quitted France; his act of abdication might not be very binding upon one who had never been bound by any act or treaty; he was not a prisoner, but still surrounded by many of his devoted guards; by the route traced out for him to go to the island of Elba, he must traverse the southern provinces and approach Suchet's army—and might he not join it? Thus the same reasons which induced the British general to give battle at Toulouse still continued, and were, perhaps, strengthened by the information he now possessed on the real state of affairs; and therefore it was that he refused the armistice and made his preparations for pursuing Soult. On the 16th and 17th the allied army marched towards Castelnaudary and Carcassonne. On the 16th Lord Wellington dispatched another officer, who had been sent from Paris, to Marshal Soult with fuller information; and in the course of the 17th General Gazan came down from Soult's head-quarters to inform his lordship that the marshal had at length acknowledged the provisional government. Gazan also presented a letter from Soult himself, who stated that he had received orders from Marshal Berthier

* Wellington Dispatches.

to stop all hostilities and conclude a friendly convention with Lord Wellington. This convention was settled and signed on the 18th, and a line of demarcation was drawn between the two armies. The head-quarters of Wellington remained at Toulouse. On the next day Marshal Suchet concluded a like convention. On the 21st Lord Wellington, by general orders, congratulated his gallant army on the near prospect of the termination of their toils and dangers, and thanked them "for their uniform discipline and gallantry in the field, and for their conciliating conduct towards the inhabitants of the country."

On the 14th of April, four days after Soult's defeat at Toulouse, and when the allies were in possession of that city, and the French were flying from it, General Thouvenot, who commanded in Bayonne—who had once been aide-de-camp and chief of the staff to Dumouriez, but who had become one of the most resolute and fiercest of all the Bonapartists—chose to make a desperate sortie upon the unprepared allies, who had received the intelligence from Paris, and who believed that the beleaguered French, who for some time had been very inactive, had the same information, and would feel the inutility and barbarity of shedding more blood for a cause that was now lost. The real state of affairs at Paris had been communicated to Thouvenot by General Sir John Hope the day before, and, judging of other men by his own generous nature, Hope evidently could not conceive that the French general could be capable of what must now be considered a base surprise, a savage spite, and a wilful shedding of blood. As the works of the siege had not commenced, there were neither guns nor stores upon the ground to tempt the sortie. The investing forces were quiet in their positions and cantonments, and many of them were buried in sleep, and dreaming of a speedy return to their own countries, when the French, long before it was daylight, sallied from the citadel of Bayonne in great strength, rushed upon the village of St. Etienne, and upon the allied pickets in the centre, and gained some momentary advantages, bayoneting the surprised men, killing Major-General Hay, and wounding Major-General Stopford. Sir John Hope, ever foremost when there was danger, mounted his horse, and galloped up in the dark to direct the advance of more troops to the support of the pickets. He was presently surrounded, his horse was shot under him and fell, he received two very severe wounds, and before he could extricate himself from under his horse he was made prisoner. For some time the opponents could only distinguish each other's ranks by the flashing of the muskets. The fighting was very severe; but it was terminated by British bayonet charges: the French were driven back, the little ground which had been lost was all recovered, and by seven o'clock our pickets were re-posted on their original points. But between killed and wounded and taken the allies had lost 800 men.* It was, under the circumstances, scarcely a consolation to know that the French had suffered at the least as severely.* This was the last affair of the war; but the battle of Toulouse was the last real battle, and the winding-up of Wellington's war-doings with Soult. It was, as we have shown, a remarkable combat; but the most remarkable part of the story yet remains to be told—the French claimed, and to this day most pertinaciously and loudly claim, the victory! Our brief account of the battle is derived entirely from the dispatches and private letters of Lord Wellington, who never exaggerated an advantage or concealed a reverse, even when concealment, utterly impossible here, might have been practicable; who never spoke of his victories except in a brief, quiet manner; who never spun a rhetorical sentence in his life about his own exploits. On no former occasion, not even after the great battle at Vittoria, which the French themselves are compelled to admit was a complete and decisive victory, had his lordship spoken more decidedly as to his having beaten the enemy. In a private letter to General Sir John ope, written six days after the battle, he said, "We *beat* Marshal Soult on the 10th, in the strong position which he took up to maintain his position in Toulouse. The 11th was spent in reconnaissances towards the road of Carcassonne, and in the arrangements to be adopted for shutting him in Toulouse entirely. The 11th, at night, he evacuated the town, and marched by the road of Carcassonne." Before sunset on the 10th the allies had carried all the positions that it was necessary to carry, and Soult was driven into Toulouse, where he could not venture to stay much more than twenty-four hours. It has been well said, "Did Marshal Soult fight this battle to retain possession of the heights which he had fortified, and which commanded the town? If so, *he lost them.* Did he fight to keep possession of Toulouse? If so, *he lost that.*" † We have Marshal Soult's own words for the fact that he did intend to keep possession of the heights, to fight a battle for them, and to keep possession of Toulouse, cost him what it might; and we have also his own

* Among the killed, besides General Hay, there were Colonel Sir H. Sullivan and Captain Crofton of the Guards.

* General Thouvenot's conduct was throughout that of a savage. The capture of Sir John Hope, and the knowledge that he was very severely, if not mortally, wounded, carried affliction to the bosom of every man who had been serving under him. Major-General C. Colville, who succeeded to the command, sent a flag of truce to request that Hope's friend Colonel Macdonald might be admitted into the fortress to see him and carry him assistance. Thouvenot had the brutality to refuse the request. Afterwards General Colville had some hope that Captain Wedderburn and some other friends with assistance might be admitted, though only upon the condition of their not returning. We believe that these hopes were not realised until the moment when Thouvenot found himself compelled to submit to the provisional government, and to act in conformity with Soult's convention. It was the embarrassing destiny of Louis XVIII. to be obliged to honour and reward some of the greatest rogues that had sprung from the Revolution, or that had struggled most desperately to keep Bonaparte upon the throne. Thus, on the 27th of June following, the restored Bourbon king was made to confer the cross of St. Louis upon Thouvenot, and to confirm him in his command at Bayonne. In this case, as in thousands of other cases, the royal favour was rather worse than thrown away. As soon as Bonaparte returned from Elba, Thouvenot broke his oath of allegiance to Louis, and declared for the emperor. Yet in ninety-nine out of every hundred French books relating to the history of the war, we find Thouvenot applauded to the skies as a brave and honourable man and true patriot, the climax of whose fame was his bloody and useless sally from Bayonne!

† Lord Burghersh.

words for the other fact, that after he had fought the battle he found that he had lost the heights, that he could not keep the town, and that nothing was left him but a quick retreat.* And, if a quick retreat, and the loss of 1600 prisoners, of three general officers, and of cannon and stores, are good proofs of victory, Soult's victory of Toulouse may remain unquestioned. Some French officers who were present in the sternly contested battle, and who had too much soldierlike feeling to claim the honours of victory for a signal defeat, have left upon record their frank confessions that, though their positions were admirable, and though their troops defended them heroically, the battle was beyond contradiction lost by Marshal Soult. According to M. le Colonel la Pène the battle was considered as lost as soon as Marshal Beresford carried the first redoubt or fort on the French right, which first achievement was performed very early in the day. "This irreparable loss," says the French colonel, an eye-witness and a combatant, "was a thunderstroke to us! We could not at first believe in so great a misfortune: we saw all of a sudden our hopes destroyed, and we abandoned the prospect of a victory which before seemed so certain." Thousands of the combatants, officers and men, French and English, Spaniards and Portuguese, are yet living to bear testimony (if truth be in the French portion of these survivors) to the scrupulous veracity of Lord Wellington's dispatch; and there are living many hundreds upon hundreds of the inhabitants of Toulouse who saw from the windows and the roof-tops of their houses (the great part of which commanded an uninterrupted view of the scene of carnage) how the battle began and how it ended, how redoubt was carried after redoubt, position after position, how the French abandoned all the heights, and rushed into the town, which was commanded by those heights, and how they fled, at the dead of night, from Toulouse, by the only road upon which there was any chance of escape. But, notwithstanding all this evidence, the French continue to claim the honours of Toulouse; the government of his present Majesty Louis-Philippe has given its countenance to a project for erecting on the heights which Wellington conquered a pillar or column to commemorate the glory of Marshal Soult and his army on the 10th of April, 1814; and, for aught that we know to the contrary, the said column, by this time,

"Like a tall bully, lifts its head—and lies."*

We now turn to the military operations in other parts of France. Of his old army the Emperor of the French had upon the Rhine no more than 70,000 or 80,000 men to oppose to the allies, who advanced upon that frontier with 160,000 men, and who had numerous reinforcements coming on in rapid advance through Germany. The new conscription remained very unproductive, and such of the conscripts as were brought in, being for the most part beardless boys, were of small present value in war. From Italy not a man nor a musket could be drawn, for Murat had joined the allies, and, with the Austrians, was overpowering Eugene Beauharnais. No assistance was to be expected from any other part of Europe: since the overthrow of the Danes by Bernadotte, Bonaparte had ceased to have an ally. Some of his counsellors and advisers—some of the ex-Jacobins—spoke

* On the 7th of April, just three days before Wellington attacked him, Soult wrote to Suchet, "I am determined to fight a battle near Toulouse, whatever may be the superiority of the enemy's force. For this purpose I am fortifying a position which rests on the canal and the town, and which will afford me an *entrenched* camp capable of being defended whether the enemy attack from the side of Montauban or from the side of Castelnaudary. I hear the allies have entered Paris. This great misfortune confirms my determination to defend Toulouse *at all risks*; for the preservation of this city, which contains establishments of all kinds, is for us of the *very greatest importance*." On the very evening of the battle he wrote again to Suchet, to tell that marshal, not that he had gained a victory, but that the battle had completely overset all his determinations. "The battle," said Soult, "which I announced to you has taken place to-day. It has been most murderous. The enemy suffered horribly, but have *succeeded in establishing themselves* in the position which I had occupied on the right of Toulouse. I do not think that I can remain long in Toulouse. It may even happen that I may have to fight my way out." And again, on the morning of the 11th, while his army was making its preparations to fly by night, Soult, whose self-love would have induced him to conceal or colour over his lamentable reverses to a rival in fame, and to a man he hated as he did Suchet, if such deception could then have been practicable, wrote to his brother marshal:—"As I intimated to you in my letter of yesterday, I find myself under the *necessity* of retiring from Toulouse, and I am *even afraid* of being forced to fight for a passage by Baziège, where the enemy has sent a column to cut me off from that communication. To-morrow I shall take a position at Villefranche [*twenty-four miles, be it observed, from Toulouse*], for I hope the enemy may not be able to prevent my passing. Thence I shall make for Castelnaudary [*fifteen or sixteen miles farther*]: if I shall be able to stop there, I will do so; if not, I shall take a position at Carcassonne." Carcassonne was twenty-six miles farther still, or at the respectful distance from Toulouse of sixty-five or sixty-six miles!

When an army marches twenty-two miles in one night, it is not retreat, but flight. It remained for the acuteness of French philosophy to discover in such a flight the evidence and proof of a victory. Nor was this flight or retreat, rapid and headlong as it was, undisturbed by the allies. Soult was closely pursued, his rear-guard was repeatedly attacked; and he confessed himself at the time that in every attack it was worsted. He says that he reached Castelnaudary on the 13th, and that he was about "to continue his movement," when he received intelligence of the political events at Paris, and relaxed his efforts. But what effort could he make, what movement could he continue, except that movement of rapid retreat which he had begun on the night of the 11th?

* In these remarks on the French pretension to victory we have been aided and guided by a recent and very able article in the Quarterly Review on the battle of Toulouse. Our account of the battle is based entirely on the Wellington Dispatches. The most recently written French account of the battle that we have read is that of M. de Capefigue. In general we have found this writer, who is certainly no Bonapartist, less rancorous and prejudiced against England than the vast majority of his writing confraternity; but even Capefigue clings to the Toulouse fable as if the honour and salvation of France depended upon it. He seems, however, to be sensible that plain prose and circumstantial statements will not do, for he takes refuge in a rhapsody of prose-poetry. "The 10th of April, sad but glorious date for Toulouse! The cannon roars; Lord Wellington attacks the French entrenched on a line of three leagues. Marshal Soult leads with him generals of the first order, Clausel, d'Armagnac, Rey, Villate; he is alone, Suchet has not joined him. It is a day of manœuvres [*there were no manœuvres at all, for none were necessary, the allies merely marching up to attack the enemy's fixed positions*]; the losses on both sides are considerable, some of the French lines are carried [*all their positions were carried*]; the ground is littered with the dead. On the morrow, the 11th, the allies under Lord Wellington recommenced the battle. [*The allies did nothing of the sort, for the battle was finished on the 10th, and Soult, by lying close in Toulouse, gave Wellington no opportunity of attacking him, humanity and good policy alike forbidding his lordship to bombard the city, or even to make an assault upon the town, where friendly or peaceful citizens might have been exposed to as much danger as the Bonapartist troops.*] During three days Marshal Soult intrepidly defends his entrenched camp at Toulouse. [*He was driven from that entrenched camp in one day, the 10th; on the second day there was no fighting for the reason aforesaid, and on the third day he was at Castelnaudary, thirty-nine or forty miles from Toulouse.*] He only evacuates his positions step by step, and on account of the news which reaches him from Paris. [*Soult tells us himself that the Paris news had no effect upon him nor his movements until he reached Castelnaudary, and the positions had all been evacuated three days before that.*] This battle, which took the name of Toulouse, is one of the most glorious *souvenirs* of Marshal Soult: it has created a military confraternity between him and the Duke of Wellington."—*L'Europe pendant le Consulat et l'Empire. Paris*, 1840.

of the marvellous things which had been done by the population in 1792-3, when France was invaded by the Prussians, and recommended levies *en masse*. But he felt the difference which existed both in the spirit of the French people, and in the spirit and number of the allies (things altogether different now from what they were in the earlier days of the Revolution). He had always spoken contemptuously of popular risings, and had always adhered to the opinion that no insurgents, no levies in mass, could stand against regular armies, if those armies were not commanded by absolute fools or traitors. And his utterly despotic and military form of government had gone far to diminish the capability of the population in this respect, and to break the springs of the national character. The people too, from the habit of long possession, had ceased to dread that the fruits of the Revolution would be torn from them; they no longer thought that the restoration of the Bourbons of necessity implied the restoration of church property and the property of the aristocracy—a dread which made a large part of the population rush to arms in 1792. Besides Bonaparte detested any direct appeal to the democracy, and had even declared that such appeals must renew the Reign of Terror and all the atrocities of Jacobinism. His brothers and other friends have claimed for him the merit of preferring to lose his throne to the giving of any countenance to or the deriving any assistance from that fierce and obscene faction; but the truth is, that he knew that, if he encouraged the Jacobins to-day, they would destroy his throne and his system to-morrow; and, although he denied their efficacy as a defensive army against the disciplined legions of the invaders, he did not question their capability of effecting an internal revolution. Their principles still extended far and wide: they had been kept down only by a thoroughly organised tyranny served by an immense military force which no longer existed. It was not out of regard to France or to humanity, but out of regard to self, including therein his system, which was part of himself, that Bonaparte spurned the idea of appealing to the people for a levy *en masse* or an alliance with the Jacobins, which two things meant nearly one and the same thing. "On this occasion," says a recent French writer, "the imperial court showed a distrust which was not felt by the old dynasties: it was by exciting their peoples to insurrection that the allied sovereigns had destroyed our armies; and it was only by following their example that we could now hope to resist them. But Napoleon had an extreme repugnance against all means or this sort; the only prince that was the elect of the people, was also the only one at this moment that feared to trust the people. It was not until the departments of the east were invaded by Schwartzenberg that the 'Moniteur' coldly announced that the people *en masse* were called to arms. And thus this measure had no results whatever." *

* Editors of 'Histoire Parlementaire.'

Even that old militia, the *Garde Nationale*, was an object of suspicion, particularly in Paris. Its ranks might easily have been filled to a very large amount; but Bonaparte dreaded that it would then assume a democratic form and revolutionary spirit; that the men of the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, with all those classes or orders of men who had made it so terrible in the days of Marat and Robespierre, would become a part of the organization, and give to it their own sans-culottic character. It was not until the 8th of January that the desperate Emperor could be induced to think of re-organising and increasing the national guard of Paris; and even then the great precautions he took in order to exclude the faubourg men and all the poorer classes had the effect of keeping down the numbers, and of giving to the corps the appearance of an anti-popular or distinct and privileged body. According to the imperial desire, it was to be 30,000 strong, or more; but the men were to be chosen only among such as were believed to be the friends of order, which meant the friends of the established government. And provisorily this national guard was composed only of 10,000 or 12,000 men, selected for the most part from among the *employés* of government, the officers and servants of ministers, the court tradespeople, the public notaries, and, in short, from among all those classes who directly or indirectly depended upon the existing government. The emperor himself took the first command of this civic corps: the second command he gave to old Marshal Moncey, who was too old, dull, and submissive to give him any cause of umbrage; and, that all sans-culottic tendencies might be checked, he appointed to the command of the several regiments or legions into which the corps was divided a set of men who belonged to the old aristocracy of France, but who had returned from exile to enter his service, and to depend upon him for their bread. Among these commanding officers there was a Count de Montesquieu, chamberlain to the emperor; a Count de Montmorency, equerry; a Brancas, a Biron, and other men with court employments, and with names the most aristocratic and the most dissonant to the ears of the faubourgs. In the days of the Jacobin ascendency and the republican enthusiasm the national guards named their own officers, choosing daring men of their own condition and stamp; but now all were appointed by the emperor. None of the materials of the corps were the same; but it was not to be expected that, composed even as the present corps was, those seigneurs of the old régime could have the same sympathy with the men that was possessed in the liberty-and-equality days by Usher Maillard, Mademoiselle Theroigne, Brewer Santerre, Henriot, and other sans-culottic commandants of the old force. If such a *garde nationale* as this could not be formidable to the imperial throne and established order of things, neither could it be formidable to the invaders of France. Moreover, such was the want of arms, or

such the want of confidence even in this selected corps, that very few muskets were distributed to the men. Some of them received carbines without bayonets, some mustered fowling-pieces of their own; but the far greater part of the men of the twelve legions, even when called out to be reviewed in the Champ de Mars, were armed only with swords and pikes. This continued to be the case until the middle of March, when the victorious allies were getting close to Paris; and, if they procured, by various means, an abundance of muskets and ammunition then, it was rather in spite of than in consequence of Bonaparte's orders.

The repeated declaration of the allies that they were not waging war against the French people, but solely against the ruler of France, had also a great effect in many quarters. Most men began to hope that, by submitting to the chastisement or even to the expulsion of Bonaparte, they might be allowed quietly to preserve and enjoy the good things they had got either from him or from the Revolution; and those who had gotten most were most disposed to indulge in this hope. Even his hosts of *employés* had calculated before now on the probability of their keeping their places under some other master. Among the old soldiers, whose trade was war, and who were fitted for no other occupation, among his Imperial Guards in particular, and among the young students in the military colleges, who had had their imaginations inflamed by the triumphs that were now past, and who had been taught to look to the profession of arms and the chances of war as the surest means of obtaining fame, rank, and riches—there was an abundant and glowing enthusiasm for Bonaparte; but at this moment it would have been difficult to find the same feeling anywhere else. "There was," says the republican historian Mignet, "neither that despair nor that impulse of liberty which carry people to stern resistance; the war was no longer considered as national, and the emperor had put all the public interest in himself alone, and all his means of defence in mechanical troops."* Something might have been expected from the natural instinct of patriotism, and more from the military spirit and national pride of the French; but these sentiments were not strong enough to make the people insurge as one body against the invaders, especially as they had not been provided with arms and the other means necessary to render an insurrection available. Just before quitting Paris Bonaparte ordered the formation of twelve regiments of *tirailleurs*, to be composed of volunteers, by the enrolment of men of all ages, from twenty to sixty. These regiments were to enjoy the honour of being attached to the *young* Imperial Guard; but the time allowed was short, the volunteering zeal was slow, and the twelve regiments were never completed. On the 23rd of January the emperor received in the palace of the Tuileries the oaths of fidelity of the officers of the new Parisian *Garde Nationale*. "I am about to depart," said he; "I am going to fight the enemy, and must leave to you all that is dearest to me—the empress and my son!" On the same day he again conferred the regency on Maria Louisa. Poor Joseph, the fugitive ex-king of Spain, was named lieutenant of the emperor in Paris. As far as warlike matters were concerned, one of Napoleon's old grey coats, or one of his old cocked hats, would have had more influence than poor Joseph. On the 25th of January the emperor quitted Paris to put himself at the head of his army, which was now collecting in Champagne, in the plains of which the two armies of Schwartzenberg and Blücher were on the point of effecting their junction. It is not easy to estimate the actual force which Bonaparte headed at the end of January and the beginning of February. From the ingenious way in which French writers arrange their narratives, and suppress details about junctions and reinforcements, it is made to appear that Bonaparte contested the interior of France, and defended the approaches to his capital for two months, with only the 70,000 or 80,000 men whom he withdrew from the Rhine. But this is ridiculous. Soult's army alone must have supplied 40,000 or 50,000 men; other troops (and some of them veterans) were drawn from other quarters; some of the fugitives from Holland rallied in Belgium, and followed the imperial eagle; several garrisons were reduced, and, apparently, very nearly the entire garrison of Paris (at all times a strong one) was removed to the scene of action, the city being left to the national guards. We would not reduce such military fame as Bonaparte acquired in this remarkable campaign; but we would remove his exploits from exaggeration and fable, and bring them within the limits of credibility and fact. After deducting from the preposterously exaggerated French estimates of the numbers of the invaders, and after adding a great many thousands of men to their estimate of the force which Bonaparte opposed to the allies, the facts will still remain that their force, though far more scattered, was numerically far superior to his, and that the defence he made was brilliant, and even marvellous. The genius of the man seemed to revive in his despair. Some of the best tacticians have considered this campaign as that in which he made the most remarkable displays of his military combinations and fertility of resources, and accuracy and rapidity of movement; and, in its character as a defensive war, the campaign of 1814 will probably be estimated by military historians as equal, or perhaps superior, to those offensive wars in Italy which had been the foundation of all his fame and of all his power. Now, too, he displayed, as he had done then, the greatest intrepidity or fearlessness, exposing his person in nearly every affair, in the hottest fire, and in the closest and most terrible parts of the fight.

Long before they approached the Rhine (on the 9th of November, 1813) the ministers of the allied powers, then apparently acting under Austrian influence, put forth a diplomatic note declaring that

* Hist. de la Révolution Française.

the coalized sovereigns were unanimously agreed as to the weight and consequence which France, as a nation, ought to hold in Europe, and were ready to leave her in possession of what she called her natural limits—the lines of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. And nearly a month after this (on the 1st of December, 1813), when Bonaparte had ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts, the allied powers issued at Francfort a declaration or manifesto, repeating their offers of peace, upon condition that the French should remain quiet and satisfied with those natural limits, which were wider and enclosed more territory than had ever been possessed by any of the kings of France. Caulaincourt, who in 1805 had played so important a part in the seizure of the Duc d'Enghien, who was now Duke of Vicenza, and who had succeeded Maret, Duke of Bassano, as Bonaparte's minister for foreign affairs, was sent to the head-quarters of the allies, but without any conditions upon which they could treat. The chief object of Caulaincourt's mission was, in fact, to sow jealousies and dissensions among the members of the coalition; and an attentive examination of the complicated history of the times will prove that he was not altogether unsuccessful, although his success fell far short of his master's expectations. "Only detach Austria," said Bonaparte, "and all will yet be saved." Consequently it was to the Austrian minister that Caulaincourt principally addressed himself. He offered to Metternich, as the price of an armistice, some of the chief fortresses in Italy, and some of the fortresses which the French still held in Germany. But the Austrian minister would not listen to the proposition; and all the allied armies continued their advance. The sovereigns, however, agreed that a congress should be held at Chatillon-sur-Seine, where the representatives of Bonaparte might treat with their ambassadors, and settle, if possible, the firm basis of a peace. Though they now spoke somewhat less distinctly, they seemed still to offer "those natural limits," which France ought never to be allowed to possess. On the 5th of February, this congress commenced its deliberations at the place appointed. Russia was represented by the Count Rasomowski; Prussia, by the Baron Humboldt; Austria, by Count Stadion; England, by Lord Castlereagh; and France, by Caulaincourt.* These plenipotentaries continued to assemble and hold long and repeated conferences until the middle of March; the demands of the allies and the concessions of Bonaparte fluctuated according to the various turns and events of the campaign; but during the whole of this period military operations were never for one moment suspended. At first the demands of Caulaincourt were very high; as his master lost ground in the field, his tone was lowered; but never, until the very last moment, when Bonaparte was absolutely vanquished, and when a vast portion of the French nation was declaring for the Bourbons, did Caulaincourt offer such concessions as would have reduced France to her proper dimensions.

Without alluding to the army of Lord Wellington, which had held its ground in the south for months, the northern and eastern frontiers of France were broken through weeks before Bonaparte quitted Paris to take the field. Towards the end of December, Prince Schwartzenberg crossed the Rhine near Basle, and, traversing Switzerland with all the gentleness he had promised, invaded Alsace; other Austrians followed, crossing the Rhine near Basle and Schaffhausen; and some of the allies marched through Soleure, Bern, and Vaud to Geneva, and thence by the valley of the Rhone towards the great French city of Lyons. The Russian army of General Wittgenstein crossed the Rhine near Rastadt on the night of the 1st of January, and spread its pulks of Cossacks far into France. Blücher, defeating Marshals Marmont and Victor, threw his Prussians and the troops of the late Confederation of the Rhine across that river, at three different points lower down the river, between Coblentz and Manheim. The French abandoned an entrenched camp and nearly all their fortresses on the left bank of the Rhine without a struggle; but, as most of these troops were kept together by marshals and officers of reputation, they must either have joined Bonaparte's army or have assisted him by joining those detached corps which were scattered over a wide surface of country to distract the attention of the allies or to secure communications. By the middle of January one-third of France was invaded. At a distance from the grand army under Bonaparte we trace three distinct armies; that of Marshal Soult, who was to keep Wellington in check; that of Marshal Augereau, who was to defend the line of the Rhone, and, if possible, to cover the city of Lyons; and that of General Maison, who was to find employment in Belgium to the forces under Bernadotte. Except the forces of Soult, it is not easy to say what was the strength of those separate armies. It appears that at one moment Augereau alone had 18,000 or 20,000 men in the neighbourhood of Lyons.

Bonaparte's first great object in taking the field was to throw himself between the armies of Schwartzenberg and Blücher, to prevent their junction and defeat one of them before the other could get to his assistance. This was his old and unvaried plan of operation, and his rapidity and the nature of the country now rendered it, for a short time, rather successful. The great river valleys (the Marne and Seine) through which the foremost columns of the allies were advancing into the heart of France, were separated by a broad tract of country, hilly in many places, and tolerably well furnished with military roads branching off right and left, and leading to either valley. On the 27th of January he gave the allies the first serious check they had received, by surprising and defeating a vanguard at St. Dizier. On the 29th he fell upon Blücher, near Brienne.

* Lord Castlereagh was assisted by his brother, General Sir Charles Stewart (the present Marquess of Londonderry), and by Lords Aberdeen and Cathcart.

The military college of Brienne, where Bonaparte had received his education, was close in sight, and was occupied by "Marshal Forwards" as his head-quarters. The battle, which commenced at a little after three in the afternoon, lasted till midnight, the latter part of it being carried on within the burning town of Brienne, which the French had bombarded in order to drive out the Prussians. That night Bonaparte, from the château of Brienne, penned one of his bulletins in the old style, and sent it off to Paris. He said that he had beaten Blücher, which was true; but he added that he had taken 15,000 prisoners and 40 pieces of cannon, and this was false; for he had scarcely captured 100 prisoners, and he had not taken a single gun. On the following day, about the hour of noon, the battle was renewed, by Bonaparte attacking Blücher, who had retreated to La Rothière, at the distance of only three or four miles from Brienne. Blücher gave way, and retreated three or four miles farther; but in the meanwhile General Yorck, with a Prussian division, got in Bonaparte's rear, and retook St. Dizier, where the French had been successful on the 27th; the Russian general Wittgenstein, supported by the Bavarian Wrede, defeated and drove in the cavalry destined to cover Bonaparte's movements, and the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, with a part of Schwartzenberg's army, was in full march to join Blücher. Suddenly, instead of continuing his retreat, Blücher resumed the offensive, and columns, not only of Austrians, but of Russians, Prussians, and Bavarians, were seen approaching. Bonaparte had the river Auve behind him, and only one narrow bridge by which to cross it: in such circumstances, and in presence of an enterprising enemy, he apprehended fatal consequences from a retreat, and preferred risking a general action, with a force decidedly inferior to that of the allies. The French centre was still at La Rothière, and the name of that village has been given to the battle, which began on the morning of the 1st of February, and lasted nearly twelve hours, but terminated in the defeat of the French. The sudden and scarcely accountable inaction of the Austrians, just at the critical moment, left open the only road by which Bonaparte could retreat. Crossing the Auve, abandoning Brienne, and leaving sixty pieces of cannon behind him, he retired towards Troyes, the old capital of Champagne, where he was joined by his old imperial guard. His reinforcements scarcely did more than make up the great numbers he had lost in the battles of Brienne and La Rothière; and, in spite of all his exertions, Schwartzenberg had effected his junction with Blücher. If these two chiefs had kept together, and had advanced straight upon Paris, the war would have been terminated in a fortnight; but they separated almost as soon as they joined, Schwartzenberg advancing upon Troyes, and Blücher taking his road on La Fère-Champenoise, thus to threaten Paris by two several routes. On the 5th of February Yorck made himself master of the town of Chalons-sur-Marne, and manœuvred on Bonaparte's flank, while other corps of the allies cleared nearly the whole of the plains of Champagne, whereon the French had boasted that they would give to the barbarians of the north some such signal defeat as their ancestors had given in those very regions to Attila and his hordes. These operations made it impossible for Bonaparte to maintain himself at Troyes; and on the 6th of February he abandoned that city, and went in pursuit of Blücher. On the 7th the van of Schwartzenberg's army entered Troyes, where the inhabitants hoisted the white flag, and shouted "Long live Louis XVIII." By moving off by a lateral road, and by marching with admirable rapidity, the French emperor overtook a part of Blücher's army on the 10th, near Champaubert, attacked it in flank, defeated it, and took about 2000 prisoners. On the 11th Bonaparte was still more successful at Montmirail; but, while he was maltreating Blücher, Schwartzenberg, pressing onward by the line of march he had chosen, kept slowly but steadily advancing upon the French capital; nor did he stop, as Bonaparte expected he would do, upon learning the reverses of the Prussians. Nothing in the broad valley of the Seine could oppose a valid resistance to Schwartzenberg's columns: Sens was taken, and Nogent, and Montereau, and Pont-sur-Seine, where Bonaparte's mother had a magnificent villa. Leaving Blücher, Bonaparte now posted after Schwartzenberg. On the 17th he came up with Schwartzenberg, in the valley of the Seine, near Nangis, and gained some trifling advantages over him. The French emperor, having been joined by Victor and Oudinot, was now at the head of 80,000 men, all in one compact body, while Schwartzenberg's forces, according to the incurable habit of Austrian generals, were marching in disjointed bodies, with long intervals between. The effect of their numerical superiority was thus lost; and on the 18th, when Bonaparte with his 80,000 men attacked the Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, whom Schwartzenberg had left with only 20,000 men to defend the important post of Montereau, the French gained a victory. This last affair made a good many people cry *Vive Napoleon* who had been just shaping their mouths to cry *Vive Louis XVIII.*; and it had a great effect in re-animating the spirit of the French soldiery. It became the cry of the camp, "One more affair like this of Montereau, and the invaders must retire beyond the Rhine." But, in sober truth, this affair was little more than a bloody skirmish. Bonaparte had succeeded by bringing a quadruple force against one portion of Schwartzenberg's army; and he was still surrounded by forces far superior to his own. Schwartzenberg, however, thought it expedient to re-unite his army to that of Blücher, from which it ought never to have been disunited. Moving by a shorter road, or at a quicker pace, Bonaparte fell upon Blücher before Schwartzenberg could join him, and on the 22nd of February gave him another

serious check. On the 24th the French attacked Schwartzenberg separately, and obliged him to retreat beyond Troyes. Bonaparte re-entered that ancient city, and issued a terrible proclamation against those who had cried *Vive Louis XVIII.*, or who had worn the cross of St. Louis or the white cockade, or who had assisted the allies in any way. "Every Frenchman," said the proclamation, "that has worn the signs or the decorations of the ancient régime is declared a traitor, and as such shall be judged by a military commission, and condemned to death. His property shall be confiscated to the state." One active royalist, the Chevalier de Goualt, was seized, tried, and executed within two hours; and died with the shout of *Vive le Roi!* But again the emperor found that he could not maintain himself in Troyes. No sooner was Blücher freed from his presence, than he drove the French under Marshal Macdonald before him, and continued his advance upon Paris. There was a great deal more of this see-saw work, which would scarcely be intelligible without minute and very long details; and there were not fewer than ten more battles and affairs fought on various points; but the result of the whole was that, in spite of his own promptitude and skill, and the many blunders of his adversaries, Bonaparte was over-matched by the odds against him, and was compelled to leave the road to Paris open to the allies. By a bold movement, intended to alarm them for their communications, he placed himself in the rear of the whole allied army, and was there joined by some considerable reinforcements; but the allies pressed on to his capital all the same, and their advance was now favoured not only by the indifference or the inertness of the population, but also by the encouragement and advice given by many French royalists. Marshal Marmont, who had glided between the army of Schwartzenberg and the capital, and who had collected about 20,000 regular troops, made a faint attempt to defend the heights in front of Paris; but he was driven back under the walls of that city. In vain did Joseph Bonaparte issue stirring proclamations—the great mass of the people of Paris were now not to be stirred by anything. Such enthusiasm as there was was left almost entirely to the military students of the Polytechnic school, who mounted batteries upon Montmartre, and displayed abundant courage. But on the 30th of March Schwartzenberg's army took possession of the whole line of defence which protected Paris on the north-eastern side. The empress-regent had fled from Paris to Blois some time before; and on the afternoon of this day Joseph, the emperor's lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the national guard, was nowhere to be found: he had been accustomed to rapid flights in Spain, and he had fled after the empress-regent. Marshals Mortier and Marmont now asked for an armistice, and this led to the immediate capitulation of Paris. On the 31st the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, who had been with Schwartzenberg's army ever since the battle of La Rothière, entered the capital of France amidst the acclamations of the Parisians, and a wondrous waving of white handkerchiefs, and a shouting of *Vivent les Alliés! Vivent les Bourbons!* The French writers, who consider these demonstrations as very dishonourable to the national character, pretend to assert that the cries were raised only by the perverse aristocracy of the Faubourg St. Germain, and that the white handkerchiefs, emblematic of the Bourbon flag, were waved only by some antiquated chevaliers de St. Louis and other old women of that description; but those who heard the sounds and saw the sight declare that so loud a shouting could not have been raised by a few hundreds of voices; that the white handkerchiefs were displayed in every street and from the windows of almost every house; and that women of the poorer class were making a little fortune by selling white ribands to cut up into cockades, even as in the days of Camille Desmoulins great profits had been made in the Palais Royal by vending ribands, red, white, and blue, to make the tricolor and true republican cockade. That night, as on the preceding night, when the wounded French filled the streets, the theatres of Paris were all open, and were about as full as usual: but this, say the French writers, was entirely owing to the order and management of the police, who wanted to keep the desperate citizens quiet, and to prevent any further useless waste of life and limbs. Bonaparte now came flying back to the relief of the capital; but he came too late: Paris was already in the undisturbed possession of the allies; and, since the courage of the military youth had been extinguished on Montmartre, not a sword had leaped from its scabbard for him or for his dynasty. At Fontainebleau he met the columns of the garrison which had evacuated Paris. He affected great astonishment, and greater indignation against Marshal Marmont; but no man in his senses thought that Marmont, with his diminutive force, and with no popular support, could have done more than he had done. Several of his old generals now told him the unpalatable truth that he ought to abdicate, as the conferences at Chatillon had been broken up, and as the allied sovereigns declared that they would no longer treat with him. He hurried into the gloomy old palace of Fontainebleau, which not long since had been the prison of the pope, and shut himself up with his maddening reflections.

Meanwhile the counter-revolution went on in Paris, and in other towns in France, at the charging pace. Many preparations had been made for it while he was contending against the allies in Champagne and in the valleys of the Seine and Marne. On the 21st of February the Comte d'Artois, who had been the first of the royal family to emigrate, arrived at Vesoul with the rear-guard of the grand allied army, and issued a proclamation, telling the French people that the day of their deliverance was at hand; that the brother of their king had arrived among them; that there should be no more tyranny,

no more war, no more conscriptions; and this proclamation, being sent to Paris, had been printed at a private press, and pretty widely distributed. On the 12th of March the Duke of Angoulême had entered Bordeaux—the first city which openly declared for the Bourbons—and had been received with transports of joy. On entering Paris the Emperor Alexander went straight to the mansion of M. de Talleyrand, and there, for the present, took up his abode. On the next day the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzenberg, Prince Lichtenstein, Count Pozzo di Borgo, and some other generals and diplomatists of the allies assembled in Talleyrand's house and opened conferences with him and the Emperor Alexander. There could no longer be any doubt as to the proper answer to be given to the question which had been so incessantly asked throughout Paris in the months of December and January—*Qu'en pense M. de Talleyrand?* Talleyrand now thought that it was the end of the end. He readily agreed with the allied sovereigns that it would be insanity to treat with Bonaparte, and that the best assurance of peace for Europe and the greatest blessing for France would be the immediate restoration of the Bourbons, with a mild and limited form of government. Many Frenchmen of rank or celebrity, who had been invited to the meeting, as the Duke Dalberg, the Abbé de Pradt, the Abbé Louis, General Buernonville, &c., assented to the opinions of Talleyrand. On the next day, the 1st of April, a proclamation in the name of the Emperor Alexander, and a proclamation from the municipality of Paris, were posted side by side, on the walls of the city. The imperial scroll emphatically declared that the allied sovereigns, though ready to grant the most favourable conditions of peace to the Bourbons, would no longer negotiate with Napoleon Bonaparte or with any member of his family. The paper of the municipality, which was duly signed by all the members of the general council, declared that the free expression of opinion had too long been kept down by tyranny and military force, but that now the magistrates of the people would be traitors if they did not give utterance to the voice of their conscience and proclaim to the French nation that all the evils which oppressed them were attributable to one single man. It concluded with the solemn declaration that they, the municipals, abjured for ever all obedience to the *usurper* in order to return to their *legitimate masters*. On the same day, the 1st of April, the senators assembled under the presidency of M. de Talleyrand, and proceeded, with a rapidity equalling that of some of their emperor's late marches, to pronounce and decree that Napoleon Bonaparte, in consequence of sundry arbitrary acts and violations of the *Constitution*, and by his refusing to treat with the allies upon honourable conditions, had forfeited the throne and the right of inheritance established in his family; and that the people and the army of France were freed from their oaths of allegiance to him. A provisional government was then formed, consisting of Talleyrand, Dalberg, Buernonville, and some others.* On the invitation of the provisional government all the members of the *Corps Législatif* who chanced to be in Paris assembled in their House or Chamber on the 3rd of April, assented to the decree of the senate, and, "considering that Napoleon Bonaparte had violated the constitutional pact," and "adhering to the act of the senate," they recognised and declared "the *déchéance* of the said Napoleon Bonaparte, and the members of his family." This done, the members went in a body to present the homages (*les hommages*) of the *Corps Législatif* to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. On the same day the High Court of Cassation sent in their act of adhesion to the provisional government, and in the course of the following day nearly all the civil authorities and corporate bodies followed the example. On the 4th of April, Marshal Marmont, being freed from his oath to the emperor, accepted the invitation of the provisional government and engaged to place the troops which remained to him (about 10,000 or 12,000 men) "under the flag of the good French cause." But most of Marmont's troops either deserted immediately, or ran to join their emperor at Fontainebleau. Before taking his decisive step Marmont had bargained with Prince Schwartzenberg that the life and liberty of his late master should be guaranteed by the allies, and that his future residence, in some safe but circumscribed country, should be fixed by the allied sovereigns; and he had sent copies of his correspondence with Schwartzenberg and the provisional government to Bonaparte, on the night of the 3rd. Early on the morning of the 4th, before Marmont had given any orders to his troops, Marshals Ney, Berthier, Lefebvre, Oudinot, Macdonald, and Bertrand waited upon Bonaparte. Ney, who was deputed to speak for them all, recommended an immediate abdication. Maret and Caulaincourt were present, and could not deny that this step was no longer a matter of choice. "Is this the advice of the generals?" said the fallen emperor. "Yes, Sire," replied Ney. "Is it the wish of the army?"—"Yes, Sire," was Ney's answer. Bonaparte immediately retired and signed an act of abdication. But, as in this act there was a reservation in favour of the rights of his son and of the empress, all the marshals and ministers present were convinced that it would not do. Marshals Ney and Macdonald, however, agreed to accompany Caulaincourt to Paris with this act. They there met the answer they expected—the coalized powers could not accept the conditions introduced in that act, being already officially engaged not to treat with any member of the family of Napoleon Bonaparte. The Emperor Alexander put forward the proposition about the island of Elba, with the retention of the imperial title, a large annual allowance from France, &c. It was Marshal Ney that transmitted this proposition to Fontainebleau, with the recommendation that it should immediately be accepted. Bonaparte ap-

* Hist. Parlement.

peared willing to accept what was offered; but he delayed signing an unconditional act, in order to gain time. He was not without hope of working upon the feelings of his father-in-law, the Emperor Francis; he had not yet received any answer to various applications he had made to that sovereign; the forces which Suchet had withdrawn from Spain were still intact; Soult's final catastrophe at Toulouse had not yet happened; the British troops had met with a bloody check at Bergen-op-Zoom; Bernadotte had shown some shyness in advancing against his native country; Carnot was holding out stoutly in Antwerp; the war was not wholly finished either in Holland or in Belgium; and in Italy Eugene Beauharnais, though worsted, was not yet crushed;—something might yet turn up, and desperate men grasp at desperate hopes. But the Emperor of Austria remained inflexible; every courier that reached Fontainebleau brought bad intelligence, both as to the troops in the field and as to the temper of the inhabitants, who, in many parts of France, seemed to be settling down quietly under the Bourbon government; the allies became impatient; Alexander, who was playing the magnanimous part, intimated that a longer delay might lead to harsher terms, and at last, on the 11th of April, Bonaparte signed a second act, in which he "renounced unconditionally, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy." The Emperor Alexander's proposition that he should retain the title of Emperor, with the sovereignty of the island of Elba and a revenue of 6,000,000 francs, to be paid by France, was then agreed to by the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia. The bargain was concluded without the very necessary assent or signature of the provisional government of France, or of Louis XVIII., whose restoration had now been fully settled. England herself was no party to the treaty; but she afterwards gave her consent to it. It is said that, during his stay at Fontainebleau, Bonaparte had repeatedly talked of suicide, and that the night after signing the unconditional act of abdication he attempted to poison himself with opium. The last fact, at least, seems to be very doubtful; but it is worth observing that it is most seriously insisted upon by some of those who most admired the man and his deeds. It was now expected that he would quit at once the scene of his humiliation, and hasten to Elba; but he lingered in that old French palace nine days longer. During this interval he received, with other black news, the intelligence not only that Soult had been beaten by Wellington, but that both Soult and Suchet, like the rest of his marshals, had sent in their adhesion to the provisional government. Finally, on the morning of the 20th of April, the dethroned emperor took an affectionate leave of his old guard, or of all that remained of it, and of such of his generals as had remained at Fontainebleau, and then began his journey towards the south of France, accompanied by a very strong escort of French troops, and attended by four commissioners appointed by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England. As soon as he got into the regions of the south he found that his strong escort and the presence of the allied commissioners were very necessary to the preservation of his life. At Avignon, and in several other towns of Provence, he was exposed to popular outrages and menaces, which had the humiliating effect of making him disguise himself in a foreign uniform. At Orgon the people hanged him in effigy. At last he arrived at Fréjus, the very port that received him on his return from Egypt and his lucky escape from the English cruisers fourteen years ago. Here he shut himself up in a solitary apartment, which he traversed with impatient steps, sometimes pausing to watch, from a window overlooking the sea, the arrival of the vessel which was to convey him from France, as it then seemed (but not, as we believe, to him), for ever. A French frigate and a brig had come round from Toulon; but he preferred embarking on board an English man-of-war to sailing in the French frigate under the Bourbon flag. The 'Undaunted,' Captain Usher, was placed at the disposal of the British commissioner Sir Niel Campbell; and in this ship Bonaparte embarked at eleven o'clock at night, on the 28th of April, under a salute of twenty-one guns. "Farewell to Cæsar and his fortune!" exclaimed the Russian commissioner Schuwaloff. This Russian, and Count Truchses Waldberg, the Prussian commissioner, returned to Paris; but General Baron Kohler, the Austrian envoy, and Sir Niel Campbell, accompanied Bonaparte on his voyage, and afterwards remained on the island with him. During the voyage he recovered his spirits, and was very talkative. He spoke disparagingly of the troops and of nearly all the generals of Austria, Russia, and Prussia; but he paid a high compliment to the fortitude, bravery, energy, and activity of "Marshal Forwards." "That old devil, Blücher," he said, "gave me most trouble. He was always ready to fight again. If I beat him in the evening, there he was again next morning! If I routed him in the morning, he rallied and fought again before night!" He insisted that the English, availing themselves of their own strength and of the weakness of the restored Bourbons, would pursue a very selfish policy, and extort from Louis XVIII. some commercial treaty and other concessions disadvantageous to France and ruinous to her commerce and manufactures. "These Bourbonists," said he, "are poor devils. . . . . I mean to say they are *Grands Seigneurs!* They are very glad to get back to their forfeited estates, and to draw their rents; but, if the French people see *that*, they will become discontented, and *the Bourbons will be turned off in six months.*"

It was on the 4th of May that the 'Undaunted' arrived off Porto-Ferrajo, the humble capital of his miniature empire. But Bonaparte did not land until the following morning, when he was received with as much state and parade as the poor island authorities could manage. On surveying

his new dominions from the summit of one of the highest hills, whence the sea was visible all round him, it is said that he shook his head with affected solemnity, and exclaimed, in a bantering tone, "*Eh! Il faut avouer que mon île est bien petite!*" But, besides the little island and the surrounding sea, the fair coast of Tuscany, whence his race had originally sprung, was distinctly visible, and separated only by a narrow channel, with two rocky islets between, as if for stepping-stones to some mighty giant to pass from the continent to the isle, or from the isle to the continent. And, standing on the heights of Elba as the sun goes down, the greyish-blue hills of Italy appear so near, that one might almost fancy he could throw his cap upon them. Italy, and more particularly the nearest part of it, abounded with partisans, or with people who, on the whole, had received more good than evil from Bonaparte. If the allies had taken the map of the world, and had carefully studied it for the purpose of finding a place where the most dangerous of men should have the most opportunities of corresponding with his friends both in France and Italy, and should have the best means and facilities for attempting new mischief, they could not have found a place so suitable as the island of Elba.

On the 9th of April, eleven days before Bonaparte quitted Fontainebleau, Maria Louisa, with her son, quitted Blois to place herself under the protection of her father, the Emperor of Austria. About the same time the provisional government and the senate drew up and published the sketch of a constitution, which was to be accepted by Louis XVIII. They declared that the French people freely (*librement*) called to the throne of France Louis XVIII., brother to the last king, Louis XVI., and after him the other members of the house of Bourbon, &c. The first signature to this document was that of Talleyrand; but it was followed by those of a good many of the most determined partisans of Bonaparte, who had cared little for a constitution so long as he was emperor. It should appear that the great constitution-maker Sièyes was not consulted: his name is not on the list; but he had previously written a letter to declare his adhesion to the *déchéance* of Napoleon. On the afternoon of the 11th of April, the day on which the emperor signed his unconditional act of abdication at Fontainebleau, Louis's brother, the Count d'Artois, arrived in the neighbourhood of Paris. On the 12th they gave him a grand reception in the capital. Talleyrand delivered the address of welcome. The prince replied, "Nothing is changed in France; there is only one Frenchman more come among you." The sincere enthusiasm, however, was chiefly confined to the Count d'Artois's own retinue and the denizens of the aristocratic faubourg of St. Germain; the lower order of people seemed to be moved by curiosity and astonishment rather than any other feeling; and it was not without a painful surprise that some of the French, who wished well to the prince and to the cause of his ancient race, saw the procession closed by a squadron of grim Cossacks. The Duke of Angoulême came on from Bordeaux, where he had met with a truly enthusiastic reception; and, quitting his rural retirement in England, the amiable and pacific Louis XVIII. prepared to embark for the continent. He was conducted into London by the prince regent, and by many thousands of applauding Englishmen. On the 24th of April he embarked at Dover in a royal yacht, commanded for the occasion by the Duke of Clarence. The authorities, and even the people of Calais, gave him what seemed to be a cordial welcome; and they afterwards cut the form of the sole of his foot in the stone at the pier-head upon which it was said he had first stepped on landing in his beloved and loving France: but all this was hollower than the cavity they cut in the stone; and the wits of Calais and other parts of France were soon seen laughing over the foot-mark, and wondering what business a king of France could have with so big a foot. On May the 3d, two days before Bonaparte made his solemn entry into Porto-Ferrajo, poor Louis, who had been happier with his books and chosen friends in his English country-house, made his solemn entrance into Paris. The scene is said to have passed off in perfect order and decorum. On the preceding day he had published a declaration respecting the future constitution of France, in which he fully recognised the rights of the country to a free form of government, and signified his approbation of the basis of the constitution as framed by the senate and the provisional government; but in which he intimated, with perfect reason and justice, that many of the articles contained in that very hasty sketch of a constitution bore the appearance of precipitation, and could not, in their existing form, and under present circumstances, become the law of the state. Hence arose the interminable and bitter quarrel about '*la Charte octroyée par le roi*,' and '*la charte exigée et faite par la nation Française*.'

As new actors came upon the scene, many old ones departed from it, some to go into retirement or exile, and some to go into the grave. Among those who went the last way was Josephine, Bonaparte's first wife, who had certainly done much to aid him in his first rise. She died on Sunday the 26th of May, in her house of Malmaison.

On the 30th of May the allied powers of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed at Paris a treaty of peace and amity with France, as represented by her restored monarch. The treaty secured to France the integrity of its boundaries as they existed on January 1, 1792; and it even granted (in order to improve and strengthen these boundaries) certain augmentations of territory on the side of Germany, on the side of Belgium, and on the side of Italy. The contracting parties agreed that an increase of territory should be given to Holland; that the lesser German states should be independent, and united by a Germanic federal league; that Switzerland should continue to enjoy

its independence under the government it had chosen; and that Italy (beyond the limits of the Austrian dominion, which was to be restored) should be composed of sovereign independent states. Of the two great stumbling-blocks, the Cape and Malta, which had been thrown in the way of previous negotiations with England, the Cape of Good Hope had been secured to the British crown by a separate treaty with Holland; and by this present treaty of Paris the island of Malta and its dependencies were admitted as belonging of right to Great Britain. But on her part Great Britain bargained and agreed to give back to France all the colonies, factories, &c., possessed by her in 1792, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France; and at the same time she bound herself to restore several islands and colonies to Spain, who was incapable of keeping them. Pondicherry was of course given back (to become, if time and accidents should serve, a *foyer* of intrigue, insurrection, and war); and France was to enjoy all the facilities of commerce with our Indian empire which the British government granted to the most favoured nations, only binding herself on her part not to erect any fortifications in the establishments restored to her in that country. Her former rights of fishery on the bank of Newfoundland, &c., were all to be restored as they were by the peace of 1783. Portugal, our ally, was to give up to France all that she held of French Guiana, &c. The materials in the naval arsenals, and the ships of war surrendered by France by the convention signed with the allies in April, were to be divided between France and the countries in which such arsenals, ports, &c., were situated. As the best test they could offer of their moderation, as the best proof they could give of the sincerity of their repeated declarations that they meant no ill to France, that they waged war not against the French people but only against Bonaparte, the allied powers agreed that their armies should evacuate the French territories, and that the French prisoners of war should all be restored as soon as possible. And by the beginning of June France was completely evacuated by the foreign armies, and left to manage her own affairs. As far as regarded France, the arrangements of this treaty of Paris were considered as final; but there remained to be made other settlements of the most extensive and complicated kind; the greater part of Europe required re-organization, and her past misfortunes and bitter sufferings demanded some preconcerted defences and guarantees for the future: and it was therefore agreed, in a special article of the treaty of Paris, that all the powers engaged in the late war should send plenipotentiaries to a congress to be holden at Vienna, for the object of completing the pacific dispositions of the present treaty, and of preventing, as far as human policy could, the recurrence of war and devastation.

When the allied sovereigns fancied they had completed their work at Paris, the Emperor of Russia with his sister, and the King of Prussia with his two sons, come over to visit the prince regent in London. They were accompanied and followed by uncountable counts, barons, dukes, princes, marshals, and generals, out of whom the English populace instinctively selected for their heartiest welcome brave old Blücher and Platoff the Hettman of the Cossacks. Their reception by prince and people was as honourable and flattering as it well could be, and such continuous shows and spectacles and feasts were given as London had never before witnessed.

A few words must suffice for the inferior and dependent operations of arms, and for the re-establishment of the old governments of the continent. First for Holland and Belgium:—Bernadotte, with a mixed army of Swedes and Germans, reached Cologne in Germany, and pushed forward some troops into Holland, to reduce some of the strong fortresses which the French still held, and to co-operate with the weak English force under Sir Thomas Graham. Several of these places surrendered upon summons; but, on the 7th of March, Graham, in attempting to carry by escalade and storm the formidable works of Bergen-op-Zoom, was repulsed with a lamentable loss. The French game was, however, up in that country; and the corps of General Winzingerode soon pushed forward into Belgium as far as the field of Waterloo. There was nothing in that country that could long oppose the allies; and the citizens of Brussels and the Belgian people generally seemed to testify a gladness for any change which should disconnect them from France, and put an end to the conscription. In the mean time the restored Prince of Orange, who now assumed the royal title, offered a new constitution to the Dutch nation, which was accepted at Amsterdam on the 28th of March, in an assembly of representatives, by a majority of 458 votes against 25. On May the 2nd, the States General of the United Provinces met at the Hague, and took the oaths to the new constitution. When Belgium was entirely freed from French troops, the country was left under the military government of the Austrian General Vincent; and at first it was imagined that the Emperor Francis would reclaim these old hereditary dominions of his house. But Austria had had quite enough of these distant and disconnected and generally discontented subjects; and had resolved to give up all Belgium rather than involve herself in fresh troubles by asserting her old sovereignty. The Belgians, if left to themselves, were far too weak to resist their neighbours the French; and therefore it was conceived by the allies that the best thing that could be done for Europe and for Belgium itself would be to unite that country to Holland, under the mild and constitutional government of the house of Orange. If this union could have been perfected, a strong barrier would have been raised against France, and two peoples would have been made one, whose interests, in many respects, coincided (the Dutch having shipping and colonies, having very little agriculture,

and being a very trading nation,—the Belgians having no shipping, no sea-ports, no colonies, but being a manufacturing people with a flourishing agriculture and a rich soil, and having scarcely any outlet either for their manufactures or for their produce); but, unhappily, the two peoples were different in religion, different in character and manners, and widely and almost hostilely separated by inveterate prejudices and antipathies. But it is much easier to blame the allies for what they did than to suggest anything better that they could have done. The Belgian people, correctly speaking, had never had a nationality; such turbulent independence as they had once possessed had been effete and effaced for many ages; and their country was, and still remains, in spite of guarantees and family alliances, open to French ambition, as being weak and helpless. In the beginning of August Belgium was evacuated by the Prussian and Russian troops, whose places were supplied by English troops, or by Germans in English pay. In the month of August the Sovereign of the Netherlands made his arrangements with the Prince Regent of England, resigning all the rights of the Dutch to the Cape of Good Hope, but getting back Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, the immense island of Java, the rich island of Sumatra, and nearly every one of the colonies and settlements we had taken from them, whether in the West or East Indies, except the settlements in Ceylon.

The magnanimity which was shown to France was not extended to her weak ally Denmark. The conduct of that court nearly all through the war had been calculated to leave hostile feelings in the mind of England and of other powers. Denmark was to be punished for her obstinate adherence to Bonaparte, and Sweden was to be rewarded for the exertions she had made in the common cause at the critical moment. To bring the Frenchman Bernadotte into the field and to keep him there, the allies had promised to annex Norway to his dominions. The fortunate Gascon had himself pretty well secured the fulfilment of this promise by conquering a good part of Denmark in the autumn of 1813, and by imposing his own convention. The Norwegians, who had not been consulted, preferred retaining their old connexion with Denmark, or rather, they rallied round Christian Frederick, the Hereditary Prince of Denmark, who aimed at a separate sovereignty, and proclaimed their entire national independence. They sent an envoy to London, to endeavour to procure the countenance of our government; but the envoy was told that our engagements with the allies would not admit of any measures in favour of the independence of Norway; and shortly afterwards our Gazette informed them that the necessary means had been ordered for blockading the ports of Norway, unless that country submitted. The King of Denmark, having no power to oppose the will of the allies, and evidently no satisfaction at the proceedings of Prince Christian Frederick, disavowed the latter, and strongly condemned them in a letter to the Norwegian patriots. Bernadotte, on the other hand, solemnly promised the people of Norway the full enjoyment of their very popular municipal institutions, and of a free representative constitution, with the right of taxing themselves, &c. The Norwegian patriots, however, flew to arms, and put their old crown on the head of Prince Christian. This brought across their fiords, and among their mountains, Bernadotte and a veteran Swedish army accustomed to conquest. The struggle was very short, and not at all sanguinary; the Norwegians were not all of one mind, but of many minds; there was a considerable party for the Swedes, and a still greater party who felt that they had not the means of contending against them, and who thought that Bernadotte's offers, which he repeated while fighting, were good and liberal, and would leave them a better government than they had enjoyed during their annexation to Denmark. And thus, when their inexperienced little army had been defeated in some petty actions, and had got itself surrounded by the Swedes, Prince Christian resigned the crown which he had worn about two months, and the Norwegian notables, on the 14th of August, signed a convention with Bernadotte, who therein agreed to accept the very free and very democratic constitution which had been framed by the Diet of Norway, and to bury in oblivion the resistance which had been made to him. At a general diet of the nation, a great majority voted (on the 20th of October) for the union of Norway with Sweden, with the proviso and condition that their constitution should be punctually observed.

As some continental gratification to the royal family of England, Hanover, their ancient home, was somewhat enlarged, and raised to the titular dignity of a kingdom under the rule of his Britannic Majesty; but with the Salic bar to the succession when it should fall to a female. To this country too a form of a constitution was given —not a model, perhaps, of perfection, but not altogether unsuited to the condition of the people.

In Italy Murat had striven hard to keep his crown on his head, as his brother soldier of fortune was keeping his. He also hoped to extend his dominions, by procuring the annexation of territories incomparably richer and far more submissive than Norway; but he had neither the steadiness and wisdom of the Gascon, nor was backed like Bernadotte by a warlike people. Almost immediately after his return from Leipzig, he sent over with a flag of truce a young Neapolitan nobleman, the Marchese di ——, to confer with Lord William Bentinck in Sicily. Awaiting more ample instructions from his government, Lord William agreed to an armistice, with a limited renewal of commercial intercourse; and, to the infinite joy of the Neapolitan people, several English merchantmen, laden with colonial produce and British manufactures, put into the port of Naples and discharged their cargoes. At the same time, Murat secretly sent another most confidential

agent to Vienna to conciliate that court, and to propose a truce in Italy, which might enable the Austrians to cross the Alps and fall upon Eugene Beauharnais in Lombardy. The offer was tempting, for the recovery of Lombardy and Venice was ever the object nearest the heart of the Emperor Francis, his government, and army. As early as the end of December, 1813, Count Neiperg (whose fortune it afterwards was to become the husband of Bonaparte's widow, Maria Louisa) arrived at Naples, with powers from the Emperor of Austria to conclude a treaty and league with Murat. And on the 11th of January, 1814, the Duca di Gallo, Murat's Neapolitan minister for foreign affairs (and the old diplomatist who had negotiated for Austria, with Bonaparte, the sad treaty of Campo Formio), concluded a treaty, by which the Emperor Francis recognized the sovereignty of King Joachim in the states he actually possessed (states which had belonged to the husband of the emperor's own sister, Caroline of Austria), and King Joachim recognised all the ancient rights of the emperor to Lombardy and the other states in Upper Italy. The active part of this strange, precipitate agreement was this:—The emperor was to throw 70,000 men into Italy, Murat was to advance to the Po and to the Adige with 30,000 Neapolitans; and the two armies in conjunction were to reduce Mantua and all the strong fortresses in Upper Italy, and drive Beauharnais and the last of his Frenchmen beyond the Alps. By a secret clause in the treaty, Murat was to be rewarded by a good slice cut out of the States of the Church.—Having once made up his mind, Murat knew no rest until he began the work. Two divisions of his Neapolitan army were hurried forward to take possession of Rome and Ancona; but the French General Miollis kept possession of the castle of Sant' Angelo, in Rome, in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, and General Barbou did the same with the fortress of Ancona; and neither general would give credit to Murat's assurances that he was only playing a part to dupe the Austrians and serve the common cause of Frenchmen. That king, with a crown that tottered the more he tried to fix it, came up with greater forces; but he shrunk from firing the first shots at his own countrymen, and, leaving a division to blockade Barbou, and some troops in Rome to watch Miollis, he continued his journey towards Bologna. His sincerity at the moment, or his intention to abide by the Austrian treaty, seems to be proved by the fact that all the French generals, and very nearly all the French officers in his service (many of them old companions and close friends), deserted from him and went and joined Beauharnais. But no other proof was required than the insults he had received from Bonaparte, and his inward conviction that the doom of his brother-in-law was sealed. He vacillated most miserably afterwards; and even now he showed that his weak head was incapable of getting through the dilemma into which the course of events, not less than his own impatience, had thrust it; but, in the beginning of 1814, Murat was as seriously bent upon wreaking his vengeance on the Viceroy Eugene, and as surely calculated on preserving and aggrandising his dominions by co-operating with Austria, as a man of his impressible and vacillating turn of mind and bewildered intellect could be bent upon anything. Barbou soon surrendered in Ancona through want of provisions; Miollis evacuated the Roman citadel for the same cogent reason; and some other French garrisons capitulated upon condition of being allowed to return into France with the honours of war. Florence, Leghorn, and Ferrara were occupied by Neapolitan troops. At this moment, or rather a day or two before the entrance of Murat's division into Leghorn, Lord William Bentinck, who was going from Sicily with his Anglo-Sicilian army to drive the French out of Genoa, lay-to off the port of Leghorn, landed some troops in the suburbs, and treated that town with a short and very useless cannonade, which wounded an old woman and made a few dents in the walls. Lord William, the ally of Austria, was almost the ally of Murat, but his Neapolitan majesty was agitated and alarmed at the appearance of this Anglo-Sicilian armament, and he sent orders to his general to put Leghorn in a state of defence, to keep a good look out against any surprise, and to repel force by force if Bentinck should use any. His anxiety became the greater as, owing to contrary winds or some other circumstances, our men-of-war and transports continued to lie for two or three days in Leghorn roads. It was a strange alliance! Murat suspected and feared Bentinck, both Bentinck and the Austrian generals suspected, if they did not fear, Murat, and it was not with unmixed satisfaction that the Austrians saw Bentinck's armament welcomed on that Italian coast by the mass of the people. Yet they were all to co-operate and to act upon a combined plan of movements. Marshal Bellegarde, who had found little or nothing to oppose his passage, was now on the Mincio with 45,000 Austrians, Murat was on the Po with 22,000 Neapolitans, and with General Nugent's Austrian corps of 8000 serving under him, while on Murat's left, and on the other side of the Apennines, Lord William Bentinck, having landed his troops, was on the mountains of Sarzana, near Genoa, with from 8000 to 10,000 men—about as motley an army as ever had been seen, composed of Sicilians, Calabrians, Italian free corps, and Italian insurgents, Greeks, Albanians, and Croats, mingled with English. To oppose to these three several armies Eugene Beauharnais had in the plains of Lombardy a mixed army of French and Italians, from 50,000 to 60,000 strong, and several fortresses of the first order. His spirit rose and fell according to the varying nature of the intelligence he received of Bonaparte's defensive campaign in the interior of France; but he was steady to the cause, and made the best use of his good news, and after the victories obtained over the

allies at Nangis and Montereau he issued magniloquent proclamations to the Italian people, to show them that their fate must still depend on Napoleon. On the other side Marshal Bellegarde was calling upon the Lombards to return to their allegiance to their ancient, kind, and forgiving sovereign the Emperor Francis; Lord William Bentinck, with a zeal that was not justified by the circumstances of the case or by the orders of his government, was proclaiming nothing less than the Independence of Italy; and Murat was wondering how these conflicting proclamations would operate upon the Italians and upon his own interests. The embarrassment of all parties, but most of all that of Murat, was increased by a notable incident, which created more excitement among the peasantry and the popular masses throughout Italy than ten thousand proclamations of independence, or any other kind of proclamation or manifesto could have done. Having nothing to hope from his further detention, Bonaparte, on the 22nd of January, sent an order to Fontainebleau that the Pope should leave that place the next day and return to Italy. Pius VII. set off accompanied by an escort, and was taken by slow journeys back to his native country, where he was received by all the populace and by the devout Catholics of all classes with rapturous joy. Murat, who had occupied Rome and Ancona, and other parts of the papal states, and who calculated upon keeping some of that territory, was thrown into consternation by the news of this arrival and enthusiastic reception, which was not communicated to him officially, but which he gleaned merely from the loud-sounding popular voice. At first he thought of stopping the old pontiff on his journey; but he shrunk from the danger of this experiment, and felt that it was not his arms that could shut out from the Eternal City that feeble and aged priest, who was carried forward by the irresistible opinions of the Italian people. On arriving at a bridge on the river Nura, in the state of Parma, Pius, surrounded and followed by a countless multitude, met the advanced posts of the Neapolitan army, and saw the greater part of those soldiers quit their ranks, fall down on their knees before him, and implore his passing blessing. Murat had instructed his general Carascosa to wait upon his holiness, to offer him all respect and reverence, but at the same time to attempt to persuade him to remain for the present at Parma or Piacenza. But the old pontiff would not be moved from his fixed purpose. He said he was going onward, not to the city of Rome, but to the little town of Cesena, his birth-place; and thither he would go with God's blessing, though he went on foot. Carascosa wrote to his master, who was then at Bologna, to tell him that the poor old pope was more formidable than an army, and to implore him not to think of offering any resistance, but to yield to public opinion. Murat's Neapolitan ministers also advised him to take advantage of the religious enthusiasm, and to declare at once for the pope and the people. Such a course might have been attended with consequences very favourable to Murat, but, as a beginning, it was necessary that the pontiff should take Murat into his favour and confidence, and agree with him as to the measures to be adopted; and this Pius never for one moment thought of doing. The pope saw Murat at Bologna, and conferred for some time with him, but he entered into no arrangement either verbally or in writing; he asked nothing but to be allowed to continue his journey to his native town, and by the route—along the ancient Æmilian road—which he had chosen. The king of the armed host would fain have made him take another road, through Tuscany, but he durst not enforce this wish; and the pontiff travelled along the road made by the consuls of old Rome, escorted from town to town by thousands of the people. Thus he reached Cesena, where he remained until the allies had finished their work in France and Bonaparte had taken up his residence in Elba.

The news of the temporary reverses of the allies which reached Beauharnais reached Murat also, and very evidently shook his infirm purpose. He was, however, called forward to the field by Bentinck and Bellegarde, and the Franco-Italic army of the viceroy threw him into a rage and hastened his advance, by crossing the Po and falling upon Nugent and Carascosa, and capturing some Neapolitan troops. Nothing that followed deserves the name of a battle; but there were some sharp skirmishes under the walls of Reggio, at Borgoforte, at the bridge of Sacca, at Sandonnino, and two or three other places in the Lombard country about the Po, the Mincio, and the Taro; and in these combats the Neapolitans, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes in conjunction with the Austrians, beat the Italian and French troops of Beauharnais. In the affair at Reggio the Neapolitans displayed considerable alacrity and bravery; but, unhappily, the blood they shed was Italian blood, like their own, the viceroy's troops opposed to them there being nearly all natives of Upper Italy. Murat was seen to grieve at his very successes; and he could hardly be brought to look upon the field when Beauharnais put forward in battle order native French troops commanded by old French generals, who had been in earlier life his friends and his own brother-officers. Murat had at once too much heart and too little head to steer through the dilemma in which he was; he was doubly incapacitated for going through with the part which his old comrade Bernadotte had played so successfully. Eugene Beauharnais was beaten and in full retreat, and the Austrians were threatening Milan, and the Neapolitans were pressing forward upon Piacenza, when, on the 15th of April, Marshal Bellegarde announced to Murat that the allies had captured Paris, that the French government had been wholly changed, and that the Viceroy Eugene had agreed with the Austrians for a suspension of hostilities in Italy. On the same day a French officer, a friend, who had been sent into France by Murat to obtain an accurate know-

ledge of what was passing there, returned to his employer, who then had his head-quarters close to Piacenza. The dismal news this Frenchman brought might prove that Murat had been so far right in his calculation as to have chosen the stronger party, and to have declared against his brother-in-law at the very nick of time; yet the fearful catastrophe gave him sorrow and not joy; he turned deadly pale, and was for a time quite unmanned. He quitted his army, returned to Firenzuola, and thence to Bologna again.

Before this news arrived it was evident that Beauharnais could not maintain himself, and that the dominion of the French beyond the Alps was at an end. The viceroy had no money and hardly any resources, for Italy had been drained by his stepfather: the peasantry of Lombardy were welcoming back the Austrians; popular insurrections were breaking out on both sides; and the liberal party among the nobility and citizens (not wholly uninfluenced by Bentinck's flags and proclamations) were aspiring to independence and a constitution. When Bonaparte's abdication became known, everywhere these movements increased in rapidity and boldness. The government of the viceroy and the entire French system in Lombardy were broken up in a day. The people of Milan, reinforced by the people of Pavia and other towns, and by the peasantry of the neighbourhood, rose in a mass, broke the statue of Napoleon, tore down all the eagles, and murdered in the streets his chief minister Prina, who had been a harsh taskmaster, and inexorable in enforcing the conscription and the heavy taxation. The nobles and citizens of the liberal party then named a provisional government, to act, not in the name of the Emperor of Austria, the old sovereign of the country, but in the name of the free and independent Lombard nation; and this rapidly improvised government, composed chiefly of enthusiastic, inexperienced, and inexpert men, drew up the plan of a constitution, as if it had been a sonnet or a madrigal, dispatched ambassadors with it to the allied sovereigns, and sent the first copy of it to Lord William Bentinck, who was considered as its sponsor. Eugene Beauharnais, whose own life was threatened by some of the insurgents, hastened to conclude a convention with Bellegarde: the French troops in his service were allowed to return to France; his Italian troops were to remain quiet in the country they occupied until the grand alliance should give further orders; and upon this, without returning to Milan, Beauharnais travelled through the passes of the Tyrol, and repaired to Munich to seek (and he found it) an hospitable and a tranquil asylum with his father-in-law the King of Bavaria.

Lord William Bentinck, having landed his troops in the Gulf of Spezzia, began to move rapidly forward upon Genoa on the 7th of April. On the banners of his Italian legion were inscribed, in large letters of gold, or in rich silk embroidery, the magical words "INDIPENDENZA DELL' ITALIA," an inscription which produced a great excitement among some of the higher classes of the Italians, but which conveyed no meaning to the poor Genoese mariners and peasantry. He had expected to find a weak garrison; but, while his armament had been loitering on the coast, Beauharnais and the French commander in Piedmont had thrown 4000 or 5000 men across the Apennines to strengthen Genoa and cover the approaches to it. The country between La Spezzia and the city of Genoa is very rough and difficult: a bold range of mountains slope precipitously to the Mediterranean; the road runs partly along a narrow ledge over the sea, and partly across the mountains, or through deep, steep, and wooded defiles. But Beauharnais's people made but a feeble resistance, yielding pass after pass, and post after post, till they were driven close under the walls of Genoa, where they took up a very strong position, having their left covered by the strong forts of Richelieu and Tecla, and their right by the village of San Martino and the sea, and having in their front a country thickly covered with villas and hamlets, communicating with each other by narrow lanes enclosed by stone walls. In this position they were attacked at daybreak on the 17th of April. Bentinck's Italian legion, aided by his Calabrians and Greeks, carried the two forts on the enemy's left in good style: the attack on their right was made by the mixed division of Major-General Montresor and the English division of Lieutenant-General Mac Farlane. The French officers knew what had passed at Paris; the struggle, never very hot, did not last long,* and the retreat into the town was precipitate. By the hour of noon Bentinck's forces had taken up a position close to the most assailable part of the city; and Sir Edward Pellew's squadron anchored in the roads. On the next day, the 18th, a capitulation was signed, by which the French were allowed to evacuate Genoa. Lord William Bentinck, who had certainly held out the prospect of the restoration of the old republic, allowed some of the Genoese aristocracy and notables to establish a provisional government according to the ancient plan. All this and much more Lord William did inconsiderately, and on his own liberal impulse; but it was afterwards imputed to him and to the British government as deliberate treachery, as well by others as by some of the Genoese citizens who could ill urge any such complaint, since, if it had been meant for deception, they had never been deceived, or, at least, had never done anything to obtain a claim upon Bentinck's conditional promises. The banners announcing the independence of Italy, and the intimation about the restoration of the separate independence of their own republic, had not weaned them from their French predilections, or had not roused them to a single exertion in favour of the allies. When Beauharnais's forces were beaten, they were glad to open their gates to

* Only one of Bentinck's officers was seriously wounded. This was the brother of the officer who had played among the conspirators at Messina the part of General Manhes's aide-de-camp. He lost his leg.

his lordship; but it was out of no affection to the cause, nor owing to any expectations which he had held out to them, but solely to save their city from bombardment.* A few days after the departure of the Viceroy Beauharnais, Marshal Bellegarde advanced with a part of the Austrian army to Milan, displaced the independent provisional government, which had no hold on the affections or passions of the people, and proclaimed the restoration of the legitimate sovereignty of the Emperor Francis; and, except among the nobility (and they were much divided in opinion and in feeling, while many of them were passive or indifferent), except among the body of advocates, professors, men of letters, and a few of a superior class of merchants, not only the Milanese, but also the people of the rest of Lombardy, applauded all that Bellegarde did. The Austrian general, Count Bubna, then marched into Turin, the capital of Piedmont, and declared the intention of the allies to restore that country and Savoy to the King of Sardinia; and, on the 20th of May, his Sardinian majesty entered Turin, and established his government on the old basis. Not one member of the Continental coalitions had adhered more steadily and faithfully to his engagements, or had suffered more severely from them. The allies had resolved that he should now receive some reward, and that the territories of the Genoese republic, which joined Piedmont, and which shut that fine and productive country from the sea, should be united to his dominions. As soon as he was informed of the proceedings which Lord William Bentinck had taken, or had permitted, at Genoa, Lord Castlereagh wrote to express his regret, and to state that the separate existence of Genoa could not be preserved, it being the resolution of the allies that Genoa should make part of the dominions of the King of Sardinia. Few, very few, of the Genoese complained of this at the time; and, in the course of a very few years, the last murmur of discontent had almost died away, the Genoese people having found that they, as well as the Piedmontese, were gainers by the incorporation. It would have been well for the future prospects of Italy if the King of Sardinia had gotten more, and the Emperor of Austria had gotten less. In addition to his old possessions in Lombardy, Francis laid his hand upon Venice, which had only been his for a short period, and by virtue of a foul treaty with France, and upon other cities and states which had never been his at all, as Brescia, Cremona, Guastalla, Parma, Piacenza, &c.

Murat, agitated by doubt and dread, suspecting his new ally Austria, and knowing that he was suspected by her, distrusting most of his Neapolitan generals, and alarmed at the Carbonari, who were crying for a constitution, and at the plots and movements of the royalists, who were calling for the restoration of King Ferdinand, returned rather hastily to Naples, withdrawing his garrison *from* the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome, but reinforcing his garrison at Ancona, and leaving some of his troops beyond the frontiers of the States of the Church. On the 24th of May the pope made his solemn entrance into Rome, and restored the old ecclesiastical government. The popular joy was extatic.

Few of these restored governments were good, but that of Spain was the worst of them all, though probably not worse than the regimen of the Spanish Cortes and Liberales would have been, if circumstances and the temper of the army and people had allowed them to continue in possession of their power. Between them and the royalists and religious bigots it was a question of force, and the bigots and the royalists proved the stronger. On entering Spain towards the end of March, Ferdinand took up his quarters within the strong walls of Gerona, where the Liberales could not touch him. But it was evident by this time that few of the Spanish generals would obey the orders of the Cortes, and that the great body of the army looked to the king as having the sole right of command over them. The peasantry and the mass of the people, whether in towns or in the country, received him with transports of joy. He was joined by General Elio, one of the most devoted of all the royalists, and one who had great influence with the army. By the advice of Elio, who apparently feared Mina and one or two other guerrilla chiefs who had professed more reverence for the Cortes than for the king, he deviated from the route by which he was expected to advance on his way from Gerona. For some time he made no stay except in walled towns. He went to Zaragoza, and from Zaragoza to the fortified city of Valencia. Here he remained a considerable time, and hither most of the Spanish grandees and many of the archbishops and bishops flocked to welcome him, and to conjure him to overset the Cortes and the constitution, which threatened alike the throne, the church, and the nobility. General Elio had already promised the assistance of 40,000 Spanish soldiers devoted to their king and their church; other

* The poor Liberals and Constitutionalists of Milan had, perhaps, more reason to complain of the illusory nature of Bentinck's bright flags and bright hopes than the Genoese; though it should appear that, even if Bentinck had never held out any hope at all, and had never put *Indipendenza dell' Italia* on his banners, their own enthusiasm would equally have committed and duped them. They certainly were not left long in a state of error as to the intention of the allied powers and the nothingness of Lord William's vapouring. Shortly after entering Genoa, General Mac Farlane crossed the Apennines, and went on to Milan. A deputation from the provisional government and the Milanese patriots waited upon him. In the number were several interesting men: there were Count Gonfaloniere (who, since then, has lain so long in a horrible Austrian state prison), the late Ugo Foscolo, the poet, Hellenist, and critic, the late Cavalier Giuseppe Pecchio (so well known and so much respected in England, where he ended his life, as his friend, Ugo Foscolo, had done a few years before him), and other individuals distinguished by their rank, wit, and attainments. The general could not receive them in a public capacity, and told them so. They asked him for his opinion as a private English gentleman, and begged him to state frankly whether he thought that it would enter into the views of the British government to countenance the motto on Lord Bentinck's standards, or to give support to the independence of Lombardy? The general frankly told them that he thought nothing of the kind; that he believed that it had long been determined in the allied councils that Austria should be restored to her old rights of dominion in Upper Italy; that without this contract Austria would not have taken the field against Bonaparte; and that, however much Englishmen might desire to see Italy united, free, and independent, the British government could certainly never oppose (as she never could have prevented) the arrangements which had been made.

assurances were given, and the one general wish and demand of these nobles and priests, and of generals, soldiers, and citizens, was that he should proclaim himself absolute king, as his father had been before him, re-establish the inquisition, and crush the Cortes and the Liberales altogether. It was but by following the sense of his nation, which he saw manifested in the strongest manner, that Ferdinand determined to do what he did. If he had pursued a contrary course, many of the royalist party would even then have set up his brother Don Carlos; for it was not merely the passion of loyalty and the enthusiasm of religion that animated many of these Spaniards; they had seen in their conflicts with the Cortes that their rank, their consideration, their property, their very lives would be committed if the Liberales should prevail, and they had not been Spaniards if they had not thirsted for revenge for the evils or insults they had already suffered at the hands of the constitution-makers. The Cortes wrote to Valencia to entreat his majesty to proceed to Madrid, and complete the happiness of Spain by swearing to the constitution. At the same time they made a very empty show of supporting that constitution and their own authority by force of arms; and proceeded to regulate the royal household in an indiscreet and insulting manner, and as if their own little household gods were not tumbling about their ears. But seventy members seceded at once, and sent a deputation to present a memorial to the king, in which they solemnly protested against the measures of the Cortes as having been carried by force and intimidation, and professed for themselves and for their constituents a boundless loyalty and attachment to their ancient laws and institutions. At last, on the 4th of May, after the king and the infantas had heard *Te Deum* in the cathedral of Valencia, in the midst of 20,000 burning wax tapers, and in presence of a miraculous chalice, a royal declaration came forth, in which it was stated, in the name of Ferdinand, that the Cortes had never been legally convoked, that they had excluded the states of the nobility and clergy, that they had despoiled him of the sovereignty, attributing it nominally to the nation, for the purpose of appropriating it to themselves; and finally, that it was his Majesty's intention not only not to swear to the constitution they had made, but to pronounce that constitution null and void. A comparison—and by no means an irrelevant one—was drawn between the constitution manufactured by the Cortes and the constitution of 1791, manufactured by the French legislative assembly. Ferdinand, however, declared that he abhorred and detested despotism, and that, as soon as circumstances would permit, or as soon as order and the good usages in which the Spanish nation had lived should be restored, he would consult with the procuradores of Spain and of the Indies in a Cortes legitimately assembled. And this last declaration was considered by some as equivalent to a promise of giving a free constitution to Spain. On the next day he took his departure from Valencia for Madrid. He travelled slowly and by short stages; the concourse of people was so great that the road from Valencia was lined with them; their joy and their shouts were everywhere the same. On the night of the 11th of May General Eguia, as fierce a royalist as Elio, seized all the liberal members of the Cortes that he could find in Madrid and threw them into prison. The whole body fell helpless, unresisting, and unlamented by the people. On the 12th of May Ferdinand entered his capital, and was received with demonstrations of popular joy and enthusiasm, inferior in degree only to what had been displayed by the Italian peasantry and the populace at Rome on the arrival of the pope. Except by the knife and stiletto and in private revenge, blood was not shed now; but scaffolds were soon erected in more than one city of Spain.

The Duke of Wellington (he had received this rank from the Prince Regent) hastened to Madrid as soon as his numerous occupations would allow him, in order to mediate between the infuriated parties, and to bestow some good advice on the restored king and government. He arrived at the Spanish capital on the 24th of May. He was very well received by the king and his ministers, but he confessed his fear that he had done very little good by coming. He found that nothing could be more popular than the king and his measures, as far as they had gone to the overthrow of the Cortes constitution; and that, though some thought it an unnecessary and impolitic measure, the arrest of the Liberales was liked by the people at large. The duke, as well as his brother the British ambassador, Sir Henry Wellesley, who had waited upon Ferdinand at Valencia, and General Whittingham, who had escorted him from Zaragoza, strongly recommended, not that Ferdinand should swear to the wild, democratic, and impracticable constitution established, but that he should hasten to frame and recognise one better suited to the country, to the habits and opinions of the Spanish people, and to the laws and customs of the Spanish monarchy. To the Duke of San Carlos and others, Wellington urged the necessity of the king governing on liberal principles:—but in writing to Lord Castlereagh he said, "The fact is, that there are no public men in this country who are acquainted either with the interests or the wishes of the country; and they are so slow in their motions, that it is impossible to do anything with them." *

On the 11th of June the Duke of Wellington was again with his army, which, with the exception of some divisions previously embarked for the purpose of carrying war into the interior of the United States of America, was collected at Bordeaux, in order to evacuate France according to the treaty of Paris. On the 14th of June he issued his farewell general orders to those gallant troops, congratulating them upon the recent events which had restored peace to their country and to the world, and upon the great share which the

* Dispatches.

British army had in producing these events, and on the high character with which the army would quit France. He declared that, though separated from them, he should never cease to feel the warmest interest in their welfare and honour; and that he would be at all times happy to be of service to those to whose conduct, discipline, and gallantry their country stood so much indebted. His Grace arrived in London on the 23rd of June, to meet with an enthusiastic and grateful reception which has never been surpassed. Parliament was sitting, having re-assembled, according to a second prorogation, on the 21st of March. On the 28th of June, his Grace's various patents in the peerage, as baron, viscount, earl, marquess, duke, were read in the House of Lords by the clerks; and the duke then for the first time took the oaths and his seat. Lord Chancellor Eldon then rose; and, pursuant to their lordships' previous order, gave the thanks of that House to Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington for his eminent and unremitting service to his Majesty and to the public. On the 1st of July his Grace attended in the House of Commons, and he received the thanks of that House, through the Speaker, Abbot. The sum of 500,000*l.* was afterwards voted to be laid out in the purchase of an estate for his Grace, to be a lasting token of the national gratitude.

The legislative measures of this short parliamentary session are of little historical importance. The budget of the year was laid before the House of Commons on the 13th of June. The whole amount of supplies exceeded 75,600,000*l.* The session was closed on the 30th of July by the Prince Regent in person. The autumnal session presented no matter of great interest. It was opened on the 8th of November by the speech from the throne, which was again delivered by the Regent in person; and on the 2nd of December the Houses adjourned till the 9th of February next. In the month of August the Duke of Wellington proceeded to Paris as ambassador of Great Britain to Louis XVIII.

A.D. 1815.—The great Congress of Vienna began to assemble at the opening of the year; and in the month of January the Duke of Wellington repaired thither. Our parliament re-assembled in February. The opposition, which had already expressed a strong and indignant disapprobation of the forcible transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden, now censured with equal severity the annexation of the worthless old republic of Genoa to the dominions of the King of Sardinia. With less questionable reason, and with a generous English feeling which did them honour, they took up the case of two Spanish refugees of the liberal party who had taken refuge in Gibraltar, and had there, in an unprecedented and monstrous manner, been delivered up to the authorities of the King of Spain by our temporary deputy governor, General Smith. Parliament had got over these matters, and was discussing subjects of home policy, regulating the reduction of the militia, &c., as if all fears of war were over, when England and Europe were startled, as at a thunder-clap, by the intelligence that Bonaparte had escaped from his narrow insular empire to repossess himself of his old French empire. On the 6th of April, a message from the Prince Regent was delivered to each House, communicating the information that events which had recently occurred in France—events which threatened consequences highly dangerous to the tranquillity and independence of Europe—had induced his royal highness to give directions for the immediate augmentation of our land and sea forces, and to lose no time in communicating with our allies for the purpose of forming such a concert as might effectually provide for the general and permanent security of Europe. On the following day the Earl of Liverpool rose in the Lords to move a corresponding address to the Regent. His lordship affirmed that our negociator at Paris, Lord Castlereagh, had expressed a strong disapprobation of the treaty concluded by the allied sovereigns with Bonaparte, but that, the representations of those sovereigns having at length convinced him of its necessity or expediency, he (Lord C.) had consented to accede to it in part, namely, as far as concerned the possession of the Isle of Elba by Bonaparte, and the sovereignty of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza conferred on his wife Maria-Louisa. On the same day, in the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh, who had been personally engaged in many of the previous transactions, explained how it was that the disturber of Europe had escaped. It had never, he said, been the intention of the allied powers, who accepted his unconditional act of abdication, to consider or to treat Bonaparte as a prisoner, or to exercise a system of police or espionage with respect to him. They relied on the treaty of Fontainebleau, and upon the apparent determination of the French people to have done with him for ever, and to adhere to Louis XVIII. Bonaparte was invested with the sovereignty of the island of Elba; a certain number of troops had been allowed to collect round him, as the island had been and might again be exposed to the descents of the Barbary corsairs; and he had had a sort of naval equipment under his flag, which the British officer on that station had no power of visiting. This was also the case with the naval officer of Louis XVIII. Colonel Campbell, who had been one of Bonaparte's conductors to Elba, had indeed been suffered to remain between that island and Leghorn; but his visits had latterly been discouraged by Bonaparte; and a sort of English vice-consul, who resided on the island, was put under the surveillance of two gendarmes at the time Bonaparte was making his preparations to invade France. Mr. Whitbread vehemently opposed a renewal of war by England, or what he termed "commencing a new crusade for the purpose of determining who should fill the throne of France." He even recommended that we should renew with Bonaparte the treaty which had been concluded with Louis XVIII. Only 32

members voted with him, while 220 voted against him. The ministerial address to the Regent was carried in both Houses without any division upon it; and the nation at large felt as strongly as parliament that nothing was left for England to do but to draw the sword again, and never sheath it until Bonaparte should be consigned to some safer place than Elba. The parliament continued sitting till the battle of Waterloo falsified the sinister prophecies of those who had voted against the new war, because it would be as long as the last. Subsidies, or aids in money given under other names, were voted to a large amount, and the budget of the year was raised to very nearly 90,000,000*l*.

The astounding news of the flight from Elba was announced to the diplomatists of Europe sitting in congress at Vienna by Talleyrand. There was no hesitation there as to what was to be done. The representatives of the allied sovereigns immediately agreed to join their forces again, in order to frustrate Bonaparte's attempt, and to maintain entire the treaty of Paris. On the 13th of March the ministers of the eight powers * assembled at Vienna, including the ministers of the King of France, signed a paper, by which they declared Napoleon Bonaparte an outlaw, a violator of treaties, and a disturber of the peace of the world, and delivered him over to public vengeance (*vindicte publique*). The Duke of Wellington, who was immediately called upon by the Emperor of Austria, by the Emperor of Russia (who was also at Vienna), and by the plenipotentiaries and generals of all nations there assembled, to assist in drawing up a grand plan of military operations, announced to his government that all that had occurred in France since Bonaparte's return had augmented "the eagerness of the different powers to put forth the general strength for the common protection." † At the same time his grace announced that it would be quite impossible for these allied powers to make an effort adequate to the occasion unless they should obtain the aid of English money. With proper assistance, and with an efficient British force co-operating with the allies, he was quite confident that the contest would be "a very short one, and decidedly successful." "Nothing," he said, "could be done with a small force; the war would linger on and end to our disadvantage. Motives of economy, then, should induce the British government to take measures to bring the largest possible force into action at the earliest period of time." It was upon this wise calculation that Lord Liverpool's government made its prodigious financial effort; and that it agreed to furnish all the British troops it could spare, and to pay for other troops that should make up the force supplied by Great Britain to 125,000 men. Austria agreed to furnish 300,000 men, Russia 225,000, Prussia 236,000, the various states of Germany 150,000, and Holland afterwards agreed to furnish 50,000. On the 23rd of March, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain concluded the treaty of Vienna, confirming the principles of the Treaty of Chaumont, which they had agreed to on the 1st of March, 1814, after the breaking up of the congress at Chatillon, and by which they bound themselves to make no separate peace, and to conclude neither cessation of hostilities nor any convention whatever except by general consent. On the morning of the 29th of March, four days after signing this treaty, the Duke of Wellington left Vienna, in order to examine the military state of affairs in Belgium, which country, as of old, was quite sure to be the first battle-field. He arrived at Brussels on the night of the 4th of April; and, rapidly as he had travelled, he had found time to observe the condition and spirit of several bodies of the allied armies. A strong Prussian corps, which had been left at Aix-la-Chapelle, was "very *content*" at the prospect of another brush with Bonaparte. As early as the 5th of April the Duke announced that, after having placed 13,400 men in the fortresses of Belgium, he could assemble 23,000 men of good English and Hanoverian troops, 20,000 Dutch and Belgian troops, and about 60 pieces of artillery; but, as it was understood that Bonaparte, who had not arrived at Paris until the 20th of March, would not commence his attack until he had collected his whole force, every exertion was made to raise this allied force in Belgium to an equality with his in the shortest space of time possible; and the incredible labour of correspondence to quicken the preparations and the march of Dutchmen, Prussians, Hanoverians, Austrians, and armies of nearly all the nations of Europe, including some of the slowest, fell principally upon Wellington.

The essential points of the famous escapade from Elba are soon told. If Bonaparte had ever gone thither with the intention of stopping, he had changed his mind in a very short time. He had not been one month in the island ere he commenced a secret but most active correspondence with his friends both in France and Italy. This correspondence became still more active as his friends and agents reported to him the return of the French prisoners of war from Russia, Poland, Prussia, Saxony, England, Spain, &c., and related that the temper of these veterans was unchanged, that their devotion to glory and to their emperor was as great as ever. Several of these returned prisoners, men as well as officers, passed over from time to time to Elba, to offer their services to enter his guard, and to speak of the attachment of their comrades to their old chief, and of their contempt for the Bourbon king, who could not mount a horse, and who was a great discourager of the military profession, as he wanted nothing but peace. To these men the camp had, indeed, become a home; and they could not but regret the leader who had so long led them from victory to

* The eight powers were Austria, Spain, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden. The ministers for Great Britain were the Duke of Wellington, Lords Cathcart and Clancarty, and Sir Charles Stewart. Those for France were Talleyrand, the Duc de Dalberg, M. Latour du Pin, and the Count Alexis de Noailles.

† Dispatches.

victory, affording them free quarters, with the incidental privileges of plunder, a constant change of scenery and excitement, and pleasant cantonments in the finest cities of Europe.* It was in their nature to forget easily both the comrades who had perished and their own occasional hard sufferings; and the national confidence and the pride of many victories made them cherish the belief that, if *they* had been in France in 1814, Napoleon would not have been beaten by all the odds against him. They also gave implicit credit to the assertion that the emperor had been betrayed by some of his marshals, and embraced the corollary, that, with less wealthy and pampered and more faithful generals, he was likely to succeed in a new trial. This, too, opened the brilliant and tempting perspective of a new cast of promotions, orders, titles, &c. And what was there to get or to hope for from Louis XVIII.? Besides these selfish considerations, there were certainly higher motives of action: many of these men were enthusiastically attached to the military glory of their old master, and were eager above all things to wipe off the disgrace of defeat from their country. In the vain hope of keeping matters quiet by making as few changes as possible, Louis XVIII. had retained in his service nearly all the men that Bonaparte had left in employment, and many of the subordinate agents of the police, post-office, and other departments were in Napoleon's interest. It was the same with most of the municipal authorities, at least in the centre and in the north of France. Even in the standing army few of Bonaparte's officers had been changed, and men like Ney and Davoust were left at the head of these forces. Although Louis XVIII. had abilities, information, liberal views, and excellent intentions, the emigrants and other royalists who surrounded him, and the civil government which their importunities had forced upon him, were at once imbecile and extravagant, weak (as they had no hold on the people), and yet revengeful; and, after the departure of Talleyrand for Vienna, nearly everything went wrong, and, though no acts of tyranny were committed, many petty spites were indulged in. Moreover, the weak government of King Louis, surrounded from the first moment of its existence by treachery and by plots, had no instruments wherewith to operate; the police, from which it expected information, was in the interest of Bonaparte; the officers and people who managed the telegraphs were in the interest of Bonaparte; the magistrates upon whom it depended for the suppression of cabal and sedition were (at least in a great part of France) in the interest of Bonaparte; the troops upon which it counted for the suppression of insurrection were almost to a man devoted to Bonaparte; and, when the government could no longer be kept ignorant that something was preparing, the police protested that it was but a bagatelle, a mere fit of impatience and uneasiness which would soon pass off under gentle treatment. It is said that long before the close of the year 1814, the *initiated* named the month and almost the very day on which the emperor would return. Some of the old republican party, including men who had conspired against him, now joined the Bonapartists, and invited Napoleon to return. The brothers, sisters, and other relatives of Bonaparte, all rich, and one of them (Murat) still powerful, promoted the widely spread plot, for they all felt that by his fall they had either been reduced to obscurity or left without any prop to their adventitious greatness. Murat's wife was incessantly telling him that Austria would never abide by her treaty with him, that all the members of the grand alliance were determined to restore King Ferdinand, that, unless the throne of Napoleon could be re-established, his throne of Naples must fall, and leave him and her and her children, not only without a kingdom, but without a home; and at the proper moment, when the weak mind of Murat was oscillating like the pendulum of a clock, Napoleon himself wrote to tell him that the lion was not dead, but only sleeping! Murat prepared for the *réveiller*. Except the cardinal-uncle Fesch, Louis Bonaparte, the ex-king of Holland, and Eugene Beauharnais, the ex-viceroy of Italy, every living member or connexion of the Bonaparte family appears to have been actively engaged. Madame Hortense, sister of Beauharnais, wife of Louis, and ex-queen of Holland, was very busy, and, as she had been allowed to remain in Paris, she had many means of being useful, and her house became a principal rendezvous of the party. She sent messages and secret agents to her brother in Bavaria; but Eugene would not be moved, and he remained quiet with his wife and father-in-law in Munich. Lucien Bonaparte, though he had incurred so much disgrace, though he had been obliged to seek a refuge in England, was very eager for his brother's restoration, and, as a professed liberal and constitutionalist, he undertook to manage the liberal and constitutional parties.

It was on the 26th of February, 1815, that Napoleon embarked with a body of about 1000 men, composed of some of his old guards who had followed him to Elba, of some Italians and Elbese, some Corsicans and others, comprising about 200 dragoons and about 100 Polish lancers, with saddles, but without horses. On the 1st of March he landed at Cannes, a short distance from Frejus. The Provençals neither welcomed him nor attempted to oppose him. There were no king's troops in the neighbourhood. He hurried through Provence, into Dauphiny, "the cradle of the Revolution;" and there the people began to flock round his standard. Still no troops joined him, and he felt uneasy. On the 5th of March he issued two exciting proclamations, one to the French people, and the other to the army. It was in the latter that he said that his soldiers had not been beaten, and that he and they had only been betrayed; that in his exile he had heard the complaining voice of his army, and that he had arrived once more among them to renew their glory, and to put down foreign

* A. Vieusseux.—Fleury de Chaboulon, Mémoires.

interference. After reminding them of the victories of Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, &c., and bidding them come and range themselves under the banner of their old chief, he said, "Victory shall march at the charging step. The eagle shall fly from steeple to steeple, till she perches on the tower of Notre Dame!" This proclamation produced an immense effect. As he approached Grenoble, he met for the first time some regular troops. They were a battalion of infantry, which had been sent forward from that city to stop his march; but a short parley on the road ended in their joining him. Just outside the walls of Grenoble, the 7th regiment of the line, commanded by M. Charles de Labédoyère, an officer of noble birth, and one who had been promoted by Louis XVIII., but who had recently set out from Paris with the determination to break his oath to that king, set up a joyous shout, rushed from their ranks to hug and kiss their old comrades, who had come from Elba, crying "Vive l'Empereur!" and joined him. General Marchand, who commanded the strong garrison within the walls, shut the gates, and would fain have done his duty; but his men joined in the cry of "Vive l'Empereur," and, when Bonaparte blew open one of the gates with a howitzer, all the soldiers did what the 7th regiment had done just before them. Next morning the civil authorities of Grenoble renewed their allegiance. Bonaparte had now an enthusiastic veteran army of nearly 7000 men. With this force he descended the mountains of Dauphiny, and appeared within sight of Lyons on the 10th of March. The king's brother, the Count d'Artois, was in that city, and was ably and honestly assisted by Marshal Macdonald, who could not throw his oaths to the wind; but the troops and the populace at Lyons followed the example at Grenoble, the prince and the conscientious marshal were obliged to fly for their lives, and Bonaparte entered that second city of France in triumph. The rest of the march to Paris was a triumphant one. All along the road the emperor was joined by soldiers, in detachments, battalions, or entire divisions, who tore the white cockade fron their caps, trampled upon it, and mounted the tricolor. The Bourbons were abandoned by the whole army; yet still, except in Grenoble and in Lyons, the people gave few or no signs of enthusiasm: many fled out of the way, and the majority of those that remained on the line of march seemed to be bewildered, and to be wondering what would come next. Louis XVIII. was now waited upon by Marshal Ney, whom he had favoured and honoured, but who apparently apprehended that the command of the troops that still remained under the white flag would be given to Macdonald, or to Marmont, or to some other marshal equally averse to perjury and treason. Ney, with a profusion of protestations, volunteered to take the command, to intercept the invader; and, on getting what he wished, and on kissing the king's hand at parting, he swore that within a week he would bring Bonaparte to Paris in an iron cage.* "Adieu, marshal; I trust to your honour and fidelity," was the reply of the confiding and duped Louis. The marshal went to Lons-le-Saulnier, and joined the emperor with his entire force! Nothing now remained to Louis but some battalions under Marshal Macdonald, who posted himself at Melun, between Paris and Fontainebleau. On the 19th of March, Bonaparte slept in the old palace of Fontainebleau, where he had signed his act of abdication in the preceding month of April. The next morning he resumed his easy march for the capital. Instead of disputing his passage, Macdonald's people trampled on their white flags and cockades, shouted "Vive l'Empereur," kissed, hugged, and joined. Macdonald, with a few officers, escaped to Paris. He found the Tuileries deserted: Louis XVIII. had fled at midnight for the fortified town of Lille, near the Belgian frontier, and most of his ministers and courtiers had fled many hours before. The Royalists wept and tore their hair, but they were helpless; the mass of the population of Paris seemed totally indifferent; there was no armed force within the city upon which any dependence could be placed. About twelve hours after the king's departure, or at noon of the 20th, a great troop of half-pay officers, with their swords drawn, with two pieces of cannon, and a detachment of cuirassiers, reached the Place de Carrousel, shouting "Vive l'Empereur!" and demanding to mount guard at the palace with the national guards. There was no resisting this demand, and, in the gardens of the Tuileries, in the courts, and at the gates of the palace, national guards, wearing the white cockade, were mixed with these half-pay desperados wearing the tricolor cockade. Shortly after this, there arrived at the Tuileries, from all quarters of Paris, new personages, ex-ministers of Bonaparte, councillors of state, chamberlains in their imperial court costume, comptrollers of the household, court valets in their old livery, cooks, and butlers, who resumed their services as tranquilly as they could have done if Bonaparte had only been absent on a short journey or campaign, and as if his court and household had been kept in a state of readiness for his return. Ladies appertaining to the imperial court now began to arrive, and to fill the *salons* of the palace; and the very ushers and pages were already at the doors of the several apartments, to maintain the strict imperial etiquette. At half-past nine, on the night of the 20th—a foggy and rainy night—a tremendous noise announced the arrival of the emperor, a troop of lancers galloped through the principal gate, a low mud-covered carriage stopped, Bonaparte in his grey great-coat stepped out, a number of generals and officers took him on their shoulders, and carried him up to the state apartments, while the soldiery and a part of the mob rent the air with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!"†

* Ney admitted on his trial that he had said these words.

† Quarante-Huit Heures de Garde au Chateau des Tuileries pendant les journées des 19 et 20 Mars 1815. Par un Grenadier de la Garde Nationale.

Paris. From the Seine, below the bridges.

Thus far all had seemed to go well, but the triumph was soon damped by sundry little circumstances. It was impossible not to see that, with the exception of some of those faubourg mobs, which he hated and feared, the people of Paris were silent, lukewarm, cautious, or averse. Then came brother Lucien with his tail of constitutionalists and liberals, including Carnot and *Fouché*, protesting that the promises and pledges he had given must be kept, that the French people must have more liberty than they had enjoyed under the empire or under the restoration, that France could no longer do without a free constitution, and, finally, that the liberals would do nothing for him unless he granted a new constitution. Bonaparte said that there would be time for making a good constitution hereafter, when he should have dissolved by victories the European confederacy against him; that now every thought ought to be given to the means of raising money and troops, the casting of artillery, the manufacturing of arms, ammunition, &c., in order to put him in condition to scatter the armies of the allies. But the liberals stuck to their point; the constitution must come first, their exertions in his cause afterwards: and, accordingly, though sorely against his will, Bonaparte proclaimed a sort of constitution, under the very unpromising title of "*Acte Additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire.*" The liberals, who had expected to be allowed to make the constitution themselves, were grievously offended; and those among them who were sincere in their constitutionalism declared this *Acte Additionel* a poor defective thing, although it was known that Carnot, and that great and unwearied maker of constitutions, the Abbé Sièyes, had been consulted by the emperor in its confection. Substantially the *Acte* was much the same as the *charte* which Louis XVIII. had given (*octroyée*) in 1814.* On the 4th of June, three days after Bonaparte, his great officers of state, marshals, generals, &c., had taken their oaths to this constitution at a grand celebration, called a Champ de Mai, but held in the Champ de Mars, and in the month of June, the two new Chambers opened their session. The Chamber of Peers, appointed by the emperor himself, and composed principally of men who owed their rank and fortune to him, at first seemed disposed to be as submissive as the Senate had formerly been. The Chamber of Representatives showed at once a very different disposition, raising the voice of criticism and censure which the man of the people had never been able to bear. Their session was a very short one; and the first serious business the two Houses or Chambers did was to pronounce the dethronement of Bonaparte. Before that crisis arrived, he bitterly reproached his brother Lucien and others, for advising and forcing him to give this constitution, and to call these Chambers together. After eleven weeks' sojourn in the capital, matters stood with him much as they did when he arrived; he could count confidently on the devotion and bravery of his old army, but he could not hope that the rest of France would do much for him. His distress, or doubts, were increased by the dismal news which came howling to him from beyond the Alps. Murat, instead of waiting for his *mot d'ordre*, had thrown off the mask as soon as he learned the departure from Elba, had rushed towards Upper Italy like a madman, had been beaten by the Austrians, aban-

* There were to be an hereditary Chamber of Peers appointed by the Emperor, and a Chamber of Representatives elected, not by the citizens directly, but by the electoral colleges of France. The Representative Chamber was to be renewed by election every five years, and was to possess the exclusive right of voting taxes, &c. Ministers were to be responsible, and judges irremovable. Property was declared inviolable, and all subjects were to have the right of petitioning.

doned by his own army, and put to an ignominious flight from his kingdom of Naples, many weeks before Bonaparte was ready to commence operations on the frontiers of Belgium. Bonaparte afterwards declared that the blind precipitation of Murat in 1815 did more mischief to his cause than Murat's defection in 1814 had done. But this was not true.

On the night of the 11th of June, just a week after the opening of the two Chambers, Bonaparte quitted Paris to open the campaign. His countenance, which had long been clouded, brightened as he sprung into his travelling carriage, and as he said, or as he is reported to have said, "*Je vais me mèsurer avec ce Villainton*" (I am going to measure myself with this Wellington). He had assembled an army of about 125,000 men, chiefly veteran troops, of whom 25,000 were cavalry, and 350 pieces of artillery. With this force he advanced to the Belgian frontier on the 14th of June, and on the very next day the stern conflict began.

In the meantime, the Duke of Wellington had raised his force in the field to about 76,000 men, of whom not near one-half were British. Knowing that his adversary would bring with him a tremendous artillery, Wellington had applied for 150 British pieces; but so miserably had he been supplied by our government, and by those who kept the keys at Woolwich, where there were guns enough to cannonade the world, that, when he united all his English pieces with those of the Dutch and German under him, he found he had only some 84 pieces. The duke's head quarters were at Brussels, the capital of the country, which it was Bonaparte's first great object to gain, and the possession of which would have given the French immense advantages, moral and political, as well as military. On the duke's left lay Marshal Blücher with the Prussian army, estimated (after the junction of Bulow's corps) at about 80,000 men. The old marshal was well supplied with artillery, his government having sent him 200 cannon; but unluckily his artillerymen were not very good, and he had to complain of the manner in which his guns were served when the French fell upon him. Blücher's head-quarters were at Namur. The two armies were, of necessity, spread over a wide extent of country. The Duke of Wellington's had to preserve its communications with England, Holland, and Germany; to be near enough to connect readily with the Prussian army, and to protect Brussels. Blücher's army had to preserve its communications with the country in his rear and on his left, through which the reinforcements of the grand allied armies were to advance; he had to give the hand to Wellington, and at the same time he had to watch a long extent of frontier; and on that north-east frontier of France there were many strong fortresses, which enabled Bonaparte to mask his movements, and to attack wherever he chose, without letting his attack be foreseen by his enemy. In front of the extended lines of the British, and their immediate allies, the Hanoverians, Brunswickers, &c., there were, besides country bye-roads, no fewer than four great roads (paved roads, proper for the passage of artillery, and for all military purposes); and it was *because* there were all these roads leading from the French departments of the north, and the fortresses on the French frontier, and *because* the Duke of Wellington could not possibly tell or

BRUSSELS. From near Port d'Anderlecht.

foresee by which of these roads the French might choose to advance, that part of his forces were widely spread, in order to watch them all, while the remainder of his army was kept in hand, in order to be thrown upon whatever point the attack should be made against. These men were every way better in and round Brussels than they would have been if bivouacked and cantoned on the high roads; and the artillery was also better there, for of this arm Wellington had not to spare;—it was needful that he should have it all on the field of battle, and, embracing all the possible lines by which the French might attack, the British general had, where it stood, the best means of moving it rapidly to any one of them. If the guns had been collected on one point, and the enemy had attacked at another, the guns could not have been so easily moved. If, as some commanders might have done, he had kept his troops marching and countermarching from point to point, he would very uselessly have wasted the strength and spirit of the troops before the day of battle arrived. Concentration of force is the finest of all things in war, in its proper place; and several of the continental armies, and especially the Austrian, had been, and continue to be, deservedly censured for their practice of extension in line, and separation of parts. But there are cases in which the idea of concentration is an absurdity; and certain English writers, destitute of military study, and incapable of comprehending the simplest principles of the military art, have taken up the old criticism against the Austrian generals, and have applied it to a case to which it is utterly inapplicable. If, as he had once hoped, the Duke of Wellington had been enabled to commence operations by acting on the offensive, then he would have attacked Bonaparte on the French frontier in one or two condensed masses; and then Bonaparte, not knowing where the attack would be made, must have had his army stretched out in lines along that frontier, having merely reserved to himself (as Wellington did) the best plan and the best means of concentration when and where the attack should be made. But the duke had not received from England the accession of strength which he had calculated upon; the grand army of Prince Schwartzenberg was still somewhere in Germany; and, with none but Blücher to co-operate with him, and with forces which, if united, would not have exceeded by 30,000 men the army which Bonaparte had actually in the field, it would, indeed, have been rash to attack a frontier covered with numerous and well garrisoned fortresses, or to invade France, where an army of reserve was collecting to support the army on the frontier. We trust that these few words will enable the reader to understand the absurd charge, that the Duke of Wellington was not only out-manœuvred and out-generaled, but actually taken by surprise—an ignorant piece of babble which has been recently and very ably exposed, but which every patriotic and well-informed writer ought to continue to hold up to scorn and derision, until the fallacy is utterly exploded, and left only in French books, where the truth in such matters is never to be expected.*

It was on the 15th of June that Bonaparte crossed the Sambre, and advanced upon Charleroi. At sunset, on the preceding evening, all had been quiet upon the frontier, and nothing had been observed at the Prussian outposts. As the foremost of the French columns had been put in motion as early as two or three o'clock in the morning, they fell suddenly upon these outposts just as day was dawning. The outposts fell back, and then a report was sent to the Duke of Wellington, who gave his orders for holding his troops in readiness to march. But it was not as yet sufficiently clear that Bonaparte intended the attack upon Charleroi to be a serious one, and that he really intended to open his road to Brussels by the valley of the Sambre. The duke, therefore, waited until correct intelligence from various quarters proved, beyond the reach of a doubt, that the advance upon Charleroi was the real attack. It was useless to move, and he had determined all along not to move, until he got this certain and full assurance; and the information could not be obtained before the event happened, that is, before the first French columns, advancing by the valley of the Sambre, were swelled to a great army—an operation which requires rather more time than is taken in the writing of a critical or rhapsodical sentence for a book.† Now that it was time to put his army in motion, Wellington put it in motion to his left. The orders for this memorable march were not decided upon in a scene of merriment and festivity, and at midnight, but in the duke's hotel, and at about five o'clock in the afternoon. These orders must have reached most of the corps by eight, and probably all of the corps by ten o'clock at night. It is quite true that the duke did go to a ball that evening, and that many of his officers went as well as he, because their business of the day was done, and because their presence was not required for such details as packing up of baggage, &c. The duke's being at the ball was a proof of his equanimity at the most critical moment of his whole life. The Duchess of Richmond's ball was a gay one, and Wellington and his officers present at it were as cheerful as any part of that gay company. About midnight the general officers were quietly warned, and quietly disappeared from the ball-room; and among them the brave Duke of Brunswick, who was still avenging the hard fate of his father. Shortly after, the younger officers were summoned from the dance, but without any bustle. By this time the troops were mustering, and before

* See an admirable memorandum on the battle of Waterloo, by Sir Francis Head, in 'Quarterly Review,' No. cxliii.; and a very able article on the life of Blücher, and the operations of Waterloo, in the same publication, No. cxl.

† The certain and deciding information was brought to Brussels by the Prince of Orange, who had so often "gone the pace" for the British general in the Peninsula. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon, and the prince found the duke at dinner at his hotel, about a hundred yards from his quarters in the park, which he had taken care not to quit during the morning, or even during the preceding day. The Prince of Orange was soon followed by the Prussian general Mufflin, who brought accounts of the French ors., &c.

the sun of the 16th of June rose, "all were marching to the field of honour, and many to an early grave." * Before they moved there had been some hard fighting. In the course of the 15th, Bonaparte had established his head quarters at Charleroi, and Blücher had concentrated the Prussian army upon Sombref, occupying the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, in front of that position; and Marshal Ney, continuing his march along the road which leads from Charleroi to Brussels, had attacked on the evening of the 15th, with his advanced guard, a brigade of the army of the Netherlands, under the Prince of Weimar, and had forced it back to a farm-house on the road, called Quatre Bras, from the local circumstance that the road from Charleroi to Brussels and the road from Nivelles to Namur intersect each other, and form, as it were, four arms or branches at that point. But the Prince of Orange had immediately reinforced Weimar's brigade, and had kept the farm-house as if it had been a fortress. This was the work of the 15th. The time which would allow Ney to bring up his main body, would also allow Wellington to bring up his, or, at least, a sufficient part of it to checkmate the French marshal. But, early on the morning of the 16th, the Prince of Orange pushed back Ney's advanced guard, and recovered some of the ground between Quatre Bras and Charleroi which had been lost on the evening of the 15th. At about half-past two in the day, General Picton came up to Quatre Bras with the 5th division, and he was soon followed by the Duke of Brunswick's corps and the Nassau troops. Some hours before this, the Duke of Wellington had ridden across the country to confer with Blücher, at Bry, about five miles from Quatre Bras. At that time Ney was not in strength in front of Quatre Bras, nor was Bonaparte in strength in the immediate front of the Prussians at Ligny. But the French, having all the advantages which are inseparable from offensive movements, massed their columns of attack quickly in Blücher's front; and, at the same time, Ney gathered his strength near Quatre Bras. The game to be played was now opened. Bonaparte was to crush the Prussian marshal, while Ney drove back the English duke. As the Prussian corps of General Bulow had not joined, Blücher was attacked by a force numerically superior to his own; and after making a most desperate resistance, particularly in the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, and after displaying the greatest personal bravery, he was compelled to quit his position at Sombref. With a frightful loss, but still with perfect order, the Prussians retired in the course of the night upon Wavre. The French, who had suffered severely, did not pursue. But, in point of fact, there could be no pursuit, as the French did not know for some hours that there was any retreat: the Prussians had not ceased fighting until it was dark night. At daylight, on the following morning, it was easy to see that they were gone; but it was not until the hour of noon* that Bonaparte ascertained what route Blücher had taken, and ordered Grouchy to pursue him with 32,000 men. In the meantime, Ney had failed in his attacks upon Wellington at Quatre Bras. At a little after three o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, the French marshal, who had concentrated nearly 40,000 men, commenced his attack with two heavy columns of infantry, a large body of cavalry, and a numerous and well served artillery. At that moment there were not more than 19,000 of the allies at Quatre Bras, and of these only 4500 were British infantry. These last forces, and the Brunswickers, were, however, not to be broken by any charge or by any mode of attack; and Ney, after repeated efforts, was repulsed. The third division, under General Alten, now came up, and joined Picton's unflinching fifth. Ney made another grand attack upon the left, but he was again met by impenetrable, immovable squares of infantry, and was again repulsed. Ney then tried the right of the position of Quatre Bras, and advancing under cover of a little wood, and attacking in great force, and with wonderful impetuosity, he cowed some of the worst of Wellington's contingents that were posted on that right; but, just as the Belgians were giving way, General Cooke came up, and joined battle with some of the English guards, and the French were once more repelled. They gathered thickly in the little wood near the farm-house; but now the Duke of Wellington sent General Maitland and his brigade to clear that wood, and it was presently cleared, and the French were seen retreating in great confusion. The conflict had been tremendous, the loss on both sides very great; but the British commander had completely repulsed Ney's very superior force, and had succeeded in his present great object, which was to prevent Ney from turning Blücher's right, and thus throwing himself between the Prussians and the British. The two great battles fought on this day were only preludes to the greater massacre at Waterloo; yet at Ligny Blücher had lost, in killed and wounded, from 11,000 to 12,000 men, and Wellington had lost at Quatre Bras 2,380 in wounded, and 350 in killed.†

* Major M. Sherer.—This gallant officer, who seems to be in general very correct, follows the widely spread error (which Lord Byron has in a manner consecrated in verse), that the duke's marching orders were decided upon at the Duchess of Richmond's ball. We know that many persons present at that ball believed this to be the case; but the contrary is proved by the writer in the 'Quarterly Review,' who has evidently had official sources of information, and whose account we have followed. The old story is, moreover, at variance with the duke's memorandum, for the deputy quarter-master general, of the 15th of June.—*Quart. Rev.* No. xc.—*Col. Gurwood, Wellington Dispatches.* We also gather, from the latter valuable repertory, that the duke's stay at the Duchess of Richmond's ball must have been but short; for at half-past nine in the evening we find him writing to the Duke of Berri, and at ten to the Duke of Feltre (General Clarke), who had remained steady to the Bourbons. In the earlier part of the same day, the duke had written a letter to General Sir Henry Clinton, and a very long letter, in French, and on the always difficult subject of strategy, to the Emperor Alexander.

* "The enemy made no effort to pursue Marshal Blücher. On the contrary, a patrole which I sent to Sombref in the morning (of the 17th), found all quiet; and the enemy's videttes fell back as the patrole advanced."—*Wellington's Dispatch to Earl Bathurst.*

† The Duke of Wellington's returns in Dispatches.—This loss in killed and wounded was made up entirely of British and Hanoverians.

The result of the two battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras was wha

On the following morning, the 17th, the Duke of Wellington made a retrograde movement upon Waterloo, corresponding to the movement of Marshal Blücher upon Wavre, and in accordance with the plan and combinations which had been previously agreed upon by him and the Prussian marshal. He retired leisurely by Genappe to the excellent ground which he had chosen, and which many days before he had most attentively examined. Perhaps the field of Waterloo had an additional recommendation to the attention of Wellington, as it had once been selected by the great Duke of Marlborough as a battle-field, and as Marlborough had been prevented from gaining a great victory there wholly and solely by the stupid obstinacy of the Dutch field-commissioners. Although the retiring from Quatre Bras was made in the middle of the day, the French did not attempt to molest the march, except by following with a large body of cavalry, which was brought up from the right, or from the part of the army which had been engaged the day before against the Prussians at Ligny. A body of lancers charged the rear of the English cavalry, and were charged in their turn gallantly, though ineffectually, by our 7th hussars, who could make no impression on the front of their column, in the defile of Genappe; but, when these lancers, elated with success, debouched on a wider space, in front of Genappe, the Earl of Uxbridge (Paget) charged them with the first regiment of Life Guards, and fairly rode over them. There appears to have been no more fighting on the road. Marshal Ney was waiting to be joined by all the forces of Napoleon which had fought Blücher at Ligny, except the 32,000 men under Grouchy, which had been ordered by the emperor to follow the Prussians, and on no account to quit them. This junction took place in the course of the day and night of the 17th. Deducting Grouchy's 32,000 men, and about 10,000 for the killed and wounded on the 16th at St. Amand and Ligny, and making a liberal allowance for stragglers and loiterers, patroles, &c., Bonaparte must thus have collected in front of Waterloo about 78,000 men. The night of the 17th, during which Wellington's men lay upon the wet earth, or among the dripping corn-fields, was a dreary night, with heavy rain, thunder, and lightning, and violent gusts of wind. They longed for the morrow. It came at last; but Sunday, the 18th of June, was but a dull day (meteorologically); for, though the rain ceased, and the natural thunder gave place to a thunder of artillery almost as loud, and far more continuous, the sky was overcast with clouds, through which the sun rarely broke. The position which the duke had taken up was in front of the village of Waterloo, and crossed the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles; it had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke-Braine, which was occupied, and its left extended to a height above the hamlet of Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied; and in front of the right centre, and near the Nivelles road, the troops occupied the house and gardens of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and in front of the left centre they occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte.* "By our left," continues the Duke of Wellington, "we communicated with Marshal Prince Blücher at Wavre, through Ohain; and the marshal had promised me that, in case we should be attacked, he would support me with one or more corps, as might be necessary."† In the rear of the British centre was the farm of Mont St. Jean, and a little farther behind the village of that name. [The French often call the battle of Waterloo the "Massacre of Mont St. Jean."] Wellington's force united in this position was 72,720 men. Of this number, including the King's German Legion, who merited to be classed with English troops, 36,273 were British, 7447 were Hanoverians in British pay, and partly commanded by British officers, 8000 were Brunswickers, and 21,000 were Belgian and Nassau troops, mostly of an inferior quality. Many of the troops, British as well as foreign, had never been under fire before this campaign; some of them were little better than raw recruits; the prime of the British army of the Peninsula had been detached to North America, and had not yet returned; and the beggarly government of Lisbon, though at one time it had promised large aid, had not been able to send so much as a battalion of those Portuguese troops which had become under Wellington very nearly as good as our own; and the British government, though disappointed in their expectations of contingents and auxiliaries from Germany, had not thought proper to advance the small subsidy of 200,000*l.*, which the duke calculated would be enough to bring him a good Portuguese force. The enemy's troops were veterans, almost to a man; and there were at least 100,000 soldiers of the same quality behind them in France. Bonaparte had collected his 78,000 men on a range of heights in front of the British position, and not above a mile from it: his right was in advance of Planchenois, his line crossed the Charleroi road at the farm of La Belle Alliance, his left rested on the Genappe road. Behind the French the ground rose considerably, and was skirted by thick woods: in the rear of the British and their allies the old forest of Soignies "waved above them her green leaves." Early in the morning, when Bonaparte mounted his horse to survey Wellington's position, he could see comparatively but few troops. This induced him to fancy that the British general, with whom

is stated in our text, but lies of the first magnitude were thought necessary to keep Bonaparte's cause up and alive in Paris; and Marshal Soult, in a dispatch to Marshal Davoust, now war minister, did not scruple to announce that the Emperor Napoleon had beaten both Wellington and Blücher, and had completely separated their two armies—had separated them beyond the hope of ever uniting again in his front. "Wellington and Blücher," wrote Soult, "saved themselves with difficulty. The effect was theatrical: in an instant the firing ceased, and the enemy was routed in all directions." It was announced that the Emperor Napoleon would enter Brussels on the 17th! Another dispatch, published in the Moniteur, said, "The noble lord must have been confounded! Prisoners are taken by bands; they do not know what has become of their commanders; the route is complete on this side; and we hope to hear no more of the Prussians for some time, even if they should *ever* be able to rally. As for the English, we shall now see what will become of them! The emperor is there!"

* Dispatch to Earl Bathurst. † Id.

he had come to measure himself, was eager to avoid the strife, and had beaten a retreat. General Foy, who had served a long while in Spain, and who knew by experience rather more of the British general than his master knew, is said to have replied, "Wellington never shows his troops; but, if he is yonder, I must warn your majesty that the English infantry, in close fighting, is the very devil! (*que l'infanterie Anglaise en duel est le diable!*)" When that infantry began to work, Bonaparte exclaimed to some officers near him, "I could never have believed that the English had such fine troops!" Yet this was but a confession of wilful ignorance, for, although he had not himself seen them in battle since the days of pigtails and powdered heads, starch and stupidity, or since the siege of Toulon, he ought by this time to have learned what British troops were from the reports of his marshals, generals, and soldiers, who had measured themselves with them and Wellington in the Peninsula. Soult—for that honourable man was among the marshals who had broken their oaths to Louis XVIII., and taken the new ones to Napoleon—was and had been for some weeks constantly at his elbow; but Soult was also of the class of those honourable men who could resort to any fiction or subterfuge rather than confess the honest truth that they had been beaten. Soult, however, is said to have added his warning to that of Foy, or to have told his master that his victory would not be an easy one. But, whatever were the warnings, it seems quite certain that Bonaparte began the battle with a confident assurance of success; for he knew his own superiority in artillery and in numbers to Wellington, and he had run into the mistake (the greatest mistake committed by any one party during this brief war) of believing that Marshal Blücher, dispirited by the loss he had suffered at Ligny, would continue his retreat in order to avoid Grouchy, and would not rally anywhere near enough to support Wellington, or to renew his communications with him.

Soon after ten o'clock on this Sabbath morn a great stir was observed along the French lines, and particularly near the farm of Rossome, where Bonaparte then stood with his famous Old Guard. Columns of infantry were seen forming; the cavalry were moving about; the parks of artillery were brought forward with great noise and shouting. And presently a furious attack was made upon the post at Hougoumont, on the right of Wellington's centre. Hougoumont, with its farm-house and garden, was occupied by a detachment from General Byng's brigade of Guards, who maintained the post throughout the day, notwithstanding the desperate and repeated efforts of large bodies of the enemy to obtain possession. This first attack upon the right of Wellington's centre was accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon his whole line. This cannonade was kept up nearly throughout the day, being intended to support the repeated attacks of cavalry and infantry, occasionally mixed and occasionally separate, which were made along the whole line of the allies, from right to left, from left to right. Wellington had not half the number of guns which Bonaparte brought forward; but such guns as he had were admirably served; and the advanced batteries of our centre, firing case-shot, committed a fearful havoc upon the French columns which successively attacked Hougoumont and the brave detachment of Guards there stationed. The incessant roar of cannon on both sides, for so many

CHATEAU OF HOUGOUMONT.

hours, gave to the combat a peculiar and awful character. There was no manœuvring either on the part of Bonaparte or on the part of Wellington: the object of the British general was to maintain his positions till the arrival of some Prussian corps should enable him to quit them and crush his enemy; the object of his adversary was to drive him from those positions, and to crush him before Blücher should be able to send a single battalion to his support. And to this end Bonaparte kept repeating his attacks with heavy columns of infantry, with a numerous and brilliant cavalry, and with his immense artillery. From each attempt his columns returned shattered and thinned; but fresh columns were formed and hurled against the same or some other part of Wellington's line. The repulses were numerous, the glimpses of success brief and few. In one of their attacks the French carried the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, as a detachment of the light battalion of the German Legion which occupied it had expended all their ammunition, and the enemy occupied the only communication there was with them. But before they yielded that farm-house those brave Germans were, to a man, either killed or wounded; and, as the French gave them no quarter, they all died. Bonaparte then ordered his cavalry to charge the British infantry in squadrons and in masses—to charge home—to charge again and again—and to find out some way through those ringing muskets and those hedges of glittering bayonets! But this was work beyond the power even of his steel-clad cuirassiers or of his long-armed Polish lancers: our infantry formed in squares, and the best of those horsemen bit the dust. At times the French cavalry were seen walking their horses about our infrangible squares as if they had been of the same army. Some of their regiments gave proof not only of great bravery, but also of rare perseverance. All their efforts, however, were unavailing; and their perseverance, and the dogged determination of Bonaparte in throwing them forward so repeatedly to do what they were clearly incapable of doing, ended in their almost total destruction. Their *coup de grace* was hastened by a magnificent charge of British cavalry. This force had hitherto been very little more than a spectator of the fight: it had suffered somewhat from the incessant French cannonade, but all the horses that were not wounded were fresh and vigorous—and there were horses there of the true high English breed, and riders on them whom no continental cavalry could hope to stand against. At the proper moment the Duke of Wellington called up Lord E. Somerset's brigade of heavy cavalry, consisting of the Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards, and the 1st Dragoon Guards, and directed them to charge the already crippled and disheartened cavalry of Bonaparte. These splendid regiments absolutely rode down and rode over their comparatively feeble opponents; horses and men fell at their shock; the cuirassiers, whose breastplates had glittered in so many battles and victories, disappeared from the world as a corps, and became a thing that had been—they were completely cut up. When Lord E. Somerset's brigade returned from their charge, they brought with them about 2000 prisoners and an imperial eagle. After this almost total destruction of his cavalry, and after the frightful reduction of his columns of infantry, Bonaparte was, if not as good as beaten, at the least put into a condition from which Wellington could have had nothing to apprehend, even though no Prussians had come up. Except the Guards, every part of the French army had been engaged, repulsed, and frightfully thinned. Not a point of the British position had been carried—not a single square had been broken; and, though our loss in killed and wounded had been great, some of the Duke's troops had not yet been engaged at all, and all were full of heart and of confidence in their great leader.* Such was the state of the battle at about seven o'clock in the evening, when General Bulow's Prussian corps, advancing by Frischermont upon Planchenois and La Belle Alliance, began to engage upon the French right. And now was the crisis. Bonaparte called forward his Guard, which he had kept in reserve, to make a last desperate effort on the British left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte. He led it forward in person to the foot of the allied position; but there he turned aside, and took shelter behind some swelling ground: the Guard moved onward and left him there. He ought to have gone on with it, and to have died with it; but he neither headed it nor followed it; nor did he during any part of this day expose his person freely in the mêlée of battle, as he had done in the spring of 1814 in the battles of Craonne, Arcis-sur-Aube, and in other affairs. Marshal Ney went on with that great forlorn hope, and, unluckily for himself, was not killed. The Guard advanced in two massy columns, leaving four battalions of the Old Guard in reserve, or near to the spot where Bonaparte sat on his horse rigid and fixed like a statue. They moved resolutely on, with supported arms, under a destructive fire from the British position. They were met by General Maitland's brigade of English Guards, and General Adams's brigade, which were rapidly moved from the right, and over the brow of the position by the Duke of Wellington in person, who formed them four deep, and flanked their line by artillery. When within fifty yards from this British line, the French Guards attempted to deploy; but the close fire upon them was too terrible;

* General Clausewitz may be taken as a competent and as an unprejudiced authority. If he had prejudices, they were not likely to be in favour of Wellington and against Blücher. Clausewitz was chief of the staff to the third corps of the *Prussian* army. He knocks on the head the nonsense, that has been circulated by incorrect and incompetent writers about Wellington's having exhausted his reserves in the action. He enumerates the tenth British brigade, the whole division of Chassé, and the cavalry of Collaert, as having been little or not at all engaged—and to these he might have added two entire brigades of light cavalry.

General Clausewitz also expresses a positive opinion, that, even had the whole of Grouchy's force come up at Waterloo (which it could not do, and which it was prevented from doing by Bonaparte's lamentable mistake about Blücher, and by the positive orders he had himself given to Grouchy) the Duke of Wellington would have had nothing to fear pending Blücher's arrival.—*General Clausewitz, as cited in Quarterly Rev., No. CXL., Art. Life of Blücher, &c.*

their flanks were enveloped by some of our Guards; they got mixed together in a confused mass; in that mass they were slaughtered; they were broken; they gave way down the slope of the hill in irretrievable confusion. There was no more fighting; that Grand Army of Bonaparte—the last of all, and the most desperate of all—never again stood nor attempted to rally anywhere: all the rest of the work was headlong, unresisted pursuit, slaughter of fugitives who had entirely lost their military formation, and capture of prisoners, artillery, and spoils. The army was destroyed, as an army, before the pursuit began; its organization was lost with the defeat of the Guard: if it had not been so, the pursuit by the Prussians could not possibly have been such easy duty—there could not have been so perfect a *débacle*. As the broken Imperial Guard, or all that remained of it, reeled away from the British position, and as Bonaparte, after having cried, in the accents of agony and despair, "They are mixed! they are mixed!" was spurring to the rear, as the blaze of Bulow's cannon on the right of the French became visible, and as Marshal Blücher joined in person with a corps of his army to the left of the British line, by Ohain, Wellington moved forward his whole line of infantry, supported by the cavalry and artillery, headed it himself, and swept away all before him. "This attack," he says, "succeeded in every point: the enemy was forced from his positions on the heights, and fled in the utmost confusion, leaving behind him, as far as I could judge, 150 pieces of cannon, with their ammunition, which all fell into our hands." In the meanwhile the Prussians had got into a bloody struggle, principally at the village of Planchenois. This village had been stormed and re-taken three several times; the French had nowhere fought more desperately, and, before they were completely driven out, the Prussians sustained a terrible loss in killed and wounded. At a farm-house, called "Maison Rouge," or "Maison du Roi," at a short distance behind the farm of La Belle Alliance, the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher met. The old Prussian, in the manner of his country, embraced and hugged his victorious partner. Here Wellington gave orders for the halt and bivouac of his own fatigued troops, and handed over the task of further pursuit to the Prussians. Blücher swore he would follow up the French with his last horse and his last man. He started off immediately with two Prussian corps, who, as they took their departure, received three cheers from the English army. "The Guard dies, but does not surrender!" was a self-flattering fiction which the French afterwards recorded in prose and in rhyme, in pictures and all manner of ways; but these flying Guards really surrendered in heaps; and one of the first hauls Blücher made was the capture of sixty pieces of cannon belonging to the said Imperial Guard. These guns were taken so near to the field of battle as the village of Genappe, and with them were captured carriages, baggage, &c. belonging to Bonaparte himself. The moon had risen, and in broad moonlight the Prussians kept up the chase. The French, when they could not run fast enough along the paved causeway, slipped off it on either side, and ran across fields, and into woods, where many were found afterwards, dead or grievously wounded. The wounded, several days after the battle, continued to be picked up in these places and to be carried into Brussels, where they were humanely attended by British surgeons. The high road, says General Gneisenau, resembled the seashore after some great shipwreck; it was covered with cannon, caissons, carriages, baggage, arms, and wreck of every kind. In some of the villages along the high road the fugitives attempted to rest for a time, and now and then—infantry of the line, Imperial Guards, Polish lancers, cuirassiers, artillerymen, dragoons, all mixed together—they even made a show of maintaining their ground; but the beat of the Prussian drum, or the sound of the Prussian trumpet, threw them into fresh panics, and away they went, or, staying, suffered themselves to be knocked down in heaps like cattle. At one place 800 of them were dispatched. The loss of the enemy in this flight was even beyond that on their retreat from Leipzig; and they did not cease flying until they had passed all their frontier fortresses. They then dispersed all over the country, selling their arms and horses, and running to their homes. In the retreat, and in the three battles they had fought within three days, the French lost in killed and wounded more than 30,000 men; but, what was of still more importance, their spirit was beaten out of them, and that army was indeed too thoroughly broken up ever to join again.

In the meanwhile the British and their allies, by the same broad moonlight, were counting their dead and picking up their wounded, or rather they were making a beginning; for those sad occupations occupied not only that night, but the whole of the following morning. The loss had been immense, and in some corps almost unprecedented. The British and Hanoverians alone had 2432 killed and 9528 wounded in the battle of Waterloo. These numbers being added to the losses sustained at Quatre Bras on the 16th, make a total of near 15,000 men put *hors de combat*, in an army of about 36,000 men! If we deduct some 4000 or 5000 men of this army who were not actually engaged in either of the two battles, we shall find that one-half of this army was killed or wounded. The loss in officers was quite proportionate to the loss in men; more than 600 officers, British and Hanoverians, were killed or wounded at Waterloo alone. General Picton, who had been badly wounded at Quatre Bras, and who had concealed his hurts, was shot through the brain early in the battle of Waterloo, as he was leading his division to a bayonet charge. General Sir William Ponsonby, who commanded that brigade of heavy cavalry which did such execution upon the French, was killed by a Polish lancer: his relative, Sir Frederick Ponsonby, was shot through the body

by a Frenchman, was ridden over by the charging cavalry, and was speared, as he lay bleeding and helpless on the ground, by a savage Polish lancer; but he miraculously recovered, and lived to charm all those who knew him for many years after. Colonel de Lancey, Wellington's excellent quarter-master-general, was killed by a cannon-shot in the middle of the action. The Earl of Uxbridge, General Cooke, General Halkett, General Barnes, General Baron Alten, Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and the Prince of Orange, were all among the wounded, and most of them were severely wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Sir Alexander Gordon died of his wounds soon after the battle. The gallant Duke of Brunswick had perished on the 16th at Quatre Bras, fighting at the head of his Black Hussars. The officers of several foreign nations, who came to volunteer their services to the Duke at this crisis, were not respected by the balls and bullets: the Austrian General Vincent was wounded; and Count Pozzo di Borgo, who was then both a general and a diplomatist to the Emperor Alexander, received a contusion.* Of Wellington's staff there was hardly an officer but was hit. At one moment he had no officer near him to carry an immediate order, except a young Piedmontese gentleman of the family of di Salis. "Were you ever in a battle before?" said the Duke.—"No, Sir," replied the young officer. "Then," said the Duke, "you are a lucky man; for you will never see such another." †

The war was finished. A few words must comprise all we can say about the movements of Grouchy, which have been so absurdly misrepresented and falsified. When Blücher withdrew from Ligny, Bonaparte drew not only the incorrect conclusion that he would continue his retreat like one who acknowledged himself to be beaten, but also the equally incorrect conclusion that he must retreat by Namur, by which means he must lose his communication with Wellington. But Blücher was neither beaten nor dispirited; and, instead of going to Namur, he went to Wavre, even as preconcerted with the British commander. Bonaparte likewise expected that Grouchy and his 32,000 men would accelerate Blücher's retreat, would throw the Prussians into confusion, and effectually prevent their thinking about their English allies. The orders given to Grouchy were imperative; they left nothing to the discretion of that general; he was to follow Blücher, to get on his skirt, and stick to it; if Blücher should *rally*, he was to fight him: the emperor himself would give an account of Lord Wellington. The whole of this plan was founded upon ignorance and presumption; but Grouchy was not to blame. This general was not ordered to move until after the hour of noon of the 17th. On the morning of the 18th, as the battle was beginning at Waterloo, he came in sight, not of Blücher's whole army, but of the third corps of that army, consisting of 16,000 men; and this single corps, admirably commanded by General Thielman, and well posted on the banks of the little river Dyle, defended the passage of that river at Wavre, and gave Grouchy and his 32,000 men full employment for several hours, and thus enabled Blücher to move off to his right, in order to keep his appointment with Wellington. The Prussian Thielman is entitled to as much fame as any single general officer that fought on this memorable day. Grouchy, indeed, effected the passage of the Dyle towards evening—not at Wavre, but at Limales—but it was now too late for his purpose; he could no longer have a chance of dividing the Prussian army, or of forcing Blücher to concentrate his force and abandon his great ally. Blücher, in fact, was already giving the hand to Wellington at Waterloo; he had thrown himself between Grouchy and Bonaparte; so that, even if he should crush or dislodge Thielman, Grouchy could have no possible means of joining his emperor. [From the ground where he stood to the French positions at Waterloo was a march of thirteen or fourteen good English miles; it was already twilight, and his troops were fatigued, so that the distance alone must have prevented his joining his master in time to be of any use, even if Bulow and Blücher had not stood between.] But Thielman was neither crushed nor dislodged during the whole of the 18th: he kept his position during the night, protecting both the flank and rear of the Prussian army, guarding one road which led upon Brussels, and finding Grouchy full employment; and with his unequal numbers he continued the struggle for some hours on the 19th, when the French grand army was no more. Nor was it until Vandamme had turned Thielman's right flank, that that sturdy and worthy follower of Blücher abandoned Wavre, and began an orderly retreat on Louvain. He knew he had nothing more to do at Wavre; he knew that nothing was left to Grouchy and his corps but a precipitate retreat, for he had received from the field of Waterloo a very satisfactory account of all that had been done there on the 18th. The news reached Grouchy a little later, and then that marshal fell rapidly back upon the frontier of France, conducting his retreat in a manner which did honour to him as a general.

The first man that carried to Paris the news of his irretrievable disaster was Bonaparte himself. Leaving his brother Jerome on the frontier to try and rally some of the remains of the army, he flew to the capital, where he arrived during the night of the 20th, to find that his chamber of representatives was now far more hostile to him than the *corps législatif* had been on his flight from Leipzig. To Caulaincourt he said that the army was, indeed, lost; that it had performed prodigies, when a sudden panic seized it and ruined all; that Ney had conducted himself like a madman, throwing away all the cavalry; that there was nothing more to be done! When he recovered a little more

* Dispatch to Earl Bathurst.
† Quart. Rev., No. CXL.

composure, his first thoughts were how he could break up the constitution he had sworn to on the 1st of June; how he could get rid of the two Chambers, and seize the absolute and undivided power of a dictator. The Chambers, anticipating his blows, declared their session permanent, and demanded his abdication. Lafayette, who had been once more brought upon the scene by circumstances which he had not helped to make, and over which he had no more control than the maker of an almanac has over the tempest which blows, or the sun which rises and sets, made an oration in the style of 1791, applauded the civism and patriotism of the national guards of Paris, and induced the representatives to declare that any attempt to dissolve them should be high treason. Lucien Bonaparte appeared before the House, and harangued and pleaded for Napoleon; but there was no army now, as on the 18th Brumaire, to second Lucien's eloquence, and make the members jump out of the windows, as at St. Cloud; and so Lucien made no impression on the assembly. The House of Peers lagged a little behind; but not for long. The peers, though all Bonapartists, concurred with the representatives in the fact that it was only one man that stood between France and peace; but many of them would have substituted Napoleon II. for Napoleon I., or would have declared the son of Maria Louisa Emperor of the French, with his mother for regent. Lucien, Charles Labédoyère, Count Flahault, Marshal Davoust, and Carnot strongly supported this project in the House. Davoust, as war minister, read a report of the military resources of the country, and Carnot, following him, endeavoured to prove that the report was a true one, and that France was still able to defend itself against the armies of Wellington and Blücher, which were already on their panic-stricken frontier, and against all the armies of Europe. But here Ney, who had just arrived, full of rage and despair, interrupted Carnot, and gave the lie direct both to that ci-devant Jacobin republican and to Marshal Davoust, exclaiming, "That is false! That is false! You are deceiving the peers and the people! Wellington is coming! Blücher is not beaten! There is nothing left but the corps of Marshal Grouchy! In six or seven days the enemy will be here!" The peers were all aghast. At this moment Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte, Labédoyère, Flahault, and others entered the House in full dress, and with plumed hats on their giddy heads: they came from the Tuileries; they came to announce the *voluntary* abdication of Napoleon I., and to proclaim Napoleon II.; and they shouted, "The emperor is politically dead! Long live Napoleon the Second!" But Ney's stern truths still filled the House, and prevented the echoes which might have followed this proclamation of the little King of Rome. Most of these peers, whose patents were not a month old, shook their heads, and said it could not be: some referred to the declaration of the allied sovereigns, that they would never treat with a member of the Bonaparte family; and some directly opposed the proposition. Upon this, Charles Labédoyère fell into a transport of fury, and threatened them all with destruction. In reward for his treason at Grenoble, Bonaparte had promoted this young colonel to the rank of lieutenant-general, and had made him a peer. Labédoyère had, therefore, not only much to lose, but much to fear from the return of the Bourbons. The peers cried shame, and called him to order; but nothing could stop him. "Napoleon," he cried, "has abdicated, but only on condition of his son succeeding him!" He said that, if the Chambers would not acknowledge the son, then the father ought to keep the sword in his hand, surrounded by the soldiers; and he proposed—in the language as well as in the spirit of the Reign of Terror—that every Frenchman who quitted the standard of Napoleon should be declared infamous, that his house should be razed to the ground, and that not only he but his family also should be proscribed. "Then we shall have no more traitors to the emperor!" So said Labédoyère in 1815. "Cut me off a hundred thousand more heads of aristocrats, proscribe all the rest, and burn their houses to the ground, and we shall have no more traitors to the republic!" So said Marat in 1792. After uttering these gentle propositions, Labédoyère rushed out of the Chamber of Peers and returned to his master to recommend him to crush the two chambers with a military force, seize the most obnoxious and most active members, summon all the soldiery round him and retire towards the Loire, to try another struggle in central France. Lucien, too, had advised his brother to dissolve the chambers; and Carnot and others joined Lucien in remonstrating against his abdication, and in representing that the cession in favour of his son must remain a nullity. But Napoleon signed the act of abdication, in favour of his son Napoleon II., on the 22nd of June; and he determined to abide by it, or at the least to give up a hopeless struggle. He knew better than his poetizing brother the real state of affairs; he knew that the Chamber of Representatives could not be dissolved like the Council of Five Hundred; he knew that the great majority of the peers would now make common cause with the representatives, and that the two chambers united would be far too strong for him. He had a much livelier sense than Lucien could have of the field of Waterloo, and, though he should collect another army, he knew that the armies of all Europe were marching against him; that, while Wellington and Blücher were on the north-eastern frontier, the Austrian general Frimont was marching through Switzerland and Savoy to attack on that frontier, that Prince Schwartzenberg was now ready to pour enormous forces across the Rhine, and that the Emperor Alexander was not far off with 200,000 Russians. The allies could have put 800,000 men into France before the end of the month of July! After his abdication Bonaparte retired to Malmaison, where his wife Josephine had died.

The Chamber of Peers set up a provisional government, consisting of Caulaincourt, Quenett, Grenier, Carnot, and Fouché—a most strange jumble of men and principles. Fouché, who had ten times more craft, cunning, and ability than all his four colleagues put together, had seen clearly, ever since the battle of Waterloo, that the restoration of the Bourbons was an inevitable necessity; and he shaped his course accordingly, not at all despairing of enjoying as much pre-eminence under Louis XVIII. as he had ever enjoyed under Napoleon. Minister of police, minister of the interior, or minister for foreign affairs, Fouché was ready for anything. He at once got himself named president of this commission of government, and took the entire direction upon himself, treating Carnot like an obstinate old fool, and the rest of them as nobodies. This strange provisional government, which assumed to itself all the powers of France, must have been more hateful and humiliating to the fallen emperor than all the rest of his disgraces; yet still he lingered at Malmaison for nearly a whole week, and until the advance of Wellington and Blücher rendered his further stay impossible.

The British and Prussian armies met with hardly any the feeblest resistance on their march upon Paris. On the 1st of July, Wellington took up a position a few short miles from the capital, with his right upon the heights of Richebourg, with his left upon the Forest of Bondy. Blücher crossed the Seine at St. Germain as Wellington advanced; and on the 2nd of July the right of the Prussian army was at Plessis-Piquet, its left at St. Cloud, and its reserve at Versailles. Two days before this, while the Duke of Wellington was at Etrées, five commissioners were sent to him from Paris by the provisional government to negotiate a suspension of hostilities. These negotiators began with asserting that Bonaparte's abdication had virtually put an end to the war. The duke told them that it was impossible for him to consider the whole transaction of the abdication in any other light than as a trick; and that he could not stop his operations with a view to any benefit likely to result from such an arrangement to the object the allies had in view in the war. Fouché's commissioners then said that they had every reason to believe that Napoleon had quitted Paris; and, in case he had not, they proposed various schemes "*in order to get rid of him.*" One of their schemes was to seize him and send him to England; another, to hand him over to his father-in-law the Emperor of Austria. To this Wellington replied that *he had no authority to settle such schemes; that he was quite certain that, if Napoleon was sent to England, the prince regent would keep him to be disposed of by the allies by common accord, and that he had no reason to doubt that the Emperor of Austria would do the same.* He further told these French commissioners that, if they really intended to dispose of Bonaparte in that way, *they had much better send him at once to Marshal Blücher or to the English head-quarters.* The Frenchmen then said that it was *probable* he was gone to Rochefort to embark for America, or that he would go as soon as he should hear of the near approach of the allied armies, and before they could send to Paris; and they asked the duke whether in that case he would stop his operations. The duke told them that Paris contained other dangerous men; that besides Napoleon there were his adherents, the declared enemies of the allies, and that before he could stop his operations he must see some steps taken to re-establish a government in France which should afford the allies some chance of lasting peace. They then begged to know what would satisfy the allies upon this point. The duke told them he had no authority even from his own government, and much less from the allies, to discuss this subject; that all he could do was to give them his private opinion, and that this opinion was that the return and re-establishment of Louis XVIII. was a *sine quâ non.* He added that he wished, as a private individual, that the French themselves would recall the king, as it would not then appear that the measure had been forced upon them by the allied armies. In the same private capacity, he expressed his conviction that Louis XVIII. would consent to the responsibility of ministers, and to other constitutional and administrative reforms which the French people desired. While the duke was talking, he received Louis XVIII.'s proclamation, dated Cambray, the 28th of June, countersigned by Talleyrand. He handed the paper immediately to the French commissioners, pointing out to them the king's promise to make the very alterations in his administration which they had proposed. The commissioners took objection to certain paragraphs in the proclamation, wherein Louis announced the intention of punishing some of those concerned in the plot which had brought back Bonaparte, &c. Although not named as yet, the commissioners, the provisional government, and all France must have understood that Marshal Ney and Labédoyère were included in this traitorous category; and that the government of Louis XVIII. reserved to itself the right of bringing them to condign punishment. The commissioners saw the royal proclamation four days before the capitulation of Paris. To their remarks on the avenging paragraph the Duke of Wellington had nothing to say; and they themselves really appear to have said or thought very little about it. We call attention to the paragraph only in order to prove that the provisional government and Marshal Davoust perfectly well knew the intention of Louis XVIII. with regard to Ney, Labédoyère, and others, three or four days before they concluded the convention of Paris with Wellington and Blücher, a convention in which the case of those traitors was not provided for in any way. Before he left them the commissioners asked categorically whether the appointment of a regency to conduct the affairs of the French government in the name of Napoleon II. would be likely to satisfy the allies, and stop his grace's advance upon Paris?

or whether the allies would be satisfied if some other prince of a royal House were called to the French throne? [It is well known that a certain party already, and, indeed, long before this crisis, entertained the notion of giving the crown to the Duke of Orleans, now Louis Philippe.] To the first of these queries Wellington answered "Certainly not:" to the second he said that it was impossible for him to answer such loose questions.* On the following day, the 30th of June, those commissioners returned to the Duke's head-quarters to assure him, in positive terms, that Bonaparte was really gone; and to demand upon that ground alone an immediate armistice. Wellington said he was not unwilling to agree to an armistice upon the following conditions:—1. That he and Marshal Blücher should halt in their present advanced positions, and not advance nearer to Paris; 2. That all the French troops should retire from Paris to the country behind the Loire; 3. That Paris should be held by the national guards of the town, until the king should order otherwise. The commissioners said that the provisional government could not or would not send away the forces beyond the Loire; upon which the Duke told them that he would not consent to suspend hostilities as long as a soldier of that army remained in Paris. "In fact," writes his grace to the British government, "if they were to restore the king, and his majesty were to return to Paris, the troops remaining there, his majesty would be entirely in the hands of the assemblies and of the army, who cannot be considered in any other light than as the creatures and instruments of Napoleon."† This army in and round Paris, counting shattered and disorganised corps, fugitives from Waterloo, and all, was estimated by the provisional government at 40,000 men. It probably amounted to 30,000; and, obeying the impulses of Labédoyère and other desperate officers, it had declared for Napoleon II. Louis XVIII., who had been obliged to quit Lille, his first place of refuge, and to repair to the city of Ghent, in the rear of the allied armies, now followed the Duke of Wellington's recommendation, and came on towards Paris. On the 1st of July Marshal Davoust wrote to the British commander-in-chief on the subject of the armistice; but the marshal did not yet adopt the terms without which Wellington had determined not to suspend his movements for a single hour. He and Blücher had, therefore, advanced, as we have seen, almost to the suburbs of the French capital. In taking up his positions on the left bank of the Seine, on the 2nd of July, the army of Napoleon II. offered some resistance to old Blücher; and there was even some hard fighting on the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon, and in the village of Issy; but the country people remained neutral, and the Prussian corps of General Ziethen surmounted every obstacle. On the 3rd of July, at three o'clock in the morning, the French renewed the attack, and attempted to recover the village of Issy; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. No attempt was made to check the approaches or molest the positions of the British. The provisional government and Marshal Davoust now yielded to necessity, and to the terms which the Duke of Wellington had proposed to their commissioners three days before, with this important addition, that the city of Paris, the heights of Montmartre, and all its other defences, were to be put quietly in the possession of the British and Prussian armies. They saw that Paris was now open to the allies on its vulnerable side, that a communication was established between the two allied armies on opposite sides of the Seine, by a bridge which Wellington had established at Argenteuil; and that a British corps was likewise moving upon the left of the Seine towards the bridge of Neuilly; and, therefore, they sent out a flag of truce, desiring that the firing might cease on both sides of the Seine, and that negotiations might be opened at the palace of St. Cloud, "for a *military* convention between the armies, *under which the French army should evacuate Paris.*" * Officers accordingly met on both sides at St. Cloud; and on that night the *military* convention was concluded by three French officers, one English officer, and one Prussian officer; and on the following day it was approved by the Duke of Wellington, by Marshal Blücher, and by Davoust, who acted on the part and in the name of the French army, and the ratifications were exchanged. On the same day, and almost before his signature to the deed was dry, the Duke wrote to his government, "This convention decides all the military questions at this moment existing here, *and touches nothing political.*"† The French troops, as by this agreement bound, had all evacuated Paris by the 6th, and had begun their march towards the Loire. Labédoyère is said to have gone with them, or to have followed them beyond the Loire. But Marshal Ney fled from Paris in disguise on the 6th, with a passport, given to him by Fouché, under a feigned name. This is proof enough that Ney did not consider himself included in the convention or capitulation. When he so fled, he knew, in common with all Paris, the articles of that capitulation; he knew that there was not one of them which could in any way shield him against the government of Louis XVIII.; he knew what the Duke of Wellington had said to the commissioners on the 30th, when he handed them the copy of the king's proclamation, which so clearly announced the intention of punishing some of the Bonapartist plotters; he knew that the provisional government had introduced no article, clause, or paragraph, to

* See the Duke of Wellington's long Dispatch to Earl Bathurst, dated the 2nd of July.
† Id.

* Dispatch to Earl Bathurst, dated the 4th of July. The reader should remember the date of this dispatch, and the definition of the convention here given by the Duke of Wellington. The dispatch fully shows that the Duke of Wellington did at no time consider the convention or capitulation of Paris as touching anything political, or as preventing Louis XVIII. from bringing Marshal Ney, Labédoyère, and others to trial.
† Id.

shield him and others in his predicament; he knew that the Duke of Wellington could never have agreed to negotiate upon such a subject; and therefore it was that he, alike conscious of his guilt and of his danger, fled in an ignominious manner from Paris the day before the allied armies took possession of that city. At the moment he fled, Louis XVIII., whom he had betrayed, with the addition of so many exasperating circumstances, was at St. Denis, only eight miles from Paris.

On the 7th of July the British and Prussian armies took possession of Paris, without any outward or visible sign of that *beau désespoir* with which they had been so often menaced. The English established themselves in the Bois de Boulogne, where they formed an encampment: the Prussians occupied some of the churches, and bivouacked at the head of the streets and along the quays on the Seine. They were thus brought into immediate contact with two objects which roused their nationality and inflamed their ire, which had not been cooled since their fighting at Ligny and Wavre, or since their re-entrance into France. These obnoxious objects were Bonaparte's bronzed column of victory in the Place Vendôme, which recorded the defeats of the Prussians as well as other nations, and the bridge of Jena, which had been named after the great battle whereby Napoleon had broken up the Prussian monarchy for a time, and had broken the heart of the fair Prussian queen for ever. There was not a heart beating under a Prussian breast that had more nationality, or that felt these things more acutely, than Blücher, whose body, too, had been scarred with wounds in that disastrous campaign. He, therefore, thought it no sin, and no questionable act, to pull down the column of a man who had destroyed the pillar which commemorated the great Prussian victory of Rosbach, and who had plundered the tomb of Frederick the Great, or to blow into the air the bridge of Jena. His people were actually at work upon the bridge with the insufferable name, when the Duke of Wellington interfered. The British commander-in-chief gently represented that the destruction of the bridge would be highly disagreeable to Louis XVIII., as well as to the French people; that it was not a military measure, but one likely to attach to the character of their joint operations, and to be of military importance; that the bridge, as a monument, must not be destroyed, as such destruction was inconsistent with the promise given to the French commissioners during the late negotiation at St. Cloud, namely, that the public monuments, museums, &c., should be reserved for the decision of the allied sovereigns; and, finally, that the French government were quite willing to change the *name* of the bridge, which was the only offensive part of it.* "Marshal Forwards," moreover, could see no harm in levying a military contribution of 100,000,000 francs upon the city of Paris; for had not Bonaparte and the French done worse than this in Berlin? and how had the French recompensed the allies for their forbearance and generosity last year when Paris was in their power? Upon this point also the Duke of Wellington interposed; and, after some grumbling, the rough old Prussian consented that the bridge of Jena should stand, and that no military contribution should be imposed upon the Parisians.

On the 8th of July, Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris, escorted by the national guard. On the preceding day Fouché told his colleagues of the provisional government that they must resign their functions, and that the two Chambers ought to dissolve themselves or adjourn, as the capital was in the hands of the English and Prussians, and their deliberations were no longer free. Caulaincourt, Carnot, Grenier, and Quenett, could say little to this, and could offer no opposition (it appears, indeed, that both Caulaincourt and Carnot were packing up their portmanteaus to be gone; for the one had kidnapped the Duc d'Enghien, and the other had voted for the death of Louis XVI.); and the Chamber of Peers, thinned by the flight or retreat of fierce Labédoyère and so many other hot Bonapartists, had, in fact, already reached its dissolution. The Chamber of Representatives refused to consider their mission as terminated, and voted, upon the message which Fouché sent them, that they were sitting in the name of the French people, and would continue to sit till separated by force. On the day the king entered the city, General Desolles, commander of the national guard, shut up both Chambers, and put his seal on the doors. Louis XVIII. quietly resumed the government. In reward for the services he had rendered, and in expectation of further assistance from his master craft, Fouché was restored to his old post of minister of police. Fresh assurances were given that the restored king had no wish to be other than a constitutional sovereign; and preparations were at once made for giving to the French, if not the most perfect of constitutions, a vast deal more liberty than they had ever enjoyed, either before the revolution of 1789, or since.

Bonaparte had arrived at Rochefort on the 3rd. News was rapidly conveyed to him from Paris of everything that passed; and in the course of a few days he had some communications with officers who were retiring with the troops beyond the Loire. It is said that at one moment he thought of joining those troops; but it is exceedingly doubtful whether he ever seriously entertained so desperate a project, and equally doubtful whether he would have been allowed by General Becker

* "All that I ask," added the Duke, "is, that the execution of the orders given for the destruction of the bridge may be suspended till the sovereigns shall arrive here, when, if it should be agreed by common accord that the bridge ought to be destroyed, I shall have no objection."—*Letter to Marshal Prince Blücher, dated Paris, 9th July.*

The name of the bridge *was* changed, but only to be changed again a few years later. Ever since the revolution of 1830 it has gone by no other name than that of *Pont de Jena*. The Parisians seem to have considered this restoration of a word as one of the substantial benefits of the three glorious days of July, 1830.

and his escort to fly beyond the Loire, there to light the flames of civil war, as well as those of foreign war. He soon saw that the country was tranquilly submitting to the Bourbons, and that the sea, covered with English squadrons and cruisers, offered him no chance of escape to America. The 'Bellerophon' ship-of-the-line, Captain Maitland, and some of our frigates were in the roads. There were two or three small armed French vessels in port; but their officers told him that they could neither fight nor escape from the English ships. He then bargained with a Danish merchant-vessel, and devised how he might conceal himself in the hold of that craft; but the honest Danish skipper—who might have taken his money, have led him alongside one of our cruisers, and have safely abided the consequences—told him that concealment would be impossible if the English searchers boarded; and this hopeless project was given up. He then talked of making a still more desperate essay—of attempting to cross the Atlantic in a *chasse-marée*, or small coasting-vessel; but this, too, was given up, on the representation of the sailors. That such dangerous projects were ever entertained for a moment is, by itself, proof enough of the worth of the assertion that Bonaparte voluntarily sought the shelter of the British flag, not merely in the hope, but in the confident expectation that he should be allowed to reside in England, free as any English subject, and under the protection of our laws. He went on board the English ship because he could go nowhere else, and because he could not have safely staid many hours longer where he was; he went on board the English ship because every other plan and hope had failed him. On the 10th of July he sent off Las Cases and his evil satellite Savary with a flag of truce to the 'Bellerophon.' Loaded with the blood of the Duc d'Enghien, Savary dreaded more than any of them the being arrested and delivered up to the Bourbons. He and his companion began their negotiation with a falsehood (or with what was a falsehood as far as any English officer or authority of any kind was concerned), by stating that the Emperor Napoleon had been promised a safe-conduct for America. Captain Maitland told them that he knew nothing of any such promise; that his orders were to make every effort to prevent the escape of Bonaparte; and that he could not allow any neutral or other vessel to pass without his search. The captain of the 'Bellerophon' added that, *as a private individual*, he had no reason to doubt but that Bonaparte would be well treated in England if he chose to proceed there in his ship; but that he could not pledge himself as to the intentions of the British government. On the 14th of July, when the causes and apprehensions which urged their departure from Rochefort were becoming more and more pressing, Savary and Las Cases returned again to the 'Bellerophon,' carrying with them a letter, dated the 13th, and addressed by Bonaparte to the Prince Regent, and claiming, "like Themistocles," the protection of the British people.* Captain Maitland had thought it proper to call on board his ship two other British captains (Sartorius and Gambier), and these officers were present with him in this conference with the two Frenchmen, one of whom (Savary) was too well known to the world to be trusted, and the character of the other was then not known at all to the English part of the world. Maitland distinctly told them that his instructions forbade him to let Bonaparte escape, "but that, if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there on board the 'Bellerophon,' *without, however, entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with there, as he was in total ignorance of the intentions of the British government as to his future disposal.*" These are Maitland's own words, and a more honourable and truthful man never trod a quarter-deck: they were confirmed by Captains Sartorius and Gambier, who heard every word that was said. They heard Maitland repeat that he could not, and that he did not, give any pledge. At the request of the Frenchmen, Maitland consented to dispatch a fast-sailing vessel to England, with General Gourgaud, who was to be the bearer of Bonaparte's letter to the Prince Regent; but he repeated "that he was not authorised to stipulate as to the reception of Bonaparte in England, where he must consider himself at the disposal of the Prince Regent." Savary and Las Cases returned to Rochefort, saying that the emperor would come on board the 'Bellerophon:' Maitland made preparations to receive him. On the following day, the 15th, Bonaparte, with his suite, came off. The fallen emperor was received respectfully, but without any salute or royal honours. As he stepped on board the 'Bellerophon,' he said to Captain Maitland, "Sir, I come to claim the protection of your prince and your laws." On the 23rd he saw, for the last time, the coast of France. On the 24th the 'Bellerophon' entered Torbay. The French expected, or rather they pretended to have expected, to be allowed to land immediately, and to go with their emperor to London, or whithersoever they might choose; but Captain Maitland was instantly advised that he must permit no communication of any kind between his ship and the shore. On the 26th the ship was ordered round to Plymouth Sound. There she was constantly surrounded by fleets, by shoals of boats crowded with the curious. Frequently, as Bonaparte showed himself, these good people huzzaed, not to insult him, but to cheer him. This magnanimity cost nothing; and it is what the English people are by nature and habit disposed to show to a vanquished enemy. But the British government could not

* The well-known letter was to this effect:—

Your Royal Highness, Rochefort, July 13th, 1815.

Exposed to factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself on the hearths of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which [protection] I demand of your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

NAPOLEON.

afford to be quite so magnanimous, and it had engagements and duties to fulfil towards the whole world. The Prince Regent returned no answer to the letter, which appears to us to have made at least one half of that step which separates the ridiculous from the sublime, and to have contained both meanness and falsehood, the falsehood being that his proceeding was voluntary in coming on board the 'Bellerophon,' and all his sacrifices of power, pomp, and state, spontaneous. Gourgaud, the bearer of the letter, and a most petulant and insolent man, was the first to begin the outcry about broken faith, free will, &c., and to implicate the unimpeachable honour of Captain Maitland, by asserting that that gallant officer had cajoled the emperor, and entrapped him on board his ship by promises which he knew would not be kept! Some members of the opposition in either House of parliament appear to have done, with respect to Gourgaud, what Captain Maitland had never done with respect to Bonaparte, or the envoys he had employed at Rochefort; that is, they appear to have induced this very rash and ill informed French soldier to believe that neither the laws nor the people of England would allow his emperor to be deprived, in any degree, of his personal liberty. Deception was not intended; but it had been the fate of these noble lords and honourable gentlemen to deceive themselves in all matters relating to the French revolution, and to Napoleon Bonaparte; and these self-deceptions prevailed to the last, being accompanied now by a revival of admiration and sympathy, which neither the man nor the circumstances justified. Not merely the allied sovereigns, but all the peoples of Europe, were assuredly, by this time, convinced that the freedom of Bonaparte was incompatible with the peace of the world; and that the proper way of disposing of his person, was to place him, not in a Mediterranean island, close to the European continent, but in some remote island of the ocean, from which escape should be made altogether impracticable. England, the mistress of the seas, or the only power capable of retaining an effective naval police, possessed such an island in St. Helena, and, though safe and remote, and seated between the tropics, the island was picturesque, fertile, every way pleasant, and very salubrious. It had been in our possession ever since the time of Charles II. It was the best of our half-way houses, or resting-places, in the voyage to and from the East Indies, and its salubrity had been tested during nearly a century and a half, by a great many thousands of English subjects.* Here he might, indeed, enjoy many of the comforts of life, without much risk or danger of his again returning to France. To say nothing of the various revolutionary parties who preceded him in the exercise of sovereign authority, he himself had sent Frenchmen, state-prisoners, unfortunate revolutionists, to die and rot in the pestilential climate of French Guiana. But the allies had more consideration for his health and life; and it was because St. Helena was as salubrious as it was safe, that the British government agreed that he should be kept there. On the 31st of July Sir H. Bunbury, under secretary of state, and Lord Keith, admiral of the Channel fleet, went on board the 'Bellerophon,' and announced the final resolution which the British government, in conjunction with its allies, had adopted:—1. That *General* Bonaparte should be removed forthwith to St. Helena, where he was to reside under the joint inspection of commissioners of the allied powers, that island being the situation in which, more than any other at their command, security against escape, and the indulgence of personal liberty, exercise, health, &c., might be reconciled. 2. That, with the exception of Savary and Lallemand, he might take with him any three officers he chose, as also his surgeon, and twelve other followers or domestics. The rumour that St. Helena was to be his destination, had reached Bonaparte some days before, and was said to have given him a fit of illness; but the paper was in English, and he told the under secretary that he did not understand the English language. Sir Henry then read the paper to him in French. He seemed to listen with perfect calmness and patience; and, when he began his reply, he spoke with great moderation of voice, gesture, and manner. He, however, protested against the whole of the plan announced to him, and he ended with what appears to have been meant to pass for a threat of following up the protest, and of foiling the whole plan by an act of suicide. He said he looked upon St. Helena as *death;* he would be content to live in England as a private individual, under any *surveillance*, under any restrictions whatsoever; he had not been taken by the English, he had voluntarily placed himself in their hands. *He need not have left France;* he had left it on the faith of our laws, in confidence in our honour; and great and crying would be the dishonour to the Prince Regent, and to the whole nation, if he should be either sent to St. Helena or be confined in a fortress in England: besides, this would be violating in his person our own laws and the law of nations. But to St. Helena he would *not* go; he would *die* first! He would never quit the 'Bellerophon' alive! Admiral Lord Keith could only reply, that he came to communicate the intentions of his government, and not to discuss them. The captive, however, continued to discuss, and to have recourse to barefaced falsehoods. Although he had shown the greatest dread of all the allied sovereigns, the greatest eagerness to escape from the clutches of Prussians, Austrians, and Russians, who were all

* For some very striking proofs of the healthiness of the climate of St. Helena, see Major Tulloch's 'Statistical Reports to Parliament on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding among the Troops in Western Africa, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, &c.' 1840. Major Tulloch shows, from the returns transmitted to the Army Medical Department, that the annual mortality among our troops during Bonaparte's residence on the island was under 2 per cent, even including the invalid establishment, which consisted of about 100 soldiers advanced in life; and that therefore the mortality of the effective part of the force did not probably exceed the ratio in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

concentrating their immense force, their 800,000 men, in the heart of France before he quitted Rochefort; and although he perfectly well knew that the British government took no step without the concurrence of those allies; he pretended that all the severity originated with England, and that he would have found better treatment from any one of those sovereigns. He said he might have taken refuge with the Emperor of Austria, who had given him his daughter, or with the Emperor of Russia, who was his *personal* friend, though, to be sure, they had quarrelled latterly! The Emperor of Austria would now have given him a lodging, as a state-prisoner, in the dismal fortress of Olmutz or Spielberg; the Emperor of Russia would have consigned him to safe keeping in the inclement deserts of Siberia! The magnanimity of Alexander would never have been allowed to stand between Bonaparte and the vengeance of the Russian nation! The Emperor Francis never made any high pretensions to magnanimity, and the fact of having been obliged to sacrifice his own daughter to pacify the mortal foe at that time in possession of his capital, and to induce him to give back some of the conquests he had made, was not proper to foster any high hope of favour and indulgence from that quarter. Bonaparte, like all his tribe, generally contradicted himself. On a subsequent occasion, when some one endeavoured to reconcile him to St. Helena, by describing its real climate, and by showing that it was far better as a residence than any fortress in England, or than any fortress or state-prison in Germany or Russia, he exclaimed, "Russia! Ah! God keep me from that!" As for the Prussians, old Blücher was reported to have said and sworn, that if he caught Bonaparte he would hang him at the head of his columns! "Marshal Forwards" may not have said the words, and he would hardly have carried such a threat into execution; but the Bonapartists believed not only that he had said it, but that he was capable of doing it, and, very probably, if some of Blücher's soldiers who had fought at Jena, or had witnessed the more recent slaughter at Ligny, had caught the flying emperor anywhere on his journey between Waterloo and Paris, or between Paris and Rochefort, they would have fusiladed him without waiting for superior orders. While Lord Keith and Sir H. Bunbury were with the principal in the after-cabin of the 'Bellerophon,' there was a party in the fore-cabin that made no attempt at dignity, or calmness, or moderation. This group consisted of Savary, Bertrand, Montholon, their wives, &c., persons variously affected by the dread of being given up to the Bourbon government, by their dread of St. Helena and a long sea voyage, by their attachment to European society and their attachment to their old master, the last being a feeling which existed strongly in the hearts of two or three of them. General Bertrand and a poor Polish officer are said, however, to have been the only two individuals, above the rank of domestics, who would not have preferred staying behind to going to St. Helena; and, though the devotion of these two may have been very conspicuous, they were both liable to other motives of action. The poor Pole, whose confession might have been repeated by many thousands of his countrymen, honestly confessed that if he did not follow Bonaparte to St. Helena he must starve, as he had no money, no profession except that of arms, no friends, not even a country! Bertrand, on the other hand, had committed himself with Louis XVIII. and the Bourbon government almost as deeply as Ney; and that government subsequently condemned him to death *par contumace*. But Madame Bertrand, a fine Parisian lady, thought that through her great connexions in that capital some arrangements might be made which would leave her husband in possession of rank, employment, and property; thought that life was a dreary thing anywhere out of Paris, and that out of France it was altogether insupportable; and she made use of all her influence to induce Bertrand to quit his master. When other arguments had failed, this interesting lady (on the evening of the 31st of July) made a grand tragical scene in Bonaparte's cabin, and was going to throw herself overboard from the quarter-gallery window; but she chose her moment so well, that both her husband and Montholon were close at hand to stop her. Bonaparte smiled at the notion of madame's having *really* intended to drown herself; yet he and his male followers played their share of the suicidal farce, he repeating, aloud and publicly, that he would not leave the 'Bellerophon' alive, and they hinting that he would assuredly escape from English tyranny by self-destruction. Lallemand went even further than this, declaring that, rather than see the *emperor* removed from the 'Bellerophon,' to be sent in another ship to St. Helena, he would himself become his executioner, and blow out his brains! To this fanfaronade Admiral Lord Keith is said to have replied, very calmly, that General Lallemand would indubitably be *hanged* if he did anything of the sort!

Counting servants and Bertrand's and Montholon's children, in all about fifty individuals had come on board the 'Bellerophon' with Bonaparte, or had followed him thither before the ship sailed from Rochefort. He refused to select out of this number his future companions and attendants. Savary, who appears to have been completely unmanned by his dread of being given up to the French government to answer for his atrocious deeds at the donjon of Vincennes, would fain have followed his master even to St. Helena; but it was wisely resolved that such an adept in plots and stratagems, and all the arts of gendarmerie and police, should not be allowed to go. This interdict was extended to General Lallemand; but, considering them as too contemptible to be dangerous, Gourgaud and M. Las Cases were permitted to join Bertrand and Montholon, who persisted in their determination of accompanying the emperor, without putting him to the pain or humiliation of making a selec-

tion. Madame Bertrand, though vain and frivolous, would not leave her husband and children; but she now did her best to prevent the removal of Bonaparte, by telling the officers of the 'Bellerophon' that he would certainly commit suicide if they attempted to force him to quit the ship. On the morning of the 3rd of August, Sir Francis Burdett, who was among those individuals that took a very strange interest in Bonaparte's fate, called upon Sir Samuel Romilly in London, and told him that, if moving for a writ of *habeas corpus* would procure him his liberty, or in any way be useful to him, he would stand forward and do it. Romilly told Sir Francis that he thought that Bonaparte could not possibly derive any benefit from such a proceeding. On the 4th of August, the 'Bellerophon' put to sea to meet the 'Northumberland,' the flag-ship of Sir George Cockburn, which was destined for the St. Helena voyage. On this day Bonaparte signed a written protest, which was little more than a repetition of his verbal one to Admiral Lord Keith and Sir H. Bunbury.* He renewed his declarations, that he had come freely on board the 'Bellerophon,' having at that time power to act otherwise; that he was the voluntary guest and not the prisoner of England; that he had embarked at the instigation of Captain Maitland; that he had come in good faith to seek the protection of the laws of England; that, if the British government, in giving its orders to the captain of the 'Bellerophon' to receive him, had intended only to lay a snare for him, then it had forfeited its honour and stained its flag; that, if this act of treachery should be consummated, it would be in vain for the English to speak of their good faith, their laws, or their liberty, for the British faith would find itself lost in the hospitality of the 'Bellerophon,' &c. He appealed to history, and put his own fictions into her mouth. History, he said, would say that "an enemy, who for twenty years had waged war with the English people, came *freely* in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and confidence? But how had they answered in England to such magnanimity? They pretended to stretch out an hospitable hand to this enemy, and, when he had delivered himself up to them in good faith, they had immolated him!"

If the scene and circumstances, and his own duties, could have permitted, Captain Maitland would not have sat down one single hour under these foul aspersions. But, even as it was, Bonaparte found it necessary to declare to him before leaving his ship, that he "had certainly made no conditions on coming on board the 'Bellerophon,' that he had only claimed hospitality, and that he had no reason to complain of the captain's conduct, which had been that of a man of honour." But this declaration, which was altogether inconsistent with the protest, was suppressed by the French in their subsequent accounts of these transactions; and the glaring falsehoods and the monstrous absurdities of the protest were, and still continue to be, repeated like gospel truths. Captain Maitland published a straight-forward, manly, and convincing statement of the whole transaction; but historians of the Bonapartist school do not read such documents. After signing his written protest (on the 4th of August), Napoleon shut himself up in his cabin, and would scarcely see any even of his own companions for the rest of that day. The honest first-lieutenant of the 'Bellerophon' says, "We were now all in full expectation of some tragical event. The general conjecture was that he would end himself by poison. It was believed that he had in his possession a large quantity of laudanum. Madame Bertrand even hinted that *ere morning* we should find him a corpse. Next day he still remained shut up in his cabin. Bertrand occasionally waited upon him, imploring him to name his future companions. He constantly refused, declaring that his resolution was formed, and he should abide by it. Madame Bertrand said to me, 'I promise you you will never get the emperor to St. Helena; he is a man, and what he says he will perform.' She afterwards, the same evening, declared to one of the ship's officers, that *she really believed the emperor had now swallowed poison.* The curtain, therefore, must soon drop."* But the curtain did not drop so soon, although, as the lieutenant says, "the bubble burst." On Monday the 7th of August, Bonaparte, unpoisoned, and apparently in good health, went quietly from the 'Bellerophon' to the 'Northumberland.' He was accompanied by Bertrand, Montholon, Gourgaud, and Las Cases, Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon, their four children, and twelve domestics. His own surgeon refused to go with him; but he had taken a liking to O'Meara, an Irish naval surgeon, whom he had found on board the 'Bellerophon,' and who, at his request, was transferred to the 'Northumberland.' Savary and Lallemand, who were detained, were both in an agony of alarm, for they had seen Louis XVIII.'s proclamation of the 24th of July, which threatened them both with a trial for high treason, and they had taken it into their heads that the British ministers intended to deliver them up to the Bourbon government. Savary, whose fears, like his guilt, were greater than those of his comrade, had written to Sir Samuel Romilly, as early as the 1st of August, to implore his legal assistance; to declare that he had come voluntarily on board the 'Bellerophon' with the Emperor Napoleon, after having been assured beforehand of the inviolability of his person, and after having received positive promises of protection

* It began, "I protest solemnly here, in the face of heaven and of men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, in disposing by force of my person and my liberty." At this time, as it was remarked, his sacred rights rested upon this basis—in England he was a public enemy, in France a rebel, and in all Europe a proscribed and proclaimed traitor!

* Extract of a journal kept on board His Majesty's ship 'Bellerophon,' from July 15 to August 7, the period during which Napoleon Bonaparte was on board that ship, by Lieut. J. Bowerbank, R.N.

on the part of the English laws, which were above the power of ministers; that it was in this confidence that he and his companions had embarked in the 'Bellerophon,' the captain of which ship had declared that he was authorised by his government to receive them; that he and they had always considered themselves safe under the protection of the English laws, &c.; and, finally, that he would defend himself with arms in his hands against any force that should attempt to remove him from the 'Bellerophon,' unless it were to land him in England and place him under the protection of an English magistrate. And Savary ingeniously asked Romilly to tell him how the case would be considered by English law, if, in defending himself, he should be so unfortunate as to kill somebody. Savary also wrote to Lord Melville, the first lord of the Admiralty, and to Admiral Lord Keith. But a better man than he wrote to Lord Melville; this was Captain Maitland, who was induced for a moment to believe that his government really intended to deliver up this notorious and dishonoured offender, and Lallemand as well; and, as he had seen them proscribed in the French papers, he had no doubt but that to deliver them up would be to consign them to certain death. With all the earnestness of a man pleading for his honour, and who would have died rather than see that honour tarnished, Maitland told Lord Melville that protection was certainly granted these two men, with the sanction of his name. "'Tis true," said he, "no conditions were stipulated for; but I acted in the full confidence that their *lives* would be held sacred, or they never should have put foot in the ship I command, without being made acquainted that it was for the purpose of delivering them over to the laws of *their* country." The English ministers had never entertained any such design; but it was quite natural that a man like Savary should suspect them of it. The only determination of ministers in regard to him and Lallemand was that they should not go to St. Helena with Bonaparte, and that they should not remain in England. Romilly, though acting with the opposition, wrote to Savary to inform him that he had stated his case to the Lord Chancellor, as being the only step which he thought he could take usefully for him; and he told him, too, that if, in resisting force to remove him from the 'Bellerophon,' any person should be killed, he thought that he (Savary) would be deemed guilty of murder by our tribunals. Savary and Lallemand were absorbed by their selfish fears, when the 'Northumberland' parted company with the 'Bellerophon' and shaped her course for the selected island.

It lies not within our scope to detail the more than five stormy years which followed in St. Helena; but a few observations cannot be suppressed. It was deemed by our government necessary to send out as governor of the island an officer of experience, ability, and great firmness—a man who could neither be duped nor intimidated, but who would persevere in his duty through good and evil report, and at any risk—his important and difficult duty being to put down French intrigues and correspondence, and to prevent the escape of Bonaparte, who was allowed the range of a considerable portion of that island. The officer selected was Sir Hudson Lowe, who had all the qualities required in a very eminent degree. He had served with distinction in various countries in the Mediterranean; he had since rendered important services in the grand campaign of the allies in 1813-14; he was well acquainted with foreign languages and foreign manners; his employment in Sicily and elsewhere had necessarily given him some experience in secret manœuvres, plots, and conspiracies, and had sharpened that department of the intellect which is ordinarily very obtuse in the minds of English soldiers; he was a good administrator, and also a very good penman; and no Englishman that knew him doubted either his acuteness or his unflinching firmness, his humanity or his honour. A more difficult task, or one more likely to be attended with a far-spreading abuse and obloquy, never fell to the lot of man; but he knew his duty and the consequences which might result from the slightest breach of his orders, and he executed those orders, which left very little to his discretion, with a rare punctuality. Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at St. Helena in July, 1816, or about ten months after Bonaparte. The French picked a quarrel with him immediately, and heaped abuse and foul nicknames upon him. But this was no more than they had done with that brave and honourable sailor Sir George Cockburn; and the chief ground of quarrel was the same in both cases—the refusal of the British officer to disobey the instructions of his government by treating Bonaparte as an emperor, and by always addressing him as "Your imperial majesty." It is said that in the very first interview Bonaparte addressed the new governor in these insulting words: "*Monsieur, vous avez commandé des brigands!*"* But the insolence of the principal was courtesy and compliment compared with the daily and hourly abuse of the satellites and dependents. Indeed, we know that Sir Hudson was of opinion that, if he and the sole object which caused his being there had been left to themselves, everything would have gone off with decency and quietness; and that he was accustomed to say even as much as this, that Bonaparte was neither an unreasonable nor unpleasant person to deal with, but that the Las Cases, the Montholons, the Bertrands, and the women were the most pestilent and provoking set of babblers, tale-inventors, and quarrel-makers that ever it fell to the lot of man to encounter. They were incessantly on the look-out for grievances, and nothing was too trivial for them to take up; they identified themselves with what could now only be the hollow, unsubstantial word-grandeur of their master; and each time that Sir Hudson Lowe styled him *General* Bonaparte they

* "Sir, you have commanded brigands." Sir Hudson Lowe had commanded the *Corsican* Rangers in the British service.

resented it as a personal wrong. They called him in return by almost every foul name that is to be found in the French or in the Italian vocabulary: spy, police-agent, inquisitor, gaoler, and far worse! They denied that he had ever been a soldier (he had been a good and brave one), and they alluded to his services at Capri, at Ischia, in Sicily, and on the Calabrian coast, as those of a robber and incendiary, as those of a secret emissary, breaking all the laws of nations, leaguing himself with infamous chiefs of banditti, exciting the *lawful* and *peaceful* subjects of King Joseph Bonaparte and King Joachim Murat to insurrection, civil war, &c. This was a constant theme with all the French at St. Helena. We trust that we have shown the real nature of the war in Calabria, wherein the French left no atrocity uncommitted, and that the reader will perfectly well understand the injustice, the monstrous absurdities of the charges thus thrown in the face of Sir Hudson Lowe. The same rules which not only justified but made honourable the support England gave to the insurgent Portuguese and Spaniards were applicable to the assistance and co-operation lent to the insurgents of Calabria: many Englishmen, civilians as well as military, of the highest character, of unimpeachable honour and (some of them) of a romantic generosity of temper, had far more to do with the insurgents of Calabria and of other parts of Southern Italy (the French call them all *brigands*, but we must continue to call them *patriots*) than ever Sir Hudson Lowe had to do with them; and, if he was to be held up to infamy for having done his duty and obeyed the orders of his government in this particular, a far greater share of reproach and shame must rest upon Sir John Stuart, the hero of Maida, General Fox, Lord William Bentinck, Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, and other officers of the highest ranks. Such charges were the more monstrous from the character of the men who made them, and from the past conduct of the chief they served. Savary could not go to St. Helena; but we find even that type of espionage and secret police rating Sir Hudson as a foul spy and police-agent!—We find the man who had entirely directed and presided over the bloody murder of the Duke d'Enghien joining in the accusations that the English government sent Bonaparte to St. Helena because the island was unhealthy, and selected Sir Hudson Lowe to be his keeper because he possessed the execrable art of making him die by inches—"*lui faire mourir à coup d'épingle.*" Their own narratives, the accounts and letters written by these Frenchmen, will best show the incessant insults and provocations they offered to the governor of the island. It was not in human nature to bear all this without showing some resentment; and the governor had duties imposed upon him which could not possibly be executed in a manner agreeable to the feelings of Bonaparte; but never did Sir Hudson Lowe resort to any unnecessary vigilance or severity, or needlessly insult his captive, or even any one of his noisy and contemptible attendants, who never ceased calumniating him, his government, and his country. The firmness and decision of Sir Hudson's character were marked in his countenance; his brow was often clouded by the cares and duties of his important, responsible, and most difficult office; but he was an English officer, an English gentleman, an affectionate husband and father, a kind friend, and a humane man to enemies as well as friends. He may, indeed, have "*looked very like a person who would not let his prisoner escape if he could help it.*"* And there is no doubt that it was this very look which induced Bonaparte to call him "Cain," and to insult him at their first meeting, any more than there is a doubt that from his first landing on the island, almost down to the day of his death, Bonaparte had some latent hope of making his escape, and encouraged his followers in an infinite variety of plots and contrivances to work out that end. What would the British government have said, or what would the world have thought, if Sir Hudson Lowe, allowing himself to be duped, had permitted this escape? But why did not Lord Liverpool's administration come honestly forward to the rescue of their governor's assailed character? Why did they not take the responsibility of the vigilance, firmness, or severity of their governor upon themselves, and frankly declare that whatever Sir Hudson Lowe did was done by their orders, and in the one and very intelligible intention of preventing the escape? But the British government, though it subsequently promoted and employed the man who had ably fulfilled a most invidious and most difficult office,† left him to en-

* Trifles from my Portfolio; or Recollections of Scenes and small Adventures during Twenty-nine Years' Military Service, by a Staff Surgeon. This staff surgeon, Dr. Henry, was long attached to the 66th regiment, and he was at St. Helena from the month of August, 1817, until some time after the death of Bonaparte. In justice to the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, every word that Dr. Henry says about him, and his treatment of his captive, ought to be attentively read. The book was printed at Quebec in 1839, but copious extracts have been given in the 'Quarterly Review,' No. cxxxiv., March, 1841.

At first, the doctor, a facetious jovial Irishman, disliked Sir Hudson's countenance and manners, and was predisposed against him; but he never for a moment considered the governor capable of a dishonourable or inhuman action, and as he knew him better his prejudice as to externals vanished. He says, "If, therefore, notwithstanding this prepossession, my testimony should incline to the other side, *I can truly state that the change took place from the weight of evidence, and in consequence of what came under my own observation in St. Helena.* Poor man, he has since that time encountered a storm of obloquy and reproach, enough to bow any person to the earth. *Yet I firmly believe that the talent he exerted in unravelling the intricate plotting constantly going on at Longwood, and the firmness in tearing it to pieces, with the increasing vigilance he displayed in the discharge of his arduous duties, made him more enemies than any hastiness of temper, uncourteousness of demeanour, and severity in his measures, of which the world believed him guilty.*"

† After Bonaparte's death, the same government which had appointed him to St. Helena appointed Sir Hudson to be chief of a colony far more important—sent him out as governor of Ceylon. This, indeed, could leave no doubt, in any dispassionate mind, that his administration at St. Helena had fully satisfied his own government; and it was so his own government alone that he, their servant, strictly owed an account of his conduct. But, considering the amazing rapidity with which the calumnies were printed, and spread all over the world, and the matchless audacity with which they continue to be repeated and propagated, something more seems necessary to clear up the character of a deserving officer, and the character of the British government which employed him (in which, moreover, the character of the nation itself is involved), and to place the whole history of Bonaparte's relegation at St. Helena in its proper light. We know, through very direct sources, that Sir Hudson, for many years, contemplated publishing the numerous and unanswerable documents which he possessed, and that he has left these documents, and a great many other papers, behind him. It is to be hoped that

counter that storm of obloquy and reproach which was, indeed, enough to bow any person to the earth. In some respects the home opposition party, who did almost as much to raise and spread this storm as was done by the Bonapartists themselves, behaved with more fairness than the ministry. The late Lord and Lady Holland, who more than continued Mr. Fox's sympathy with the French revolution and his admiration for Bonaparte, and who both publicly and privately set themselves up as champions or protectors of the fallen emperor against the *tyrannical* and *cruel* governor of St. Helena, afterwards confessed their errors by courting the acquaintance of Sir Hudson Lowe, by inviting him to Holland House, and by declaring there and elsewhere that they and a part of the world had been much deceived, for that, in very truth, Sir Hudson Lowe was a strictly honourable and very humane man. This *amende honorable* came somewhat of the latest, and now the only tribunal that can affect the late governor of St. Helena is one more awful, and less liable to error, than any earthly court. Sir Hudson Lowe died while we were considering this question and preparing these brief passages. We leave them as they are, with the honest conviction that our view of the case is the right one, and not without the hope that it may tend to remove the prejudice, misrepresentation, or ignorance upon which too many of the accounts of his conduct are founded.

Bonaparte was, of course, a state prisoner. It was not possible to leave him at St. Helena as he had been left at Elba; and, after his infraction of the treaty of Fontainebleau, he could have no reasonable pretension to be treated now as he had been treated before that act, and its dreadful consequences. To a mind like his, any species of captivity or confinement must have been insupportable, but never was state-imprisonment inflicted in a milder form. The house that was built for him at Longwood, in the best part of the island, and in a cool atmosphere—for the spot was about 2000 feet above the level of the sea—was spacious, commodious, luxurious. He had, for his immediate personal accommodation, a suite of rooms, consisting of a drawing-room, a dining-room, a library, a billiard-room, a small study, a bed-room, and a bath-room. A large sum of money was spent in enlarging and improving this residence, and every wish for having it still further enlarged or improved was promptly attended to. The sum of 12,000*l.* per annum was allowed for his domestic expenditure, and the governor of the island was authorized to draw on the treasury for more money, if this allowance should not suffice. He was allowed a space measuring eight, and afterwards twelve, miles in circumference round Longwood, through which he might ride or walk at his pleasure; but beyond those limits he was to be accompanied by a British officer. He had saddle horses and carriage horses, and more than one good vehicle. At first he rode about a good deal, finding everywhere civility and respect; but he soon complained of being watched at a distance by soldiers; he refused to extend his rides because an English officer must attend him; and, finally, he shut himself up in the house and garden, and represented that Sir Hudson Lowe was killing him. But it should appear by this time, and from causes very different from those assigned by himself and his attendants, in order to excite odium against Sir Hudson Lowe and the British government, that exercise had become disagreeable and painful to him, and that he was dying of the hereditary disease which he had imported with him, and upon which the finest climate in the world could have exercised no healing influence. As far back as the year 1802, the symptoms of this hereditary disorder were observed by his then constant companion, Bourrienne; and in his consular days he had been repeatedly heard lamenting that he should grow fat, and expressing the presentiment that he should die of the disorder which had proved fatal to his father. Some of the worst symptoms of the disease had shown themselves in an entire derangement of the stomach and digestive organs during the Russian campaign, and afterwards at the time of the battle of Leipzig. Every medical assistance that the surgeons of our forces, and a well-supplied British garrison, could afford was offered, and even pressed upon him; but he would take no medicine, and it is, at the least, doubtful whether any medicine or any human skill could have delayed the catastrophe. As a climax to their atrocious falsehoods, some of his satellites reported that he dreaded to take drugs from English hands, lest he should be poisoned! And this, too, in the face of the notorious fact, that he, like many other men, had always entertained an antipathy and dread to doctors and medicines. In 1819, Dr. Antommarchi, of the university of Pisa, was allowed to go to St. Helena as physician to Bonaparte; and two Catholic clergymen went out from Italy to act as his chaplains. Towards the end of 1820 he grew worse, and remained in a weak state until the following April, when the disease assumed an alarming character. He then consented to be attended by Dr. Arnott. "From the first," says another British medical officer who was on the island, "Napoleon appeared to be aware of the nature of his malady; referring it to disease of the stomach, of which his father died, and with which his sister, the Princess Borghese, was threatened. Arnott assured me at the time, that his patient would

the motives which obstructed and delayed his publishing will not have any weight with those who inherit his MSS., and who are most interested in his good fame. He himself never abandoned the intention of doing this justice to his own character, for he was both speaking about it, and writing about it, when he was suddenly seized with his last short and fatal illness. It will be easy to understand some of the weighty considerations which long induced Sir Hudson to put off a work, which ought to have been done by the government. But can there now exist any reason for not publishing the original instructions which Sir Hudson received from Lord Liverpool's cabinet, and the full and minute correspondence he afterwards carried on from St. Helena with Lord Bathurst, the secretary of state for the colonies, and under whose orders he more immediately acted? These documents alone would set the matter at rest for ever.

often put his hand on the pit of his stomach, and exclaim, 'Ah! mon pylore! mon pylore!'"* He lingered till six o'clock in the evening of the 6th of May (1821). On the day after his death, the body, according to his own request, was opened by Dr. Antommarchi, in the presence of Dr. Short, Dr. Arnott, Dr. Henry, and several other British staff and medical officers. Dr. Henry, who wrote the report of this *post mortem* examination, at the request of Dr. Short, fully confirms elsewhere the facts that death had been caused, not by disease of the liver, but by a schirrus in the pylorus. He says, "The diseased state of the stomach was palpably and demonstrably the cause of death; and how Napoleon could have existed for any time with such an organ was wonderful, for there was not an inch of it sound. Antommarchi was about to put his name to the bulletin, with the English medical gentlemen, when he was called aside by Bertrand and Montholon, and after this conference he declined signing. The reason was, no doubt, that such proceeding on his part would contradict the diagnosis of Mr. O'Meara." This last-named individual, who obtained an unfortunate notoriety by making himself *l'homme de l'empereur* (the emperor's man), by joining in the rancorous abuse against Sir Hudson Lowe, and by vilifying the British government, in whose pay he was and long had been, had immediately chimed in with Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, and the rest, and had aided them in publishing to the world that the seat of Bonaparte's disorder was in the liver, that the disorder was aggravated, if not originally created, by the climate of St. Helena, &c. There, in presence of the inanimate body, and when the curtain had, indeed, dropped for ever, it might have been expected, even from these men, that they would cease playing their farce. But they had no intention of so doing; they were incapable of the solemn feeling which ought to have been inspired by that sad scene; they were determined not to confess that they had been guilty of misrepresentation and wilful falsehood, but to persevere in their imposture, in order to keep alive the hatred of all their party to England, and, if possible, to make the whole world believe the reports which they had propagated, and which O'Meara had sanctioned. They wanted to show that the report was only signed by Englishmen, and that, therefore, it was entitled to no credit! They thoroughly well knew the nature of the complaint; they had heard and had seen how their master defined the seat of his disorder, and they had now before their eyes the frightful ulcer which occupied his stomach; but all this signified nothing to them, as the world at large could not tell what they had known, or heard, or seen! These men were, indeed, contemptible pigmies as compared with Bonaparte; but even he, a few days before his death, had done a deed as despicable and base as any that they could do. If any excuse can be found for it, it must be this—he was delirious at the time, and *they* put the notion into his head. The last will and testament of Napoleon, which is now at Doctors' Commons, contains this codicil:—"24th April, 1821.—Item. I bequeath ten thousand francs to the subaltern officer, Cantillon, who has undergone a trial upon the charge of having endeavoured to assassinate Lord Wellington, of which he was pronounced innocent. *Cantillon had as much right to assassinate that oligarchist as the latter had to send me to perish on the rock of St. Helena.*" This was saying, as plainly as any words could express it, that he, the dying Bonaparte, believed Cantillon to have been guilty of an atrocious attempt, and that it was for that very deed that he left him a legacy. For ourselves, we not only believe that this ruffian was as guilty of firing a pistol at the head of the Duke of Wellington as Fieschi was of letting off his infernal machine at Louis Philippe, but also that *the Parisian jury* who acquitted him were even more thoroughly convinced than we are of his guilt.* The feelings displayed by Sir Hudson Lowe at this crisis were highly honourable to him. Though afflicted by the violent illness of a child of his own, he went to Longwood early in the morning of the 5th of May, staid there the whole day, and did not return until all was over. He was then deeply affected. One of his officers observed, that the deceased was the most formidable enemy England had ever had. Sir Hudson stopped him, and other remarks which might have followed from other quarters, by saying, "Well, gentlemen, he was England's greatest enemy, and mine too; but I forgive him everything. On the death of a great man, we should only feel deep concern and regret."†

The faults committed, or allowed to be committed, by the Bourbons at the Restoration of 1814 did not include any over-severity, or cruelty, or bloodshed; and, if we consider the wrongs which the family had suffered, or the execrable barbarities which had been practised upon some members of that unfortunate family, including the Duchess of Angoulême, who had survived them, and who now returned to Paris, it must be confessed that the abstinence from vengeance was altogether astonishing. Many of the members of the National Convention, who, in defiance of all law, had voted the deaths of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the Princess Elizabeth, were living in France, and were

* Dr. Henry.

* A very numerous party in Paris thought that to murder the Duke of Wellington would be no crime, but a laudable and glorious act of patriotism. This low ruffian, Marie André Cantillon, became very popular. At the time, and long afterwards, the subject of the duke's escape from being murdered was treated very merrily in prose and verse. We forget the precise words and the jingle of the rhyme, but we remember the sense of an epigrammatic quatrain on Cantillon's unlucky failure. It was this—poor Cantillon mistook the English general for a grand homme (*which means either a great or a tall man*), and so, aiming too high, missed him!

† Dr. Henry. The doctor, who had been summoned in the middle of the preceding night to attend the governor's youngest child, whose illness was sudden and alarming, remained in the house with his little patient, and there saw and heard all that he reports of Sir Hudson's behaviour. He says, "In bare justice to an ill used man, I can testify that, notwithstanding the bitter passages between the great departed and himself, the governor spoke of him in a respectful, feeling, and every way proper manner."—*Recollections of a Staff Surgeon, &c.*

left to live there undisturbed. Many notorious scoundrels who had played the part of gaolers and tormentors in the Temple were permitted to live in Paris: not one was brought to the scaffold, not one was transported, hardly one was exiled. All who had acquired titles, honours, estates, and by whatsoever means, were allowed to retain them without inquiry or question. It was the first time that a revolution, or a counter-revolution, had happened in France without being followed by torrents of blood. The conspiracy, the return from Elba, the flight from the Tuileries, the campaign of Waterloo seemed but an evil return for so much moderation. It is reported that the Emperor of Austria, on learning the return from Elba and the triumphant march upon Paris, said to the Emperor of Russia, who had always recommended moderation and magnanimity, "Well, Sire, now you see what has happened from protecting your Jacobins at Paris!" It was not to be expected from human nature, and, perhaps, at that time, not one man in a thousand thought it consistent with good policy, that the second restoration, or the counter-revolution of 1815 should be so bloodless and so gentle as that of 1814. Many of the treasons which had been committed had been attended with such exasperating circumstances! Saints might bear them, but they were not to be borne by princes and men liable to human passions! To the stormier of these passions few princes or men were less liable than was Louis XVIII.; but, having been so grossly betrayed by the Bonapartists and the men of the revolution whom he had trusted, he felt that he could trust them no more, and that he must of necessity employ and have near his person none but royalists and decided Bourbonists; and this party, composed of returned emigrants, of men who had lost in the Revolution nearly everything but their ancient names, who had suffered the extremities of humiliation, and of whom many had undergone even the extremities of privation in foreign lands, was indisposed to a repetition of the experiment which had been tried with such signal ill-success the preceding year, and inclined to look upon this second restoration as a harvest of compensation on one side and of vengeance on the other. They were men, they were *Frenchmen;* and no French party or faction, when once let loose, had ever yet been either mereiful or moderate. Yet even now, through the personal character of Louis XVIII., and through other influences, conspicuous among which were the recommendations of Talleyrand and the Duke of Wellington, the vengeance taken was almost miraculously moderate. In order to render their resistance the more desperate, Labédoyère and others had talked among the Bonapartists of an interminable list of proscriptions, of the guillotine *en permanence*, as in the Reign of Terror! Yet when the avenging royal ordinance was published (on the 24th of July) it was found to contain only fifty-seven names; and of these only nineteen were threatened with capital punishment or trial before a military tribunal. The first name on the black list was that of Ney; the second was that of Labédoyère. In the lighter part of the list were the names of Soult, Carnot, Vandamme, &c.; they were merely ordered to quit Paris within three days, and retire into the interior of France, to places to be indicated to them, where they were to remain under inspection until the chambers should decide which of them ought either to depart the kingdom or be delivered up to legal prosecution. It was explained that such of these individuals as should be condemned to exile should be allowed to sell their property in France, and freely carry the proceeds with them. Labédoyère and Ney were the only two that suffered death. For General Mallet's conspiracy alone the government of Bonaparte had, in 1812, put to death that more than half-insane general, two other general officers (Lahorie and Guidal), and eleven other officers of various grades. Fourteen military men, who had all fought and bled for the republic or for Bonaparte, were all pitilessly fusiladed in the plain of Grenelle, for an insurrection which had lasted only five hours, and which had been put down with the greatest ease! These sanguinary acts were performed under the direction of Savary, Cambacérès, Real, and other Bonapartists of that quality; and the party generally, who afterwards made heaven and earth ring with their lamentations for the deaths of Labédoyère and Ney, applauded what was done, as the quick and energetic action of a strong government (*une forte administration*).*

Both money and passports had been sent to Labédoyère, but, instead of quitting the country, which it appears he might easily have done, he remained with the army behind the Loire as long as he could, and he then came back to Paris, in disguise, and with projects which perhaps have

* These summary proceedings were accompanied by many horrible, and by some disgusting, circumstances. They ought not to be forgotten, but preserved and remembered as fair specimens of worse proceedings, and as proof of the propriety with which the fallen and effete Bonapartists could fill Europe with their clamours about the deaths of Ney and Labédoyère. Mallet, who was more than half crazed, had rendered important services to Bonaparte and to Marshal Massena in Italy. He had been dismissed the service on suspicion of republicanism, had afterwards been seized by Bonaparte's secret police, and, without any trial, had been detained for several years either in a state-prison, or in a *Maison de Santé*, under the strictest surveillance. His accomplices, Generals Lahorie and Guidal, had undergone the same fate, and were only liberated from their long imprisonment in La Force, at Paris, by the momentary success of the conspiracy. General Lahorie, once the bosom friend of Moreau and of Carnot, had favoured and patronized Savary at a time when Bonaparte could do nothing for him, and had obtained promotion for this heartless villain, who directed the military tribunal, and who would not hear of mercy. Lahorie's body was literally covered with wounds and scars, received in the great campaigns of the republic. Others bore the same marks. The plot, the overthrow of it, the seizure, trial, and execution of the conspirators, were all comprised within the narrow space of twenty-four hours. Bonaparte's courts-martial, or military tribunals, never allowed either mercy or delay. Some of the members of the present court were sharply haudled by Mallet, who well knew that his death, at least, was inevitable, and who had made up his mind to die. The president of the court, General Dejean, asked him who were his accomplices? "All France, and you yourself, Dejean, would have been my accomplices, if I had been successful," replied Mallet. Soulier, one of his actual accomplices, an old *chef de bataillon*, who had been battered in many campaigns, but who still clung to life, exclaimed several times before that bloody tribunal, "Gentlemen, have mercy! have pity upon us! We are all old officers, riddled with balls! and we are all fathers of families!" The slaughter on the plain of Grenelle was frightful. Though pierced by several bullets, Mallet was found alive when the firing had ceased; and so the soldiers finished their work by thrusting their bayonets into him

not yet been fully explained. At a moment when the emigrants and the royalists of all classes were dreading some fresh conspiracy, and were calling upon Louis XVIII. and his government for vigorous measures, Labédoyère was arrested in the capital, and, in conformity with the ordinance of the 24th July, was handed over to a *conseil de guerre*, or court-martial. This court willingly and readily tried him, without once referring to the convention or capitulation of Paris, which if good for Ney was good for Labédoyère; and, as the facts of the case were all capable of being proved by hundreds and thousands of witnesses, as the prisoner himself confessed them all, and had no extenuating circumstances to plead except that other and more powerful officers were more guilty than he, and that nearly the whole army was in the conspiracy, the court condemned him to be shot as a traitor; and he was shot on the evening of the 19th of August, the order for his execution being signed by Marshal Gouvion de St. Cyr.

Marshal Ney had fled in disguise, and with a passport bearing a false name, on the 6th of July, two days after the ratification of the convention or capitulation of Paris, and one day before the troops of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher entered that city. He had nothing to fear either from the British or from the Prussian general; but Louis XVIII. and his exasperated court were then close to Paris, and Ney evidently fled because he feared their vengeance and felt convinced that Wellington and Blücher had no right to interfere, even if disposed so to do, and that the convention of Paris gave him (Ney) no protection, and no claim whatever upon any of the parties who had signed the said convention. If such had not been his convictions could Ney have condescended to fly like a felon? Would he have resorted to measures which would have gone far to deprive him of his claim upon the convention if such a claim had in reality existed? And could he have taken these steps without the advice of knowing, expert men—of members of the provisional government who had concluded the convention, and who well knew that the case of Marshal Ney was not provided for in that agreement, and that the Duke of Wellington, in showing Louis XVIII.'s declaration, that he reserved to himself the right of bringing some of the chief conspirators and traitors to condign punishment, had told the five commissioners of the provisional government that he (the duke) had nothing to say on that head, meaning that his silence should be taken for the confession that he had no right, power, or faculty whatsoever to interfere with the determination of Louis XVIII., or to stay proceedings either against Ney or against any other man in the same predicament. Now, as the peculiarly aggravating circumstances of Ney's treason were known to all Paris, there was nobody in that capital but felt that the vengeance of the laws would be especially directed against him; and to all who knew what had passed between the Duke of Wellington and the five commissioners on the 29th of June, six days before the convention was ratified, and nine days before the allies entered Paris, the duke's silence upon the avenging clause in the royal declaration must have been considered as a warning to men like Ney and Labédoyère to get out of the way and to quit France as speedily as might be. We have seen, upon the evidence of the Duke of Wellington's circumstantial dispatch to his own government, that the five commissioners sent out to his grace by the provisional government at Paris, over which the heartless and astucious Fouché presided, appear to have said or to have thought very little about the matter, that is, about the clause in Louis XVIII.'s declaration which threatened the chief conspirators, &c. As soon as the capitulation of Paris was signed Ney obtained the false passport from Fouché. He did not take his departure immediately; but he was urged so to do by all his friends, and by all who disliked bloodshed and military executions. Talleyrand urged him to fly, and when he did fly, on the 6th of July, Fouché advised him to get into Switzerland as quickly as possible; and it appears to have been Talleyrand who facilitated his retreat to that country by inducing Count Bubna, who commanded the Austrian army which stretched along the frontiers of Switzerland and along the valley of the Rhone, as far as the city of Lyons, to countersign Ney's fictitious passport. Both Talleyrand and Fouché may, indeed, have been anxious to get Marshal Ney out of the country, from motives very distinct from those of humanity and compassion; but these motives will by no means prove that they believed Ney to be protected by the convention of Paris.

Why Ney after his flight from Paris did not get beyond the frontiers is still open to discussion and to doubt. Many ardent royalists were in search of him, and at last a volunteer of this class, one M. Locard, who was prefect of police of the department, but who had received no commission from the Bourbon government, discovered and seized the marshal in an obscure *auberge*, or public-house, in the Cantal, the southernmost and wildest part of old Auvergne, and one of the very wildest and most mountainous regions in France—a region of extinct volcanoes. He was immediately brought up to Paris, and there examined *secretly* by Louis XVIII.'s prefect of police, according to the unchanged and unchangeable French fashion. He is reported to have spoken as if his vision and brain were still affected by the powder and smoke of Waterloo—to have exclaimed, "Ah! that fatal day (meaning the 13th of March, the day of his defection)! I lost my head! I was dragged into it, and could not help it." The Bourbon ministry deliberated several days whether Ney should be tried by the Chamber of Peers or by a court-martial; but at last they decided that, as his name had been struck out of the list of peers since his flight and since the ordonnance of the 24th of July, he should be tried by a *conseil de guerre* (court-martial). Marshal Moncey, who was named president of this court, as the oldest

of the marshals, refused either to preside or to be present at the trial; upon which Marshal Jourdan, the vanquished at Vittoria, was named president, and Marshals Massena, Augereau, Mortier, and Generals Gazan, Claparède, and Villatte, and the Mareschal-de-camp Grundler were appointed to be members of the court-martial. But Ney's advocates and defenders insisted that this tribunal, that this court-martial, was incompetent to try their client at all, and that Ney, having been a peer at the time of his defection and alleged treason, could be tried only by the Chamber of Peers. The marshals were but too glad to be relieved from the odium of the trial and from all responsibility, and it was decided by the majority that the court was not competent to proceed with the trial. This was on the 9th of November. On the 11th the Duke of Richelieu, president of the council and minister for foreign affairs, presented to the Chamber of Peers the act of accusation and the royal ordonnance (signed by all the ministers now in office) ordering them to try Ney for high treason, &c. The Chamber of Peers, without demur, proceeded immediately with the trial, and on the 6th of December, by a majority of 138 against 22, returned a verdict of GUILTY—DEATH: and of the very small minority not one voted for a verdict of Not Guilty; seventeen of the peers recommending transportation (*la déportation*) instead of the capital punishment, and five of them declining to vote at all. Madame Ney waited upon the Duke of Wellington to quote the convention to him, and to demand his interference —not as a favour, but as a right—to prove to him that he was bound in honour, and by his own act, to protect her husband. She says, that the duke replied that he had nothing to do with the government of the King of France, and that it was not in his power to stop its justice: and, if Wellington said so, he said what was perfectly true. The government of Louis XVIII. had been entirely changed in the month of September, and Talleyrand, with whom Wellington had at times consulted on internal French affairs, as being the only wise statesman in the country, and the most moderate, was no longer in office and was no longer consulted by the king. It was Talleyrand and the Duke of Wellington who had stopped many contemplated measures of severity, and who had greatly reduced the list of proscription. Madame Ney applied also to the ambassadors of other nations resident in Paris, but without any effect. Ney himself wrote to the Duke of Wellington, but in the same sense in which his wife had spoken to his grace. Madame Ney then made matters still more hopeless by publishing a defective and incorrect account of the conversation which she had had with the duke. In consequence of this publication, which set forward in the eyes of the whole world the *twelfth* article of the convention of Paris as binding the British and Prussian commanders-in-chief to protect Ney, the Duke of Wellington drew up a memorandum on the 19th of November, which was communicated to the ministers of the allied powers, and afterwards published. We can only refer to this convincing document, which French historians of the present schools will never quote, as setting the question of the plea set up for Ney, under the convention, at rest for ever, in so far, at least, as regards the discussion of it by reasoning and facts, and not by passion and mere declamation and invective.

The sentence on the marshal was pronounced at half-past eleven o'clock of the night of the 6th of December. At midnight, a council was held at the Tuileries. The Duke of Richelieu, who may be considered as the real chief of this cabinet, had said, "Who dares to take any interest in the fate of Ney?" Some of Richelieu's colleagues, however, are said to have ventured to recommend a reprieve, and transportation to America; but timidly and doubtingly. It is added that this proposition was made to the king himself about an hour after midnight, and that his Majesty would not listen to it for one moment. It was resolved to hasten the execution, as the government had been induced to suspect that there was a desperate plot on foot for releasing the marshal, and for making an *émeute*, or insurrection, in the faubourgs. Ney, however, was not conducted to his place of execution by the light of a lantern, as the Duc d'Enghien had been. The sun was getting high in the heavens, it was nine o'clock in the morning, when Ney was brought out of his prison, to be conducted to the spot selected for his execution—the broad, open, and public gardens of the Luxembourg Palace, towards the Observatory. He was carried in a hackney-coach through the populous streets and quays of Paris, but there was no commotion, no *beau désespoir*. The faubourg people cared little about "the bravest of the brave;" the Bonapartists, and the other men who sympathised with him, were kept in awe by the foreign troops, and by the French troops that wore the white cockade; and the execution of Marshal Ney passed off as quietly as that of Palm at Nuremberg, as that of Hofer at Mantua, or as any other state-execution had done, when Bonaparte's army gave the law, and suppressed the expression of public feeling by the display of their strength. At the Luxembourg Ney found a small detachment of gendarmerie and two platoons of veterans waiting for him. He was shot by one of these veteran platoons; he fell pierced with twelve bullets, three of them in the head, and he died instantly, and without a struggle. The public funds, which had been fluctuating, rose as soon as it was known that he was dead. He left behind him, in France, many men who had done more to merit death; but this will not prove that his treason had been unjustly punished.

A third execution would have been added if the condemned prisoner had not escaped. This was Lavalette, Bonaparte's director-general of the Post-office, and the husband of a near relation of Bonaparte's first wife. His professional knowledge and

experience had given him the means of being very useful during the progress of the Elba conspiracy. Upon the return of his master from Elba, he resumed his important office (trebly important in a country where all the posting-horses were placed under the control of the postmaster, and where the system of opening letters, and stopping such as might be objectionable, was carried to the utmost perfection). He was also made one of Bonaparte's new peers. Early in the morning of the 20th of March, many hours before Bonaparte arrived at the Tuileries from Fontainebleau, and scarcely two hours after Louis XVIII. had fled for Lille, Lavalette, whose subalterns and *employés* had nearly all been left in their places by the Bourbons, took possession of the general post-office in Paris, laid his hands upon all the letters and upon all the money there, and addressed a circular letter to the directors or postmasters in all parts of France, assuring them that the emperor Napoleon would be at Paris within two hours, that the capital was in the greatest enthusiasm, and that, let the Bourbonists do what they would, there was no fear of any civil war in France. With his ample means, Lavalette soon spread copies of this letter far and near, and thus contributed very essentially to the temporary success of the conspiracy. After the king's return, his name was set down in the list of proscription. He was arrested some time after in Paris. His case was handed over to the common court of assize (*Cour d'Assises*), and on the 22nd of November he was found guilty by a jury, and was condemned to death. The wife of the condemned, aided by Marshal Marmont, one of Lavalette's old companions in arms, obtained access to the king, threw herself on her knees, and implored him to exercise the prerogative of mercy. The king spoke kindly and compassionately to her, but gave no promise, thus leaving it to be understood that justice must take its course. Other efforts were equally unavailing. As in the cases of Labédoyère and Ney, the French attributed the severity of the king to the interference of his niece, the Duchess of Angoulême; but the charge is absurd. The whole court, the whole ministry, both the Houses or Chambers now sitting, were clamouring for rigour and for examples; but the French people could never see the sad haggard face of the daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie-Antoinette, without thinking of the Temple and the guillotine, and of all the unspeakable horrors and woes which they had made her suffer in her childhood and youth, and they could never drive from their own vindictive hearts and heads the notion that she lived and breathed only for revenge and retaliation. Madame Lavalette was an affectionate and devoted wife, and her husband had many personal friends, and, in private life, some good and endearing qualities. The prisoner was not guarded so carefully as state-prisoners had been under the republic and under Bonaparte. Numerous friends visited him daily, and a very simple plan was laid for his escape. One, if not more, of his gaolers accepted a good bribe, and promised to be blind. Madame went to pay her last visit on the 21st of December, for he was to be executed on the next day. In the cell the couple exchanged clothes; and, though Lavalette was a short stout man, and his wife a very tall and thin woman, the travestied soldier and postmaster-general was allowed to descend the long staircase of the Conciergerie, to pass the several wickets, and to get fairly out of the prison without check or question. But his danger was not yet over. Without obtaining a passport, and other assistance, it was impossible for him to escape out of France. The giving of passports and the management of police no longer lay with Fouché, but with a devoted Bourbonist. On the 2nd of January, 1816, when the gendarmerie, when the dexterous and expert myrmidons of the police were hunting after him, and beating Paris like a bush, when every outlet from the city was sharply watched, and when orders had gone all over France to stop and seize him, Lavalette applied to Mr. Michael Bruce, a private gentleman residing in Paris, who chimed in with the most violent of the opposition party in England, and who, in common with a good many of his countrymen resident in the same place, had made himself conspicuous by violent censures of the proceedings of the allies and the Bourbon government, and by an exceedingly warm sympathy for the Bonapartists, whom they now represented as *unfortunate champions for liberty!* By means of an anonymous letter, conveyed by a steady friend, Bruce was informed that Lavalette was still in hiding in Paris, that he was in dread of being discovered every hour, and that nobody but a generous Englishman like Bruce could save him. Bruce immediately communicated with his friend and brother in politics Major-General Sir Robert Wilson, who readily agreed to assist in effecting the escape of the unhappy Frenchman. It is to be stated that Sir Robert Wilson was not, at this time, in active service. Bruce and Wilson then associated in their project Captain Hely Hutchinson, who *was* in active service, and quartered with his regiment in Paris, and whose political antipathies and sympathies were the same as those of Bruce and Wilson. Passports were procured from the British ambassador, Sir Charles Stuart, at the request and upon the responsibility of Sir R. Wilson, for a fictitious general and colonel, who were about to travel to Belgium. Lavalette's measure was procured, and a tailor was employed to make an English general's undress uniform, according to that measure. A good brown wig was purchased to disguise the fugitive by covering his grey hair; and, with the aid of Elliston, an English subaltern officer, Bruce, Wilson, and Hutchinson provided everything that could best contribute to get Lavalette safely beyond the French frontiers. With all the necessary precautions, Lavalette was smuggled by night from his hiding-place to Hutchinson's lodgings. On the next morning Sir Robert Wilson called at the door

with his own cabriolet, and took up the Anglicised Frenchman and drove off. Captain Hutchinson mounted his horse and rode by the side of the cabriolet, talking good loud English with Wilson. In this manner they got through Paris, and passed the barrier of Clichy with little or no observation. At one or two villages on the road they were alarmed by some gendarmes, who seemed to hover about them. Farther on they passed other gendarmes, who had copies of a hand-bill containing the description of Lavalette's person and features, which had been dispersed throughout France; but Hutchinson speaking good French, and having a ready wit about him, gave answers which satisfied these police-soldiers. As they were approaching the town of Compiègne, Sir Robert Wilson observed that some of Lavalette's grey hairs were straggling from under his juvenile wig; and Sir Robert, taking a pair of scissors, adroitly clipped off these tell-tales. In Compiègne they sought out retired quarters, where they waited till Elliston arrived with Sir Robert Wilson's travelling carriage. When post-horses were procured (we believe there was not one of the postmasters that would have stopped Lavalette if he had known him ever so well), the late postmaster-general and Sir Robert continued their journey to the near frontier. They crossed it safely, after passing through Cambray and Valenciennes, which were garrisoned by British troops, and they reached Mons, in Belgium, where all Lavalette's danger might be considered as over. Sir Robert Wilson then posted back to Paris, the whole of the expedition having occupied only sixty hours. Suspicion, however, fell upon the English knight; and the Bourbon postmaster-general resorting, at the orders of his government, to those questionable measures which Lavalette had so often employed when he held that office, stopped and opened letters, paying a particular attention to such as were addressed to the leaders of the English opposition. In this way a letter was procured, and handed over to the police, written by Sir Robert Wilson to Earl Grey, and containing a full and exact narrative of the whole transaction. Immediately after this evidence was obtained, the police arrested Sir Robert, Mr. Bruce, and Captain Hutchinson, and ransacked their private papers in the hope of finding more evidence against them. At first each of the three prisoners resisted every attempt which had for its object to lead him to confess the fact, or criminate himself or his friends (and, contrary to the English practice, all preliminary examinations in France were, and still are, directed mainly to this one object); but Sir Robert Wilson afterwards asserted on his trial, that this was done only to compel the French government to confess the seizure of his letter to Earl Grey. Being conveyed to the prison of La Force, they demanded to be released upon bail. This was replied to by an ordonnance of the council, which said that there was no ground for the present for determining upon the said demand. The three prisoners then drew up a memorial, in which an appeal against the ordonnance was maintained, on the legal argument that the title of their accusation indicated only correctional and not criminal penalties, and, therefore, did not exclude bail. Of this memorial no notice was taken. They then made an application for the communication to their council of the papers connected with their trial, and this was refused, "in conformity with the law of France." They were then transferred to the Conciergerie, the prison from which Lavalette had escaped, and from which Lavalette's wife had been allowed to take her departure without hindrance or molestation, as soon as the trick was explained. She was not arraigned with those who had completed the work which she had helped to begin, nor was she ever molested afterwards. The Bourbon government had its vices, its faults, its imbecilities; but it respected the religion and the law which justifies a wife in doing almost anything by the order of, or for the sake of, her husband, and they were clearly incapable of using that rigour against a female in her situation, or in situations similar to hers, which had been employed very frequently under the republic, and which, under a mitigated and less sanguinary form, had not been wholly unknown under the Consulate and Empire. If Madame Lavalette had been found in her husband's cell and dress in the time of the committee of *Salut Public*, of which Carnot was a member, she would have been sent to the guillotine in his stead; if she had been so found under Bonaparte, she would have been subjected to the mental torture of his police, and to a long detention. Under the present altered state of affairs it is French phrase-making and mere bombast to describe Madame Lavalette's short, easy, and well-prepared performance as the miraculous invention and execution of conjugal love, as the most touching, most heroic, most sublime instance upon record of what a woman can do for the object of her affections. The history of every country that has a history will furnish instances where women have done ten times more and have incurred a hundred times more danger for fathers, brothers, husbands, or lovers; and the bloody records of the French revolution offer abundant instances of delicate women braving the utmost extremities of fatigue and danger for the slightest and most desperate chance of saving those they loved. These women acted with the guillotine and its *corvées* before their eyes, and in most cases with the fore-knowledge that, whether they succeeded or failed in their mission, their own death was inevitable. Here the strength of affection was put to the strongest test; here a sublimity of love, heroism, and self-devotion was required; but there was not an *avocat*, there was not a *friend*, in Paris but could have told Madame Lavalette that the greatest risk she ran was that of a short imprisonment. But the high-souled dames and demoiselles who so braved Samson and his axe were Bourbonists—aristocrats (of the old and not

of the new class). According to the writers of the Bonapartist school, all virtue and heroism began with the Empire, or, at the earliest, with the Consulate, and no sympathy or pity was due except to the friends and partisans of Napoleon; and (partly, perhaps, because the number of victims was so very small) they dwelt with untiring invention and rhetoric upon each particular case, filling the world with rhapsodies and false notions, which it is high time the world should be disabused of. But, though Madame Lavalette was not arraigned along with Sir Robert Wilson and his two friends, the turnkey, the under-turnkey, and some other subordinate agents of a class scarcely more honourable, were arraigned with them. They were tried by the same court of assize which had tried Lavalette. They were brought to the bar on the 22nd of April, 1816, Sir Robert Wilson appearing in grand uniform, with seven or eight orders of different European sovereigns, and Hutchinson wearing the uniform of his military rank. The court was crowded to excess by Bonapartists or liberals (the two terms being now confounded), and the number and temper of the auditory seem to have excited our three countrymen, who were all of an excitable temperament, to certain displays of eloquence which were neither called for, nor in good taste. They demanded that, as in England a foreigner accused of any crime is entitled to be tried by a jury composed half of Englishmen and half of foreigners, a similar privilege might be extended to them in France. The court replied that this was contrary to French law, or that there was no precedent for it. But the Englishmen had nothing to fear either from the severity of a French jury or from the severity of the French judges; and it might have happened that six English jurymen would have been found in Paris who would have been very unfavourably impressed by some of the speeches made by the prisoners to a French audience. There was now abundant evidence, even without Sir Robert Wilson's intercepted letter to Earl Grey, to prove all the facts of the case, and each of the prisoners now frankly confessed all that had been done. Mr. Bruce, to whom Lavalette had applied in the first instance, said, "I could not repulse a man who had put his life into my hands." The whole defence ought to have begun and ended here. This was a sentiment which would have been re-echoed by every true Englishman, whatever might be his politics; and there could have been but few British officers in France but would have infringed the strict line of their duty to save Lavalette if he had thrown himself into their power, and have stated that they alone could save him from certain death. But both Bruce and Wilson went on to declaim against the restored Bourbon government and against their own government; and the louder they grew upon these particulars the more visible and the more audible became the approbation and admiration of that crowded audience. After Sir Robert's finishing speech "some violence was done to the respect due to the majesty of justice;" which means, in plain English, that the Frenchmen clapped their hands and shouted and cheered. The *preux chevaliers*, not satisfied with having saved Lavalette and with justifying that generous deed, took upon themselves—there, in a foreign country and in a foreign court of justice, crammed with the inveterate enemies of their country—to declare and protest—against the word, and the convincing, unanswerable exposition, of the Duke of Wellington, whose honour was as pure as that of any one of them, and whose intellect and judgment were worth more than those, not of three but three score such men—that the national faith of England had been shamefully violated both in the prosecution of Marshal Ney and in that of Lavalette, inasmuch as they were both sheltered by the 12th article of the Convention of Paris! The serious charge, that the prisoners had been engaged in a plot, directed generally against the political system of Europe, and particularly with the object of changing the French government, and exciting the French people to take up arms, was struck out before the indictment came into this court. Upon the minor offence, that they had effected the escape of a prisoner condemned by the laws of his country, the jury reluctantly, and after a deliberation of two hours, returned a verdict of guilty. The president of the court, after a very gentle address, read the article in the Code Napoleon, in which the punishment prescribed for such offences was imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, nor less than three months; and then without hesitation he pronounced sentence for the shortest allowable term. The turnkey, or concierge, Eberlé, was condemned to two years' imprisonment, and then to ten years of police surveillance: all the rest were acquitted. The trouble and anxiety which it had cost the three Englishmen to smuggle Lavalette out of France formed no trifling sacrifice: they passed three months in prison before they were brought to trial; and two of them had exposed themselves to much more severe consequences—to be cashiered out of the British army; and yet, after all these sacrifices, and notwithstanding their very acceptable protest about the Convention of Paris, French historians, though continuing to exaggerate the heroic sacrifices made by Lavalette's wife, are beginning to omit all mention or even allusion to the names of Mr. Michael Bruce, General Sir Robert Wilson, and Captain Hely Hutchinson. The conduct of the Prince Regent, or of the British government, which had been grossly insulted, was mild and generous even to magnanimity. As both Wilson and Hutchinson were British officers of some distinction, it was impossible for the regent, in the relation in which he stood towards the King of France, to omit taking notice of an adventure which had subjected them to the penal sentence of a French court. Accordingly, through the usual channe of the Horse Guards, the regent expressed to the two officers the opinion he entertained of their conduct. They were told, that, while he must condemn

their rashness in interfering with the internal affairs of France, and reprove them for a departure from the propriety of their character as British officers, his royal highness nevertheless felt the extraordinary situation in which they had been placed, and forebore inflicting upon them any punishment beyond what this expression of his censure might convey.

The design had been well known to them long before; but it was on the evening of the 4th of March, that a confidential messenger brought to Carolina Bonaparte and her husband, King Joachim of Naples, the news that the emperor had quitted Elba on the 26th of February, and was sailing for France. By the 22nd of March, Murat and his whole army were in motion. Knowing, by the experience of last year, the immense moral force of the tiara, Murat assured the pope that no mischief, no disrespect was intended to him; but, as the noisy Neapolitan army entered the States of the Church, the pope and his cardinals, his guest Charles IV. of Spain, and other personages, fled to Genoa, and left Rome sad, silent, and deserted. The Emperor of Austria was thoroughly acquainted with many facts and circumstances which rendered Murat's army a rope of sand; but, at the same time, the court of Vienna, suspecting Murat's intentions, having palpable proofs of the correspondence he had been carrying on with Elba, and being determined to make security doubly sure, had sent General Frimont into Lombardy with large reinforcements, and had resolved not to withdraw a single battalion from Italy for the war or the military occupation in France, until Murat should declare himself, and thereupon receive his *quietus*. All the passes of the Alps and Mantua, and all the formidable fortresses in Upper Italy, had now been nearly twelve months in the hands of the Austrians. As the Neapolitans advanced, the country people carried their persons and their property as far out of their way as they conveniently could: the vision of a *levée en masse*, or of an active and enthusiastic army of insurgents following the banners of Murat and of "L'INDIPENDENZA DELL' ITALIA," vanished into thin air. But in front was Frimont's army, 50,000 strong, and in the most perfect state of discipline and obedience. After some trifling affairs of positions, the Neapolitans sustained a severe check at Occhiobello, on the Po, and they can hardly be said to have fought again in earnest. While Murat was in the heat of this combat, trying to animate his people with his own courage, which was as brilliant as ever, and which was the only quality in him that had ever been brilliant, he received a letter from Lord William Bentinck, telling him that, according to the engagements of the European coalition, and on account of the sudden war into which he (Murat) had entered against Austria, without motive and without warning, his lordship must hold the armistice previously existing between Naples and England to be violated and broken; and that, consequently, England would now assist Austria both with land and sea forces. This blow alone was quite sufficient to shatter the whole of that scheme which Bonaparte pretended might have saved him if it had only been properly managed; for so universal had become the spirit of disaffection in the kingdom of Naples, that the arrival at that part of the coast of a small Anglo-Sicilian armament would have instantly led to a truly popular and fierce insurrection, and to wholesale desertion from Murat's wavering troops. Upon receiving Lord Bentinck's ominous note, though he looked and spoke as if he had been taken by surprise, Murat saw the imminent danger with which his throne and family at Naples were menaced; and a few hours after he quitted the main body of his army, and retraced his steps as far as Bologna. There he called a council of war, one half of the members of which were now actually plotting, directly or indirectly, against him. It was decided that, as the people of Italy would not be liberated, and as the Austrians were so much stronger than they ought to have been (they were again being joined by reinforcements), the only thing to be done was to retire upon the frontiers of their own kingdom. The retreat was commenced forthwith. Frimont followed it with unusual speed, and the Austrians were soon close upon the rear of the bewildered macaroni-eaters, who were followed at the same time by the hootings and curses of the townspeople and villagers, whose substance they had consumed without paying for it, for the military chest had not been filled as had been expected, but was now a perfect vacuum. Poor Murat, on the 29th of April, when the mountains of the Abruzzi and the other high lands which form the frontiers of Naples were full in sight, issued a proclamation to encourage his sore-footed and faint-hearted soldiers, and to tell them that, though the movements they had lately been making looked like a retreat, they were in reality no such thing, but only strategetical movements, which he had contemplated and arranged from the beginning! Between the 1st and 4th of May, there was some sharp skirmishing (we can scarcely call the affairs battles) at Macerata and Tolentino, in the Roman states; but, though the Neapolitans claimed some advantages, Murat found that he must retreat still farther, and cross the frontiers, instead of holding his ground in advance of them; for, while he had been attending to two of the great entrances into Naples, one Austrian division had with great ease forced a third entrance, being welcomed by the people, who declared for King Ferdinand; and another division was rapidly advancing by a fourth pass, and by the high posting-road which runs from Rome to the city of Naples; while other Austrian corps were gathering close on the flanks of Murat, and threatening to glide between him and the frontier. He moved quickly, but so did the Austrian general; and Neapolitans and Austrians crossed the frontier, and entered the kingdom at very nearly the same moment, and almost pell-

mell together. Murat's army of reserve had been almost entirely collected in the Abruzzi, and in the fortified camp of Mignano; and within that frontier line there were several strong fortresses, many walled towns, and many difficult mountain passes, but the troops could stand nowhere. The people were all in a state of insurrection, the fortresses capitulated upon summons, and the walled towns opened their gates to the Austrians, and hoisted the Bourbon flag. Some of his generals told him that the best way to drive back the invaders was to make and proclaim immediately a constitution. He took the sapient counsel; a constitution, pretty closely resembling the first *charte* of Louis XVIII., was hastily drawn up on the 12th of May among the mountains of the Abruzzi; and, being dispatched to Madame Murat, who was acting as regent during her husband's absence in the field, it was published in the capital on the 18th. It produced much less sensation than the placard of the day, which announced the opera and ballet that were to be performed that evening in the Theatre San Carlo. In the meanwhile, the Neapolitan soldiers who had returned from the Po, finding themselves among their own mountains or near to their own homes, deserted from the standard of their French king in shoals, told everybody they met that 100,000 Austrians, at the very least, had entered the kingdom, and that their legitimate true-born Neapolitan king was coming back. Prince Leopold, the second son of King Ferdinand, was with the Austrian division that was advancing by the direct road from Rome. General Manhes, who had behaved like a butcher in Calabria, now behaved like a coward and idiot, abandoning positions and making ridiculous movements by which Murat's right flank and rear were equally endangered. Thanks to Austrian slowness and caution, Murat got out of the mountainous regions of the Abruzzi; but it was only to learn that four or five entire provinces had hoisted the Bourbon flag, and that an English squadron was threatening to bombard the capital, unless his regent wife delivered over all his vessels of war, naval stores, &c., to be held by the English until the conclusion of the war. Bonaparte's mother, his uncle Cardinal Fesch, and his sister Pauline, who had all been living at Naples, had fled for France by sea, and his children had been sent for security to the formidable fortress of Gaeta. While Murat was devising how to make a stand on the river Garigliano, or on the river Volturno, the division of his army, posted in the fortified camp of Mignano, fell into a panic by night, set up the Neapolitan shout of "*Fuyimmo!*" which means rather more than the French "*Sauve qui peut*," mistook friends for foes, fired upon one another in the dark, fled from that excellent position, left all their artillery and baggage behind them, and ran through some regiments posted in their rear, screaming, "We are betrayed! You are betrayed! We are all betrayed!" This was the last act of the campaign which Murat had commenced with the intention of revolutionizing all Italy, and then of crossing the Alps with a vast Italian army to fall upon the rear of Schwartzenberg's army in France! He advised his generals to make the best convention and bargain for themselves they could with the Austrians (few of them needed the advice, for they had taken thought for themselves beforehand), and, quitting this remnant of his army, he travelled *incognito* to Naples, entered the city in the dusk of the evening, drove into the palace, and announced that fortune had betrayed him, that all was lost. He found that his wife had already concluded an agreement with Commodore Campbell, she consenting to give up the Neapolitan ships of war, &c., and he engaging to give her and her family, her private property and attendants, an asylum on board his ships, and afterwards a passage in an English man-of-war to whatsoever port in the Mediterranean she might choose to repair to. When Carolina Bonaparte made this compact with the British commodore, she was hourly threatened with a fierce insurrection of all the Lazzaroni, rabble, and revengeful royalists of the city; and this danger became much greater a day or two after, when her husband had again left her, and when she found herself under the hard necessity of imploring Campbell to land 300 English sailors and marines to assist in guarding the palace. It is to be mentioned to her honour, that throughout this crisis, which lasted several days, she displayed great courage and presence of mind.

On the 20th of May the Neapolitan generals concluded a convention with the Austrians at Casa Lanza, a farm house only three miles from Capua and only nineteen from Naples: they agreed to give up the fortress of Capua on the 21st, and the city of Naples with its castles, &c. on the 23rd: the Austrians agreed, in the names of the Emperor Francis and King Ferdinand, that they and all the Neapolitan officers that took the oath of allegiance to the restored Bourbon should retain their military rank, their pay, pensions, honours, titles, estates, &c., &c. On the evening of the day on which this convention was signed Murat fled from Naples to the solitary coast between Baiæ and Minternum, and thence, in a fisherman's boat, crossed over to the island of Ischia. Two Neapolitan noblemen, who had held high rank in his army, and who were exceedingly attached to him, would not abandon him in his present forlorn state; but except these two high-minded men he had few followers. On the next day his wife, protected by English sailors and marines, embarked in the British man-of-war; and on the 23rd of May the Austrians and the Bourbon prince Leopold entered Naples in triumph. A few days after Commodore Campbell sailed down to Gaeta, took Murat's four children on board, and then carried them, with their mother and their rather numerous attendants, to the Emperor of Austria's Adriatic port of Trieste. From the island of Ischia Murat and his thin and despondent retinue went in a small coasting-vessel

to the coast of France, and on the 28th or 29th of May they entered the port of Frejus, where Bonaparte had landed on his return from Elba. Here doubts and misgivings, which had been scorned before, overcame Murat, and, not daring to proceed to Paris and face Bonaparte without announcement or preparation, he went and hid himself with his friends on the rocky coast near Toulon, and wrote a pathetic and supplicatory letter to Fouché, offering his services in France. Fouché presented this sad letter to Bonaparte, who, after reading it, refused to send his unhappy brother-in-law a passport, to write one word of comfort to him, to take any the slightest notice of him or of his hard fate. Murat and his friends lay concealed where they were for nearly a month, or until the intelligence of Wellington and Blücher's memorable victory reached them. At the news the royalists of Toulon, Marseilles, Nismes, and nearly all the towns in that part of France, commenced a bloody retaliation upon the republicans and Bonapartists. Some of his attendants quitted him, but Murat with his faithful friends sought another hiding-place. He now wrote again to Fouché, beseeching him to procure and send him a passport for England. Fouché returned no answer. A warm personal friend, a busy active man, who had once been, for a very brief season, an officer on Murat's staff at Naples, learned the sad plight in which that fugitive now was, and spontaneously made himself his agent at Paris, and his advocate in pleading with the allies. But this agent required time, and it was impossible for Murat to stay much longer in France, for the royalists had discovered that the once terrible dragooner was hiding in the country, and their suspicions and fears exaggerated his little band to the magnitude of an army. The fugitives were more than once in danger of starving. In his despair Murat wrote a piteous letter to Louis XVIII., and enclosed it to the silent Fouché. After many adventures almost as romantic as those of Charles Stuart the Pretender, Murat and his diminished suite got over to the island of Corsica, and claimed the hospitality of some old officers there. He was assured that he might remain with perfect safety in the island till his representations to the allies should produce their effect or procure him permission to go and join his wife and children at Trieste. A few weeks—even a few days—before, this assurance would have filled him with joy and contentment; but now his unfixed, disorganized mind had taken another turn. A set of desperadoes, chiefly Corsicans and Italian refugees, gathered round him in the country near Ajaccio, the birth-place of the Bonapartes, and hinted that he might take a start from Corsica, as his brother-in-law had done from Elba, and that with vigour and resolution, and his indomitable courage, his kingdom of Naples might be recovered! The two Neapolitan noblemen who had followed him in his desperate fortunes, and who were both of them military men, implored him with tears in their eyes, to give up so hopeless an enterprise—to sail across the Mediterranean to Tunis, where the Moors cared nothing for the passports, and whence he might easily procure a passage to Malta—or to wait patiently among the Corsicans of Ajaccio until some letters should be received from Paris—to do anything rather than run into the jaws of death. And, when they saw that his brain was turned, and that he considered them as deficient in courage (and not till then), the two brave and faithful Neapolitans took their leave of him, looking after the means of securing their own safety, and leaving him among his vulgar ruffians, more than one of whom they suspected of being a traitor who hoped to gain advantages by delivering up Murat to the vengeance of King Ferdinand. About the middle of September it was known at Genoa and Leghorn that the ex-king of Naples had collected from 150 to 200 armed men. The day of departure was fixed, when an incident occurred which ought to have changed Murat's wild determination, for it gave him the full assurance of protection and security, and of that re-union with his family for which he had been so eager a short time before. Though Fouché had been silent, he had not been altogether idle in his cause; and it had not been difficult for his own agent in Paris to ascertain that the allied sovereigns, including Louis XVIII., were not desirous of proceeding to any harsh extremities, or unwilling to grant permission to Murat to reside, as a private gentleman, with his wife and family. The allies well knew by this time that he was wholly destitute of the means of becoming dangerous. This agent arrived in Corsica and presented to Murat a pass and letter from the Emperor of Austria. The Emperor promised him a safe and honourable asylum in the Austrian dominions, where his family then were; suggested that, as his wife had assumed the title of Countess of Lipano, he should take the style of Count Lipano, and left it to his free choice to live in any city, country district, or villa in Bohemia, Moravia, or Upper Austria; and nothing was required from him but his word of honour that he would not quit the Austrian dominions without the emperor's consent, and that he would live there like a private individual, obedient to the laws of the Austrian empire. But so intense was Murat's insanity that he spurned at these generous conditions. The agent, an Englishman by birth and education, though the son of an Italian father, had been instructed not to deliver the passport to Murat if he should find him engaged in any warlike enterprise. The passport was only to be given conditionally. Yet the said agent, though he saw the armed band, and the barks engaged and all ready to convey it to the Neapolitan kingdom, and though he heard from Murat's own lips the full extent of his mad project for attacking King Ferdinand, a sovereign under the protection of the allies, and more especially under the protection of the Emperor of Austria, whose army was still at Naples, gave Murat the passport. And Murat, resorting to trickery and finesse, professed to accept

the asylum offered him by the allies, though he declined proceeding to Trieste in an English frigate, as it was proposed he should do. He wrote from Ajaccio an official letter to the allied sovereigns to this effect. His obvious intention was to blind the allies as to his real projects, and to use the passport if he should be hailed by a British cruizer on his voyage between Corsica and the Neapolitan coast. On the night of the 28th of September he embarked his embryo army, which had dwindled away rather than increased, in five or six small vessels. It is said, but not proved, that he intended to land near the city of Salerno, where 2000 or 3000 Neapolitan troops of his old army were stationed. A tempest, which appears to have blown only for the boats engaged in this preposterous imitation of the voyage from Elba, is said to have dispersed the armada; but there are very good grounds for believing that the dispersion was voluntary, that the Corsicans and other vagabonds, upon cool reflection, thought that there would be a much greater chance of getting bullets through their heads than of getting money into their purses by following Murat, and that they bore away for Tunis, appropriating everything that was in the boats, and intending to sell the arms and ammunition upon which Murat had spent almost his last ducat to the Moors and corsairs. On the 8th of October, a holiday, two barks were seen off the western coast of Calabria. These were all that Murat had been able to keep together, and they bore him and his fortunes. He could not have come to a worse place, for, of all the people in the kingdom the Calabrians were the fiercest, and had the most reason to abhor the French. Yet the maniac landed there at the little town of Pizzo, with his army of *twenty-eight* men, he waving a fantastic flag and shouting "I am Joachim, your king! It is your duty to obey me!" and they crying "Long live King Joachim!" The people on the spot seemed to think it was all a dream: they neither joined him nor fell upon him. He marched upon a road leading to the populous city of Monteleone, the capital of the province; but he had not marched many hundred yards before he had a hell-cry at his heels. This proceeded from the people of Pizzo, who were led on by a ferocious old Bourbon partizan, and who presently poured a smart fire of musketry and rifles upon the intruders, killing two on the spot, and wounding several others. Murat now turned and fled towards his boat; but when he reached the beach both the boats were gone, or going. The admiral of that precious armada was one Barbarà, a Maltese, who was said to have been a pirate among the Algerines and Tunisines, and of whom, in former days, Murat had made a *capitaine de frégate*, a chevalier, and baron. This honourable individual, who had only just begun to move his bark, was within sight and within hearing. Murat gesticulated, and with a loud voice called upon Barbarà to put back and take him on board! But Barbarà had heard the firing and the savage yells of the Calabrians—Barbarà now saw them gathering on the beach—and Barbarà, besides having an eye to his own safety, had conceived an affection for some valuable property which had been left in the boat; and so, knight and baron as he was, he kept his course. Murat was presently surrounded, knocked down, wounded by ball and dagger, gashed in the head and face, lacerated, tortured. After seizing the rich jewels he wore in his hat and on his breast, and tearing away his pockets, they would have torn out his heart if the old Bourbon partisan had not told them that it was proper to leave to their lawful king the gratification of finishing the usurper. Even the women threw themselves upon the handsome person of this "first cavalry officer of Europe," tearing away his hair by handfuls, his whiskers and moustachios by the roots, grinning and spitting in his face, and shrieking over him like furies. To this complexion had his madness brought him at last. It was a fearful and a revolting scene!—Covered with blood and dirt, they carried him into the confined and filthy castle of Pizzo. The Emperor of Austria's passport was found about his person. The manuscript of a proclamation, corrected in his own handwriting, and intended to be printed and distributed, was also discovered; and it contained a clause threatening with death all such Neapolitan officers, ministers, and *employés* of King Ferdinand, as did not immediately quit their functions and submit to his (King Joachim's) authority, with death as rebels and traitors. The intelligence of his landing and capture was conveyed to King Ferdinand at Naples by telegraph and by rapid couriers; and, by telegraph, Ferdinand's faithful general Nunziante, who commanded in Calabria, was ordered to proceed immediately to Pizzo, and there institute a military tribunal to try or to condemn Murat, by one of his own laws, as a disturber of the public tranquillity. Other and more precise instructions were carried into Calabria by the Prince of Canosa, a sort of Bourbonist Saliceti, and the most violent and revengeful man in Ferdinand's service. The work was soon finished. General Nunziante had never been in Murat's service, having followed Ferdinand to Sicily; but three out of the seven officers appointed to pass sentence of death upon him had been in his service, and had received from him liberal advancement, gifts, and honours. When advised that he was to be shot in a court-yard of the castle, he said to Captain Stratti, "In the tragedy of the death of the Duc d'Enghien, which King Ferdinand is now avenging with another tragedy, I took no part, and this I swear by the Eternal God before whose judgment I must now appear!" He wrote a moving letter to his wife and children. He was attended by a priest; he took the sacrament, professed that he was a believer of the doctrines of the Catholic church, and, at the request of the priest, wrote on a sheet of paper, "I declare that I die as a good Christian.—J. N." When in the court-yard he refused to be blindfolded: he stood up firmly, and with a firm voice said to his executioners, "Soldiers, save my face!

Aim at my heart!" The soldiers fired, and he fell dead. It was the 13th of October, 1815. He was in his 45th year.*

Terrible reports had been spread by the Bonapartists as to the intentions of Russia, Austria, and Prussia towards their unhappy and *betrayed* country. At one time it was confidently reported that the Congress of Vienna, which continued sitting, had determined to disannex from France not only the whole of Alsace, but also the whole of Lorraine and of Franche Compté. At length the Congress of Vienna settled the conditions: treaties and conventions were signed at Paris by Louis XVIII. on the 20th of November. The allies took no territory from France, and made none but the most trifling alterations in her frontier lines. But, in order to retain a powerful hold upon France during a season of probation, they determined to keep temporary possession of seventeen of the frontier fortresses for a term not exceeding five years, and which circumstances might reduce to three years, and to maintain in these fortresses and in other parts of the kingdom an army of allied troops not greater than 150,000 men, to be paid and supported by France. The allied sovereigns also exacted payment at least for some of the enormous expenses they had incurred; but they limited their demand to the narrow period of the Hundred Days, and fixed the total sum, to be divided among all of them, at 700,000,000 of francs. Nor was France to pay this very limited contribution at once, or even at short intervals, but in easy instalments. One grand national restitution was, however, insisted upon, and happily carried into execution some time before the signing of the treaties and conventions in November. The *Musée Napoléon*, or the Museum of the Louvre, had been crammed with the plunder of all the states of Italy, of Belgium, Germany, Spain, and Portugal. This plunder, commenced under the republic, was continued and systematised under Bonaparte: wherever there were masterpieces of art, fine pictures, fine statues, rare manuscripts, or other objects of antiquity, the finest and rarest were seized and carried to Paris, "the Temple of Taste," "the Centre of the Universe." The most glorious of all these works of art had been taken from the weakest and most defenceless states. While the allied armies were undisputed masters of Paris in 1814, the salutary word, restitution, had never once been uttered; but now every precious article of that accumulated plunder was to be restored to those from whom it had been taken. By no other right than that of conquest, or the right of the strong over the weak, had they been obtained; and, if conquest had given right of possession, surely conquest gave to the allies the less selfish right of restitution. England had nothing to claim for herself, for the French commissioners of taste, who followed in the wake of invading and conquering armies, had not been enabled to visit our museums and collections; nor had Russia anything to claim in this way, as she had lost nothing, and had not very much to lose except at St. Petersburgh; but they supported the claims of those whose losses had been great—they were champions of the generous principle that every state, whether weak or powerful, should at this great settling get back its own. Lord Castlereagh called it a great moral lesson for the French; and it was so, if the French had been disposed to benefit by it.

Other sums of money were subsequently exacted from France, but the burthen of supporting the 150,000 men was reduced to the lowest limit. As a new French army was organized, upon which Louis XVIII. considered that he might rely, 30,000 of the allies, or one-fifth of the whole army, were withdrawn in the year 1817, although only two years had yet elapsed; and it was determined that the whole of that occupying army should be withdrawn as soon as *three* years were completed. At the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, which assembled in the month of September, 1818, and at which the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, attended in person, the sovereigns of England and France being represented by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, and by the Duc de Richelieu, great doubts were expressed by some parties whether France could be safely left to herself, and whether it would not be better to keep possession of some of the commanding frontier fortresses for the two years longer; but these doubts were overruled, and it was decided that not a single fortress should be kept, and that not a man of the army of occupation should be left in France, beyond the 20th of November, when the term of three years expired. This decision was adopted on the 2nd of October, and was announced at Paris on the 5th, and a convention for the entire evacuation of France was signed at Paris on the 9th. But the French were made to pay some indemnities for the spoliations inflicted on their neighbours during the revolution, and indemnities to some states for the expenses of the war. These conjoint amounts made up another 700,000,000 of francs, or 28,000,000*l.* sterling, or thereabouts; and there were some other items which may have carried the whole sum to be paid by France, by instalments, for the bloody freak of the Hundred Days, to about 60,000,000*l.* sterling. England, satisfied with the discharge of the private claims of her subjects upon the French government, gave up her public share of the indemnities, which amounted only to some 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.*, to the King of Holland and the Netherlands, to assist him in restoring and repairing that great barrier of fortresses, which had been devised by our own great Dutch-born king, William III., to check the power of France on that side, and which had been first neglected, and then abandoned, by that light-headed, volatile reformer and innovator, the Em-

* Colletta, Storia di Napoli.—Private information collected in the country and on the very spot. We were at Pizzo in the month of July, 1816, just nine months and a few days after the execution of Murat.

Old King Ferdinand changed the name of the town into "Il Fedelissimo," or The Most Faithful; and granted it an exemption from the salt duties for ten years.

peror Joseph II., who had, in so many ways, played into the hands of the enemies of the House of Austria, and rendered easy the progress of the French revolutionists.

In the course of the year 1815, before any sums could be procured from the government of Louis XVIII., the British government was obliged to send still more money to the allied sovereigns, whose then enormous armies must otherwise have lived at large on the French people, or on the peoples through whom the retiring portions of them had to march; and it was the grant (we believe in some cases it was idly called *loan*) of 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.* of English money that smoothed many difficulties, and forwarded the homeward march of 650,000 men.

During the same most eventful of years, the sovereignty of Great Britain was extended over the whole of the island of Ceylon; and a period was put to that miserable episode, the American war.

The American successes at sea, such as they were, may be said to have closed with the year 1812, or with the first year of the war. Some larger and more suitable British frigates were sent out, and in every action which followed, where there was anything like an equality of force, the Americans were beaten without much difficulty; and, wherever the superiority of force lay on our side, they were beaten with perfect ease. The most memorable of these frigate fights was that which was fought on the 1st of June, 1813, between the 'Shannon' and the 'Chesapeake.' It lasted fifteen minutes, only eleven of which were spent in firing, and it was terminated by the English boarding and capturing the American ship. All the circumstances are known to every Englishman. It was a battle upon challenge, sent into Boston harbour by the captain of the 'Shannon,' the gallant Broke;* it was a battle where the ships were equally matched, or rather where there was a slight superiority of force on the side of the Americans; it was a battle fought within sight of the American shore, close in to Boston, where several armed American ships were lying, and where a public feast was preparing to honour the triumph of the officers and crew of the 'Chesapeake;' it was a battle wherein the Americans had every incentive to exertion, and they did their best. A sea-prophet had said or sung, eight months before the encounter took place—

> "And, as the war they did provoke,
> We'll pay them with our cannon;
> The first to do it will be Broke,
> In the gallant ship, the Shannon."

But, although the forte of the 'Shannon' lay in her admirable gunnery (Captain Broke had sedulously trained his people to the use of their guns, and spent his own money to make up for the niggardliness of the government, and supply his men with plenty of ammunition to practise with) it was not by the fire of her guns, but by boarding, that the 'Shannon' beat the 'Chesapeake,' hoisted "the old ensign over the Yankee colours," and led her away in triumph before the eyes of all her friends ashore. It should appear, however, from American writers, and from the report of the American court of inquiry, that if a black bugleman had not deserted his quarters, and had not been too frightened to be able to blow his horn to call the men to their quarters, the boarders would certainly have been repelled!*

Commodore Rodgers, with his leviathan frigate the 'President,' and the 'Congress,' in a third cruize which he undertook in 1813, ran some narrow risks of falling in with forces far superior to his own, and more than once he ran away from a force very inferior to his own. It might be a mistake—it might be some defect in the great Yankee commodore's sight; but what other men clearly enough saw as a British frigate of the smallest class, and a sloop of war, he, the great Rodgers, saw, and persisted in seeing, as two British ships of the line; and he actually ran for eighty hours before our frigate and sloop. During each of the three days of the chase, a treble allowance of grog was served out on board the 'President,' and an immense quantity of star, chain, and other kinds of dismantling shot were got upon deck in readiness for action; but, in spite of all the grog and Dutch courage, and terrible preparation of shot, the conqueror of the 'Little Belt' continued his flight, vowing that the two craft astern were what he had first taken them for. Rodgers, who was trying to pick up unarmed merchant vessels sailing without convoys, ran into the Irish Channel, ran all round Ireland, then ran for the banks of Newfoundland, and at last ran safe into Rhode Island, with a few merchantmen as prizes. But it was only through a most singular combination of luck on his part that he was thus enabled to get into an American harbour; and, being there, he seemed determined "to go to sea no more." He arrived at Rhode Island in September, and did not quit it till December. Other American heroes were equally inactive, for the affair of the 'Shannon' and 'Chesapeake' was rather discouraging, and the increased number of men-of-war on the coast was still more so. This time Rodgers put to sea alone; that is, the 'President' had no consort. Seeing two frigates, he ran away from them, without trusting sufficiently to the sailing qualities of his ship (the 'President' outsailed almost every ship afloat) to let them come near enough for him to ascertain what they really were. The frigates were French, under the flag of Louis XVIII. Rodgers by this time had run away so often, that it was thought necessary to his honour that fiction should be resorted to in order to show that he had stood somewhere. One of his officers wrote a letter, asserting that Rodgers had offered battle to the captain of a British 74, who, "strange as it may appear,"

* Captain Broke's letter to Captain Lawrence of the 'Chesapeake,' has been recently published, and for the first time in its *complete form*, in the 'British and Foreign Review' (No. xxx., July, 1843), a work which has given two or three good articles on naval history.

* James, Naval Hist.

had declined the invitation; that the commander of that British 74 had it in his power, for five consecutive hours, to bring at any moment he chose the 'President' to action, the main-top-sail of the frigate being to the mast during all that time. The officer of the 'President' did not venture to give the name of this cowardly ship-of-the-line; but a book-making friend on shore declared that it was ascertained afterwards to have been the 'Plantagenet,' 74, Captain Lloyd. The 'Plantagenet,' as proved by her log, was some hundreds of miles off, in the direction of Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes. The ship which the American commodore saw and waited for was the 'Loire,' 38-gun frigate, Captain T. Brown, who had seventy-five of his best men, including, of course, several officers and petty officers, absent in prizes, who had forty men too sick to do duty, and who had only 220 men actually on board. It was not surprising that Captain Brown did not attack Rodgers; but why did not Rodgers attack him? This waiting five hours to be attacked by a frigate of very inferior force, and then getting the frigate described as a 74, appears to have been Rodgers's last exploit in this war. The 'President' put to sea again, and she was taken; but Rodgers was not in her.

Captain David Porter, in the American frigate 'Essex,' rounded Cape Horn,' entered the Pacific Ocean, and, cruising along the coasts of Chili and Peru, and among the Gallipago Islands, captured twelve British whale-ships. For a good many months Porter had it all his own way, as there was no British armed vessel on that coast. But on the 8th of February, 1814, while he was lying in a harbour in the Bay of Valparaiso, his tranquillity was disturbed by the sudden appearance of the 'Phœbe,' 36-gun British frigate, Captain J. Hillyar, accompanied by the 18-gun sloop 'Cherub,' Captain T. Tudor Tucker. The American captain's first attempt was upon the loyalty of the English seamen; but, this failing, he destroyed some of his prizes, and attempted to escape by flight. Though he displayed great ingenuity, he could not effect his purpose, nor venture out of the harbour until the 28th of February. It seems doubtful whether he would have ventured to sea even then if a fresh gale had not caused his frigate to part her larboard cable and to drag her starboard anchor out to sea. Sail, however, being presently set upon the 'Essex,' and the British frigate being to leeward, Porter thought he saw a good prospect of escaping. But, in rounding the point at the west end of the bay, a heavy squall struck his frigate and carried away her main-top-mast. There was nothing now left for him but to strike or fight against odds, the 'Phœbe' frigate being about a match for the 'Essex,' without the sloop of war. As became him, he chose to fight first, and he fought his ship well, though certainly not desperately, and then hauled down his numerous flags and was taken possession of by the English. There was no fame gained by the victors in this unequal contest; nor would any honour have been lost by the vanquished and the captured, if they had not resorted to exaggerations and absolute falsehoods to enhance the heroism of their defence, and to account for a fact which was sufficiently accounted for by the disparity of their force. Nearly at the same time an American 18-gun ship-sloop, commanded by Joseph Bainbridge, fell in with the British 18-pounder 36-gun frigate 'Orpheus,' Captain Hugh Pigot, and the 12-gun schooner 'Shelburne,' and struck her "star-spangled banner" before a single shot could touch her. A few months after this rather cowardly surrender of Bainbridge, Captain William Manners of the British 18-gun sloop 'Reindeer'—a fir-built vessel, weak and rotten with age, and mounting only 24-pounders—fought Captain Johnston Blakeley of the American ship-sloop 'Wasp'—which nearly doubled the 'Reindeer' in the weight of her broadside, and in the number of her crew—until he as well as his vessel was knocked to pieces. The calves of Captain Manners's legs were partly shot away early in the action. A grape or canister-shot passed through both his thighs: he fell on his knees, but quickly sprang up, and resolutely refused to quit the deck. At this time, owing to her crippled state, his vessel fell with her bow against the larboard quarter of the 'Wasp,' in whose tops was the usual proportion of musketry and rifles. Seeing the dreadful slaughter which this firing from the tops was causing among his crew, Manners, maimed, lamed, lacerated, and bleeding as he was, shouted, "Follow me, my boys!—we must board!" With this object he was climbing into the rigging, when two balls from the 'Wasp's' main-top penetrated his skull. Placing one hand on his forehead, and convulsively brandishing his sword with the other, he uttered the words, "Oh God!" and dropped from the rigging, dead on his own deck. After they had lost their gallant young captain, nearly the whole of their officers, and more than half of their messmates, the crew of the 'Reindeer' allowed the Americans to board and plant the stars and stripes over the union-jack.* We cite this battle to do honour to the brave young Manners, and to show what is understood among true English sailors by the expressions "heroic and desperate resistance," "fighting to the last," &c. If Captain David Porter, when fighting the 'Essex' near Valparaiso against odds, had fought like Manners, he might, perchance, not have returned home to write and publish the rhodomontading journal of his cruize into the Pacific; but his officers, his sailors (or such of these as survived), and his countrymen, might have bestowed upon his exploit the praises due to a marvellous defence.

The capture of the 'President,' which had had so many narrow escapes, was the last naval contest, and took place some weeks after the signature in Europe of a peace between Great Britain and the United States, but before the news of that event had reached America. The 'President,' with other

* James.

ships of war, had long been blockaded in Sandy Hook, near New York, by a British ship of the line and three frigates. It was Commodore Decatur that commanded the 'President' now. On the 14th of January, 1815, Decatur, availing himself of a very favourable wind, and of a temporary absence of all the blockading ships, got out to sea. He was presently descried and pursued by the 'Majestic' 56-gun ship, and by the 'Endymion' 40-gun frigate. The 'President' beat the 'Majestic' in sailing; but on the following day, the 15th, the 'Endymion,' Captain Henry Hope, came up with her and brought her to action. They fought, at pretty close quarters, from five o'clock in the afternoon until eight o'clock in the evening, when the American frigate ceased her fire altogether, being fearfully shattered in the hull. The 'Endymion,' conceiving that she had struck, ceased her fire also, and began to bend new sails, her present ones having been cut into ribands. But while the 'Endymion' thus dropped astern, the 'President,' not so much injured in her rigging as in her hull, bore away under a crowd of canvass. The 'Majestic' had been left far behind, and for many hours the 'President' had had a fair field with the 'Endymion,' whose force she greatly exceeded in size, weight of metal, and number of men; but now she had scarcely run three hours in the dark before she fell upon the British frigate 'Pomone,' Captain John Richard Lumley, who poured in a starboard broadside, which did little or no mischief. The 'President' luffed up as if to return the broadside; but, instead of firing, she hailed that she had surrendered, and hoisted a light in her mizen rigging to announce the fact, it being useless to strike a flag in that obscurity. At this moment a third British frigate, 'Tenedos,' Captain Hyde Parker, came up on the 'President's' starboard side, and the 'Endymion' was now not very far astern. As the last-named frigate, which had the sole honour of the battle, had lost all her boats but two several days before, and as these two boats had been destroyed during the action with the 'President,' the 'Pomone' and the 'Tenedos' sent each a boat to take possession of the 'President,' which was frightfully battered and riddled in the hull, and had six feet water in her hold. Out of her 465 men and 4 boys, the 'President' had 35 killed and 70 wounded. The 'Endymion' had sustained scarcely any injury except in her rigging and fore-top-mast, none of her other masts being much hurt. Out of her 319 men and 27 boys, she had 11 killed and 14 wounded.

By land the republicans continued to show how much their hearts were set upon annexing Canada to their dominions. In spite of the defeats, losses, surrenders, and disgraces of the year 1812, they renewed their attempt in 1813. By a sudden movement by water, York, on Lake Ontario in Upper Canada, was taken by General Dearborn, who was supported by an American freshwater flotilla under Commodore Chauncey. General Sheaffe, who had about 700 men, British regulars and Canadian militia, and a few Red Indians, drew off his regulars and left the rest to capitulate within the town, wherein considerable public stores were lost. The great lakes now became the most active scene of warfare—of an amphibious sort of warfare, for the same men often fought one day on water and the next day on land, now in extemporized fir-flotillas, and now in forts or in positions on the banks of those lakes. This had been foreseen and ought to have been provided for, as nearly everything depended on the establishment of a naval superiority on the lakes. The defence of Canada, and the important co-operation of the Indians, depended, in a very great measure, upon our having the superiority on these lakes; but our government had neglected the means necessary to gain and keep such superiority, and General Sir George Prevost possessed not those resources of genius, and invention, and energy, which might have made up for the negligence of the home government; and hence it happened that the Americans obtained some little triumphs over the British flag in those fresh-water seas, and were enabled more than once to carry fire and sword into our provinces. Our squadron on Lake Ontario had been left miserably weak, and the efforts to increase its strength were not proportionate to those made by the Americans. In 1813, when the first action of any consequence took place on that lake, Sir James Yeo was indeed strong enough to defeat Commodore Chauncey, and to capture two schooners of the American squadron or flotilla; but the Americans avoided a general action until some new vessels they had laid down should be completed.

The republicans, after embarking the captured stores of the town of York, sailed for Niagara, and concentrated 6000 infantry, 250 cavalry, and a good train of artillery upon that point. Their flotilla had the water all to itself, and under its destructive fire General Dearborn made good his landing on the Canadian shore near Fort George. Our troops and the Canadian militia, out-numbered as four or five to one, were compelled to give way, after making a gallant stand and suffering a heavy loss. General Vincent, our commander on the Niagara, retired up the strait, collected the small garrisons of Fort Erie and other posts, mustered about 1600 bayonets in all, and gained a good position at Burlington Bay, fifty miles from Fort George, in spite of the efforts of the enemy to intercept him. On the evening of the 4th of June (1813) Vincent saw the Americans approaching his position by the lake shore. On the following morning, intending to attack Vincent in this position with 3500 men and 9 pieces of artillery, they encamped within five or six miles. Lieutenant Colonel Harvey, the British deputy-adjutant general, reconnoitred this republican camp, and then proposed to surprise it by night. General Vincent agreed: and, at the dead of night, the halves of two British regiments, mustering precisely 704 men, rushed with fixed bayonets into the American

camp, headed by Colonel Harvey. The surprise was complete; the republicans fled in every direction, leaving two general officers, 100 prisoners, and four field-pieces behind them. The British retired to their own position with whatever they could carry off. As the light of day returned the Americans returned to their camp; but it was only to destroy stores, provisions, &c. They then made a precipitate retreat of eleven miles, never stopping until they were joined by strong reinforcements.

In the meanwhile Sir George Prevost, waking from a long slumber, agreed to go with Sir James Yeo and his squadron, to make an attack upon Sackett's Harbour, and destroy the forts, the arsenals, and the dock-yard, where the Americans had a frigate almost ready for launching, and several other vessels; but when this wavering and spiritless general reconnoitred the place he would not venture an attack, and returned across the water towards Kingston. Then he changed his mind and went back to Sackett's Harbour; and (but not without more wavering and loss of time) our troops, about 750 strong, were landed. The Americans were presently driven at the bayonet's point into some loop-holed barracks and forts; and so panic-stricken were they that they immediately set fire to their new frigate, their naval barracks and arsenal, and destroyed a gun-brig and all the stores which had so recently been captured at York. While the arsenal was in flames, while the Americans were flying through the village, and when the complete success of the assailants was certain, Sir George Prevost sent a precipitate order for retreat, merely because a momentary resistance was offered by a party of Americans who had taken refuge in the log-barracks! The British troops reluctantly obeyed their general's order and returned to their boats, men and officers being acutely sensible to his folly, and wondering by what means so incompetent a commander had been placed over them. If Sir George Prevost had studied the history of the war of the American revolution, it could only have been with an eye to copy all the indecisions and blunders of the formalising, badly instructed English generals of that period. But the Howes, Clintons, and Burgoynes were at least always ready to fight. As soon as the Americans could believe that the English were really abandoning their enterprise at the moment that it was all but completed, they rushed back to stop the conflagration: they were too late to save the stores which had been brought from York, the navy barracks, or the brig, but the frigate on the stocks, being built of green wood, would not easily burn, and was found but little injured. If the destruction at Sackett's Harbour had been completed, we should have deprived the Americans of every prospect of obtaining the ascendancy on the lake. Sir James Yeo, after carrying Sir George Prevost and his troops back to Kingston, proceeded to the head of the lake with reinforcements for General Vincent. As soon as he approached, the American army, which had never recovered from the effects of Colonel Harvey's night attack, fled along the lake shore until they reached Fort George, where their general, Dearborn, evacuating all the Canadian bank of the Niagara, shut himself up in a strong entrenched camp with about 5000 men. Something was expected from the energy and enterprise of General Vincent, but Major-general Rottenburg, who had been appointed governor of Upper Canada, assumed the command as Vincent's superior officer, and during the months of July, August, and September (1813) nothing was done by the British in this quarter.

Before attacking the Niagara frontier the republicans had commenced offensive operations on the Detroit frontier and on Lake Erie. By the end of January they had overrun the Michigan territory, and had advanced one wing of this army towards the village of Frenchtown, twenty-six miles from Detroit. This American wing was about 1200 strong, and was commanded by Brigadier-general Winchester, an old officer who had gained distinction in their war of independence. There was nothing in its front but Colonel Procter, whose force was inferior and of the most motley description. Sir George Prevost, as commander-in-chief, had strictly commanded Procter not to undertake offensive operations; but old Winchester's too bold advance gave Procter an opportunity which he was determined not to lose. With less than 500 regular troops, militia, and provincial sailors, with four light guns and a band of 500 or 600 Red Indians, Colonel Procter gallantly advanced against Winchester and his Americans, surprised them by night in their quarters at Frenchtown, captured or destroyed one-half of them who tried to fly into the woods, and reduced the others to surrender upon promise of quarter. So complete was this discomfiture at Frenchtown that not above thirty of the Americans effected their escape. Old General Winchester was captured by "Round Head," the chief of the Indians, who dressed himself in the uniform and hat of his prisoner, and then surrendered him to Colonel Procter. An American colonel and about 500 men were taken. General Harrison, who commanded the rest of this army of invasion, was so dismayed at Winchester's disaster that, though still powerful in numbers, he abandoned his intention of advancing into Canada, and began to fortify himself near the rapids of the Miami river, which falls into Lake Erie. The victory and the spoil obtained at French town brought down many warlike tribes of Indians, from the river Wabash and even from the distant Mississippi, to join the English and Canadians. About the middle of April Procter, now allowed to act on the offensive, and knowing that his adversary Harrison was expecting large reinforcements, embarked his entire force on board the flotilla on Lake Erie, made for the mouth of the Miami, ascended that river, and landed troops, stores, and ordnance on the 28th of April, within two miles of Fort Meigs, the key of General Harrison's fortified camp. Procter had with him some

heavy ordnance, 520 regulars and 460 militia; the Indian warriors co-operating with him were about 1200. Harrison's force, well covered in his fortified camp, considerably exceeded that of Procter, who now erected batteries, and began to cannonade him from the opposite bank of the Miami. The Americans responded to this fire with eighteen pieces of heavy ordnance, mounted in Fort Meigs. The English fired some red-hot shot, but Harrison's block-houses, &c., would not take fire and burn, the wood being so very green. On the 5th of May, General Harrison's long-expected reinforcements made a rapid and sudden descent down the river in boats. They were 1300 strong, and under the command of General Clay. As the boats drew near, Harrison made a *sortie* to aid the disembarkation. For a moment the English batteries were in the hands of the enemy, together with some prisoners; but Procter, after pouring in one or two volleys of musketry, point blank, ordered a bayonet charge, and this charge not only repulsed those who had got into our batteries, but threw the whole of General Clay's force into confusion and headlong flight. The Indian warriors fell upon the fugitives; 550 were made prisoners, and the killed and wounded were estimated at as many more. After this brilliant affair, the Indians returned to the Detroit frontier with their prisoners, their wounded, and their booty; the Canadian militiamen went home to attend to their farms; and Sir George Prevost had provided no regular force to support Procter's operations. That brave officer was, therefore, obliged to rest satisfied with what he had done, to abandon the notion of forcing Harrison to capitulate in his fortified camp, and to follow the Indians and the militiamen to Detroit. The republicans now abandoned all intention of advancing against that frontier, until they could obtain a naval superiority on Lake Erie. Sir James Yeo had detached Captain Barclay, of the Royal Navy, to assume the command on that lake. Barclay was an officer of heroic courage, and of distinguished ability; but the means put at his disposal were of the worst or most limited kind. He had been allowed to bring with him from the Ontario squadron only twenty-five regular sailors. Captain Barclay earnestly and repeatedly stated to Sir George Prevost the wants of his little squadron in men, stores, and guns; and General Procter, who had given so good an account of Winchester and Clay, and whose operations were now linked with, and mainly dependent upon, those of Captain Barclay, made the same representations to the commander-in-chief, not neglecting to urge, at the same time, the pressing wants of his own little army. But Sir George Prevost, who had shown so little alacrity in taking, told these brave men that the ordnance and naval stores they required must be taken from the enemy, whose resources must become theirs! But to take, one must have the power—to fight, one must have men proper for the service. On the 13th of July, Procter wrote to Prevost to tell him that "even 100 seamen pushed on immediately would, in all probability, secure the superiority on this lake;" that he was already weakened on shore by his efforts to enable Captain Barclay to appear on the lake; that, if he did not receive 100 seamen, he should be under the necessity of sending still more soldiers on board the vessels. On the 18th of August Procter wrote again, telling the commander-in-chief that Captain Barclay had not received one seaman, and that the Americans were appearing on that part of Lake Erie in very superior force. Still, a new fir-built vessel, called the 'Detroit,' had been improvised, had been launched on the lake; "if we had but seamen, a few hours would place this district in security." "I entreat your excellency," added Procter, "to send me the means of continuing this contest!" And now it was that Sir George Prevost, instead of sending seamen, sent a letter which, all the circumstances being considered, was ungenerous, insulting, absurd, and at the same time horrible—horrible, as it went to inflame high-spirited officers, and to sacrifice the lives of brave men in a most unequal and hopeless contest. This precious commander-in-chief, who had so recently run away from Sackett's Harbour, wrote to Procter, "Although your situation may be one of difficulty, you cannot fail of honorably surmounting it, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the enemy's force, which I cannot but consider as overbalanced by the excellent description of your troops and seamen, valorous and well-disciplined. The experience obtained by Sir James Yeo's conduct towards a fleet infinitely superior to the one under his command will satisfy Captain Barclay that he has only to dare, and the enemy is discomfited." And Barclay, to whom such a man as Prevost applied such a taunt, was a man of the Nelson stamp, and one who had lost a limb under that hero! General Procter said, in reply, "Your excellency speaks of seamen, valorous and well-disciplined. Except, I believe, the *twenty-six* whom Captain Barclay brought with him, there are none of that description on this lake. On board of his Majesty's squadron there are scarcely enough hands (and those of a miserable description) to work the vessels, some of which cannot be used for want of men, even such as we have.....Seamen should be pushed on here, even by dozens." At last Sir George Prevost did push on *forty* seamen, intimating his expectation that, as soon as this great reinforcement should arrive, Captain Barclay would "make his appearance on the lake, to meet the enemy." But Barclay had now no option left him. On the 9th of September the last barrel of flour was consumed, and there was no alternative between his clearing the lake communication and the starvation of our troops. On the very next day, the 10th of September, the most desperate of these lake actions was fought. Captain Barclay had the 'Detroit,' which was rigged as a bark and mounted 18 guns; another three-masted craft of 18 guns, a brig of

10 guns, a schooner of 14, and two gun-boats, carrying the first three guns, and the second one gun. These guns were not proper ship guns, nor was there any uniformity of calibre: they had been stripped from the forts on the Detroit frontier. One of the three-masted vessels, and the brig, had each guns of four different calibres on the same deck, from *twenty-four* to *two* pounders. For want of proper implements, the men were obliged to discharge these strange ship guns by snapping pistols over the touch-hole. The crews of the whole flotilla consisted of 61 British seamen, 85 Canadians, and 210 soldiers of two different regiments —total, 356. The American commodore, Perry, had two large brigs and eight schooners heavily armed. The American squadron mounted altogether but 54 guns; but they were properly supplied with implements of gunnery, their guns were of better quality or of better assorted calibres, and, owing to the large proportion of their shifting and pivot pieces, they could present in broadside exactly the same number of guns as the British; while their aggregate weight of broadside was fully double that of their assailants. To complete his advantages, Commodore Perry had picked crews to all his vessels, particularly on board the 'Lawrence,' his flag ship, and her sister brig; and his total of men amounted, at the very least, to 580. It is not astonishing that the English flotilla was beaten; but it is astonishing that it should have been able to maintain the desperate contest for three long hours. The 'Detroit,' Barclay's ship, selected the 'Lawrence,' Perry's brig, knocked it almost to pieces, drove Perry out of her, and compelled her to surrender; but Barclay's solitary boat had been cut up, and he could not take possession, and, as soon as the said American brig had dropped out of gun-shot, she re-hoisted her colours. The day was not lost until the first and second in command of every one of the English vessels had been killed or dangerously wounded. The heroic Barclay had lost one arm serving under Nelson, and now the other arm was mutilated before he quitted his deck. Of the ten experienced British seamen on board the 'Detroit,' eight were killed or wounded. When every hope of success or of escape was gone, the second lieutenant of the 'Detroit' (the first lying mortally wounded) ordered the colours to be struck. Two other English vessels struck about the same time; the rest of the flotilla were overtaken and captured in their retreat. The total loss on board the British vessels in killed and wounded was 135. The American loss in killed and wounded was 123, out of which number 22 were killed and 61 wounded on board the 'Lawrence' alone. This catastrophe rendered inevitable the rapid retreat of General Procter and the Indian chiefs that were acting with him. They therefore began to dismantle the forts and to abandon all the positions on the Detroit, thus leaving the Michigan territory again in the possession of the Americans. But they could no longer retreat without fighting. General Harrison passed over between 5000 and 6000 men, and interposed between Procter and the country to which he was directing his steps. The Indian allies had dwindled from 3000 to 500, and Procter's regular force consisted of about 500 effectives. The Americans gained what they do not hesitate to call a splendid victory. They killed the famed Indian chief Tecumthé, and cut up his skin into razor-strops, to be presented to Mr. Clay of Virginia, and to other bright ornaments of Congress and the country.* Great execution was done upon the followers of this flayed chief, in retaliation for their spirited performances on the Miami river. The rest of the Indians fled far away; and the chiefs who were coming to join the English halted and fell back. Once more the republican hopes ran high. They considered Upper Canada as almost conquered by the defeat of Procter; and their conviction was confirmed by the panic of Sir George Prevost, and by the orders he issued—orders which had the effect of disheartening the Canadians. Three American armies, or three gatherings of men which they called armies, were put in motion for different parts of the Canada frontier in the month of October. While Harrison proceeded along Lake Erie with his 5000 or 6000, General Wilkinson, taking his departure from Sackett's Harbour, crossed Lake Ontario with nearly 10,000 men, and effected a landing near Kingston; and a third force under General Hampton marched upon Montreal. General Rottenburg had left his command on the Niagara to General Vincent, and had moved with reinforcements towards Kingston. Vincent, destroying great quantities of provisions and stores, retreated to Burlington, where he was joined by the remainder of Procter's troops; and no sooner had Sir George Prevost heard of Harrison's success, than he dispatched orders from Montreal to General Vincent to evacuate the whole of Upper Canada as low down as Kingston. If these mad, cowardly orders had been obeyed, Upper Canada would have been lost, the troops of Vincent and Procter would have been lost, with ordnance, ammunition, and stores; and Kingston also must have been lost, with its fortress, ships, and arsenal, for the place contained provisions for only seven days, and the dépôt of provisions at York would have been lost before Kingston. But fortunately there were several officers of rank in General Vincent's army who took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying the orders of the commander-in-chief, and who showed to General Vincent what must be the fatal consequences of obeying them. Vincent was persuaded to be disobedient; and the recovery of the Niagara frontier was the result. Nothing was ever more disgraceful than the panic of Sir George Prevost. The American corps were an undisciplined rabble, ready to fall into a panic themselves at any hostile movement or show of resistance. Three hundred

* This is fact. Clay is said to have boasted of possessing such a razor-strop.

Canadian militia, without support, but acting under the orders of one superior officer, kept in check for a whole day Hampton's entire force, for every republican in it pretended to be as good and as capable of military command as any other, and all commanded together. Hampton, Harrison, and Wilkinson were all put to a disgraceful rout. Only one of the three republican generals fought a battle, and he was beaten by a corps not a sixth part so numerous as his own, and lost, rather in the flight than in the fight, about 1000 men. By the middle of December both Upper and Lower Canada were entirely freed from the presence of the invaders. Some of them, before they fled back to their own country, committed sundry atrocities, which were soon afterwards avenged at Washington and elsewhere. They burned towns and villages to the ground, in order to punish the poor Canadians for their perversity and wickedness in not turning rebels and joining them. Thus they gave to the flames the pleasant town of Newark, near Fort George; and, while a deep snow was on the ground, above 400 women and children were driven half naked from their homes. Newark contained 150 houses—every house was burned to the earth except one! But the republicans could not keep their own frontier free from invasion. Colonel Murray, with less than 500 men, crossed the water, attacked their fort of Niagara, carried it by escalade, with a trifling loss, killed or took prisoners the whole garrison, and captured a large quantity of arms and stores. The American general Hull came hastily up to the town of Buffalo to check the further progress of the British; but, being attacked on the 30th of December by a thousand regulars and militia, and 300 or 400 Indians, he was entirely routed. Hull's retreat across the snow was lighted by the flames which the British and Canadians kindled in the town of Buffalo and in the village of Blackrock, in retaliation for the burning of Newark. All that part of their frontier was laid open and bare. Such armies as Hull's never rally: he had 2000 men when he came to Buffalo; but after the battle he could hardly collect 200.

While the Americans were struggling on the great lakes and on the outskirts of Canada, our blockading squadrons from the ocean sent light vessels far up several of their rivers, to seize or destroy the repositories of stores on the banks. In this manner the rivers at the head of the Chesapeake were all threaded in the course of the year 1813. There was one enterprise of a more important character. The republicans had collected a considerable body of troops in a sort of fortified camp at Hampton, in Virginia. At the end of June Sir S. Beckwith proceeded with a body of troops on board Admiral Cockburn's light squadron, landed at a convenient point, turned the flank of the Americans unobserved, fell upon them by surprise and with vigour, drove them out of their camp, and captured all their batteries. In the month of July the storm fell upon the coast of North Carolina, where Cockburn's squadron captured the islands, towns, and ports of Portsmouth and Ocracoke, and did other mischief. These operations, to which nearly every part of the American coast on the Atlantic was exposed, relieved the monotony of the blockading service, and did something more—they increased the impatience of the inhabitants for reconciliation and peace, and greatly embarrassed and weakened President Madison's government. Before the end of the year 1813, some of the states declared in a very unequivocal manner that Madison was ruining the country by persevering in a war which he had commenced without any necessity, and that rather than be denied any longer the advantages of a peace with England they would sacrifice their advantages as members of the federal republic.

In the year 1814 the Americans once more made great preparations on the lakes for the conquest of Canada. They had scarcely one glimpse of success: the Canadians were more than ever loyal and on the alert, and reinforcements to the regular army arrived from Europe. The republican general Wilkinson, after making some attempts, found himself under the necessity of retreating to Sackett's Harbour. Being closely followed, he burned some of his block-houses and barracks, and the Canadians and the English burned the rest, and captured and carried off a great quantity of provisions and stores. Wilkinson subsequently made an attack on a British outpost commanded by Major Hancock, but he was repulsed in a smart skirmish; and here, in the month of March, ended his offensive operations. In the month of April a force under General Drummond embarked in Sir James Yeo's flotilla, crossed Lake Ontario, and stormed and carried the American frontier fort of Oswego. The garrison fled into the woods after fighting for only ten minutes. The fort was destroyed, the barracks were burned; and the English troops were re-embarked. In May, an attempt made to destroy some naval stores which the Americans were transporting to Sackett's Harbour, for the equipment of the flotilla there, was repulsed with loss. At the beginning of July, a new republican hero, Major-General Brown, took the field, crossed the Niagara in force, obliged the garrison of Fort Erie to capitulate, and advanced into Canada. As he approached the British lines of Chippawa, General Riall, with a very inferior force, consisting partly of militiamen and Red Indians, made a sortie. A smart action followed, in which both parties sustained considerable loss, but in which the advantage clearly remained with the Americans. Riall retreated to a better position near Fort Niagara. General Drummond, with part of Wellington's veterans, who had been embarked at Bordeaux after the battle of Toulouse and Marshal Soult's submission to the provisional government of Louis XVIII., now came up and reinforced Riall. The American, Brown, counting on his superiority of numbers, which was still great, presumptuously risked a pitched battle in an open field. At first he gained a temporary advantage, during which General Riall was wounded and

taken prisoner; but, when Drummond and the veterans of the Peninsular war came fairly into action, the very imperfectly disciplined republicans confessed their inferiority by retreat and flight. This battle was fought on the 25th of July (1814), close to the mighty cataract of the Niagara—so close that the dash and roar of the water were heard amidst the firing of twenty-four pieces of ordnance and 8000 muskets. The Americans engaged were estimated at 5000; the number of the British and Canadians did not exceed 3000. The Red Indians, our allies, ran away early in the battle. Our loss reached nearly 900 in killed and wounded. The republicans lost 1500. They retreated most precipitately to Chippawa, and from thence to Fort Erie, abandoning a camp they had fortified, and destroying their stores. On the 15th of August, Drummond was repulsed with great loss in a rather rash attempt to carry Fort Erie by storm. On that same day ruin was approaching the city of Washington, the nominal capital of all the United States, the seat of the central government, and the meeting-place of Congress. Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board the land troops of Major-General Ross, another hero of the Peninsula, entered the Patuxent river. At the proper point the troops were landed, and began to ascend the bank of the river on their way towards Washington; Admiral Cockburn, with a flotilla of launches, armed boats, and small craft, proceeding up the river on their flank. The American flotilla of Commodore Barney had sought refuge in the Patuxent; and as the British boats opened the reach above Pig Point they perceived Barney's flag flying in the headmost vessel, a large sloop, and the rest of his flotilla extending in a long line astern of this sloop. It was thought that Barney intended to dispute the passage of the river by fighting; but as Cockburn got near he discovered that some of the American vessels were on fire. The English admiral called a timeous halt: the American craft burned fiercely, and blew up in succession. Sixteen were totally destroyed; the seventeenth fell into the hands of the English little injured, together with about thirteen merchant schooners. Sailors and soldiers all believed that Commodore Barney had left his flotilla and his flag flying as a decoy, in the hope that the British would approach them precipitately, and so be blown up with them. In this light the incident on the Patuxent river was noted down by the forces that were now getting close to Washington. On the 24th of August, Major-General Ross and his troops reached Bladensberg, a village within five miles of that capital. Here, on the right bank of the Potomac, and along a chain of commanding heights, 8000 or 9000 Americans were posted, to cover and defend their capital. President Madison was on the hills when the battle began; but he did not find it convenient to stay and see the battle finished, short as it was. To get at the position the British had to cross the Potomac by a single bridge, which the Americans guarded with artillery. But the bridge was carried in a trice by a light brigade, and then the rest of the troops passed over, deployed, and attacked the right and left of the enemy at one and the same moment. The whole affair did not occupy half an hour, and did not engage more than one British division about 1600 strong. It was the old story;—unpractised troops and an undisciplined militia could not stand, in position, against veteran regulars. The Americans broke and fled, very few of them waiting to be either killed or wounded. That evening the British were in Washington, where they immediately began the work of destruction which was the main purpose of the expedition. The president's palace, the Capitol, the Senate House and House of Representatives, the treasury, the war-office, the arsenal, the dockyard, the ropewalk, were committed to the flames, and the great bridge across the Potomac and other public works were blown up and destroyed. A frigate ready to be launched and a sloop of war were consumed in the dockyard. Private property was to be respected, and strict discipline was to be observed by the troops. General Ross's orders to this effect were very positive, and the British accounts say that they were strictly observed. But the Americans assert that many private houses were destroyed or greatly injured, and that several excesses were committed by the soldiery: and this we can well believe to have been the fact; for it was difficult to preserve perfect discipline in such operations, which had all to be performed in a great hurry; it was difficult to make the men forget how narrowly their comrades had escaped getting their whiskers singed by the explosion of Commodore Barney's flotilla; it was impossible to erase from their memories the boastings of the Americans after each of their frigate victories, or the mode in which they had carried on war on British territory in Canada, or the insults they had accumulated upon England and all things English during many years; and, besides, it appears that our men were excited by a special provocation at the moment, which they could not be expected to resist. On his first approach, General Ross did not allow any of his troops to enter the city. He halted his foremost brigade upon a plain in the immediate vicinity, and sent in a flag of truce with terms. All that he demanded was that the war stores, &c., which could not be defended, should be delivered up to him, and that a contribution should be paid as a ransom for some other property. To see that all was properly conducted, General Ross himself accompanied the party bearing the flag of truce. The party had scarcely entered the street, with the flag of truce at their head, when they were fired upon from the windows of one of the houses, and General Ross's horse was killed under him. After such an exasperating breach of the laws of war and the law of nations, it will astonish nobody that the incensed troops should set fire to the house from which the shots were fired (after having put to the sword all whom they had found in it), or that other acts of vengeance should have been perpetrated. After all, however, very little private property was destroyed, or even touched. On the following night, the 25th of

August, a leisurely retreat was commenced; and the British troops, having met with no molestation on their return, were re-embarked on the 30th. The town of Alexandria, lower on the Potomac river than Washington city, was attacked on the 27th of August by Captain Gordon of the 'Seahorse,' attended by other vessels. Fort Washington, built to protect the river at that point, was abandoned by its defenders after a very short bombardment. The town council of Alexandria agreed to deliver up all public property, and Gordon agreed to respect all private property. All the naval and ordnance stores, all the shipping and their furniture were surrendered; and the captors loaded their own ships with spoil, and, stowing away the stores, &c., in twenty-one vessels which were found in the harbour, passed down the river, very little injured by the batteries, and got safely out to the Chesapeake. On the 12th of September, a very imprudent and unsuccessful attack was made on the strongly fortified city of Baltimore, which cost the life of General Ross, and the lives of a good number of his men; though here again a great force of Americans that attempted to defend the approaches of the town (within which there was a still larger force) was defeated and routed by a very inferior force of British regulars, and lost in killed and wounded some 600 or 800 men. The loud outcry made by President Madison proved how sensibly the Americans felt this desultory but destructive system of warfare. It allowed them no repose—it threatened every part of the coast at once—none could tell where the next blow would be struck. In the month of July, Colonel Pilkington, sailing from Halifax, took all the islands in the bay of Pasquamoddy; and in another expedition, undertaken in September, the British sailed up the Penobscott river, took the fort of Castine, landed in a cove within three miles of the town of Hampden, defeated double their number, drove the Americans from a strong position, and compelled them to burn the 'John Adams,' a fine frigate, which had run up the river for protection. They also captured the town of Bangor, and another fortified post, and reduced the whole district of Maine from Pasquamoddy bay to the Penobscott river.

Sir George Prevost, having now a large disposable force, including some of the finest regiments that had been trained under the Duke of Wellington, thought he could repay the Americans for their troublesome visits in Canada, by invading their most flourishing state of New York. Before moving, he ought to have made sure of the superiority on the waters of Lake Champlain. Nothing could better have contributed to this end, than the capture or destruction of the naval and other dépôts at Sackett's Harbour; and this would have given him the mastery on Lake Ontario, which was an object almost as important as any that he could reasonably propose to himself in his more distant expedition. He had wasted some of the most valuable of the summer months in a camp at Chambly, while Sir James Yeo was blockading Sackett's Harbour (a doubtful sort of blockade, since the American commodore was already stronger than Sir James, and was only waiting to be made still stronger by the shipwrights and riggers hard at work in Sackett's Harbour); but, though Sir George had ample means of attack, and a few days' march would have brought him before the defences of that important arsenal, he made no effort whatever against it. When the veteran troops from Bordeaux landed, every man in the army or in the provinces of Canada expected that he would fall on. But no! there he continued to lie at Chambly, doing nothing. The American government felt, though our commander-in-chief would not, that all other objects on the frontier were insignificant in comparison with Sackett's Harbour; and they sent General Izzard, who now commanded on the Champlain frontier, with between 3000 and 4000 regular troops to take post within it and in its vicinity. This movement of General Izzard left nothing near the frontier of Lower Canada but some 1500 men, the very refuse of his army. From such refuse nothing was to be feared; the local Canadian militia would have been far more than a match for them. Sir George Prevost could not, therefore, plead that his inactivity in his camp at Chambly was owing to any apprehension of an attack on the frontier of Lower Canada. During the whole month of August, the Peninsular troops, ready to march anywhere, and fit for any work, were detained in the camp for which Sir George had conceived so steady an affection. At last the note of preparation was heard; and now all eyes were directed towards Sackett's Harbour. But, says a truth-speaking man, "by a strange perversity of intellect Sir George Prevost again shunned that place as a pestilence;"* and Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, was found to be the object of the expedition! To complete the certainty of ill success, Sir George in person took the command of the whole army. The force was composed of a regiment of light cavalry, a numerous train of artillery, and three brigades of the best infantry in the British service or in the world, led by Major-Generals Brisbane, Robinson, and Power, and amounting in all to 11,000 men. On the 3rd of September these troops began their march, which was so managed by Sir George Prevost, that, though the distance was only twenty-five miles along the lake shore, four days were consumed in performing it. On the evening of the 6th, the army arrived on the left bank of the little river Saranac, on the opposite bank of which stood the village of Plattsburg, and on a ridge above it the American defences, consisting of some stockades, three unfinished redoubts, and two blockhouses, armed in all with from fifteen to twenty pieces of ordnance. The American flotilla of Lake Champlain lay at anchor in Plattsburg Bay. It was at first confidently expected, and then eagerly proposed to the commander-in-chief, that an assault should be

* The Letters of Veritas; containing a succinct narrative of the military administration of Sir George Prevost, during his command in the Canadas, &c. Montreal.

made that very evening. The British troops were fresh, having made but a very short march; the American troops were that refuse of General Izzard's army, of which we have spoken, and some 3000 or 4000 militiamen, who had run in haste and confusion to the spot, and who would have run much more hastily back again if hotly and closely attacked. The defences were altogether very incomplete: the American flotilla, as a flotilla, could have done nothing, either to defend the works or impede the attack. One veteran British brigade, with a few well-served guns, and a few Congreve rockets, would have done the work in half an hour. But Sir George Prevost, after losing four days on a march which might easily have been effected in two days, chose to halt for other five days in front of this American rabble, as if for the express purpose of allowing them time to complete their works, and gain confidence, and receive reinforcements. The reason he assigned was the presence of the American flotilla, which could do nothing to check what ought to have been his immediate object, and which was perfectly well known to exist where it was before he began his march from Chambly. For ulterior operations, beyond the possession of Plattsburg, the assistance of a British flotilla and our superiority on the lake were requisite, and the commander-in-chief ought not to have commenced his march before his flotilla was ready. After wasting months, he might have waited a few days longer in his camp; but, having displayed his plan of operation, and having advanced to Plattsburg, he ought to have attained so much of his object as the reduction of that place; and he might have attained it with ease, and without the slightest necessity for the aid of a flotilla. But Sir George was of that class of men who expect everything to be done by others, nothing by themselves: and nothing would he undertake until our crazy flotilla should arrive, and destroy that of the enemy. Poor Barclay's squadron on Lake Erie was as bad as we have seen; but Captain Downie's, on this Lake Champlain, was infinitely worse. It was only on the 3rd of September, the same day on which the British army crossed the American frontier, and a little more than a week after the launch of the principal ship, that Captain Downie, detached by Sir James Yeo from the Ontario squadron, arrived to take the command on Lake Champlain. The assemblage of a crew for the new ship had only commenced after she was launched, by draughts of seamen from our ships of war and transports at Quebec; and it was the 9th of September before the last detachment reached Captain Downie. On that day 270 men had, at length, been collected from fourteen different king's vessels, and from transports besides, with marines, some soldiers from an infantry regiment, and some of the royal and marine artillery. When captains of the navy are called upon to draught men out of their ships, they seldom send their best sailors: the men sent to Lake Champlain are said to have been of a very inferior character. Captain Downie had no previous acquaintance with any of them, and he only knew one of his officers. The new vessel, in which Downie carried his flag, was in so unfinished a state, that while she was going into action two days afterwards the joiners were at work on her magazines, her powder lying alongside in a boat, and the carpenters still fixing ringbolts, &c. for the guns. Sir George Prevost knew the condition of Captain Downie's ship, yet he repeatedly urged him to make instant co-operation with the army, which, he said, had been long waiting his arrival before Plattsburg in order to assault the enemy's works simultaneously with a naval attack upon their squadron. The same ungenerous, unmanly conduct was resorted to as in the case of Captain Barclay; and with the same or a more lamentable effect. To a letter of innuendo and taunt, poor Downie replied that he needed no urging to do his duty; that he would be up with the army with the first breeze. It was then solemnly announced by Sir George, that as soon as Downie attacked the American ships our troops should attack the forts; and that the scaling of the guns of our squadron, in doubling the head of Plattsburg Bay, should be the signal for the advance of the columns of attack. Our squadron consisted of Captain Downie's unfinished ship of 36 guns, of a brig of 16 guns, of two sloops of 11 guns each, and of ten gun-boats manned with Canadian militia. The American squadron, commanded by Commodore M'Donough, counted three vessels of 26, 20, and 18 guns, one of 7 guns, and ten gun-boats. In the number of guns there was little difference, but in weight of metal the Americans were as three to two; and they had another inestimable advantage. Since the war on the seaboard had been carried on in earnest, and since the blockade of the ports and rivers and outlets had been made more effective, there was less need of seamen in that direction, and this had induced the American government to send a good many of the very best of that class of men to the lakes. Thus Commodore M'Donough had nearly 1000 prime seamen to oppose Downie's less than 600 men of all descriptions. Early on the morning of the 11th of September, Captain Downie came boldly up with his squadron and announced to the army the preconcerted signal of the scaling of his guns. The firing was heard by every man in that army. Then, Forward columns of attack?—No such thing!—there came the order for the troops *to cook!* Not a platoon had been permitted to form when our ships rounded the promontory, stood into the bay, and attacked the Americans. Captain Downie told his crew that the troops would presently storm the works on shore, and his people began the action with much gallantry. The gallant Downie was killed about ten minutes after the battle began, but his ship was courageously fought for two hours longer under almost every disadvantageous and discouraging circumstance, the army all the while not stirring a foot. On entering the bay our large ship had both her anchors shot away, so that she

could not be brought to her intended station; one of our two sloops ran aground, and was compelled to surrender without doing any service; and the gun-boats, manned with the Canadian militiamen, on observing that no attack was made by land, shamefully fled at the very moment when their assistance in winding the large ship, so as to bring her undamaged broadside to bear, might have turned the fate of the day. After a determined struggle of two hours and twenty minutes, the ship, the brig, and one sloop, which in fact had maintained the battle against the whole of the American squadron, were successively reduced to strike their colours.* Sir George Prevost was a passive spectator of the slaughter and discomfiture of these brave men. Once, indeed, he gave the order to advance, but he gave it only to recall it again, just as our light troops were getting close in upon the American works. There are upon record many instances of the miraculous effect of rigid discipline and the articles of war; but there is scarcely one more marvellous than the patient forbearance and submission of the British officers and troops on this occasion. But, if the brave generals serving under his orders did not take upon themselves the heavy and awful responsibility of calling a council of war, of superseding him in the command, of putting him under arrest as a traitor, coward, fool, or madman—if the soldiery, maddened at seeing the flag of their country struck close under their eyes, did not hurl him into the lake—there was still a loud roar of indignation and reproach. But the disgrace to our arms was not yet complete. Sir George said that there was nothing now to be done, that to gain possession of Plattsburg would cost more than the place was worth! and that consequently the army must retreat. Stung into madness, 800 British veterans deserted from the camp. The retreat commenced on the very night of that fatal and for ever disgraceful 11th of September, with the abandonment of immense quantities of stores, ammunition, and provisions. The whole loss of the army in killed and wounded from the time it quitted the camp at Chambly until it returned there, did not exceed 200 men; but 800 had fled to the enemy; and who could calculate the extent of the mischief and military demoralization which the conduct of such a commander-in-chief had been calculated to produce upon the troops that remained, and that had been insulted in their retreat by the scoffing and hooting of an American rabble?

The one single ability which Sir George Prevost had displayed during his command in Canada was that of blinding the eyes of the British government to his incapacity, or of shifting upon other men's shoulders the crushing weight of his own misconduct and accumulated blunders. But now the dust was cleared from the eyes of government, the mist of his false representations was dispersed; Sir James Yeo preferred most serious charges against him, and particularly for his neglect to co-operate with Captain Downie, and he was immediately recalled to answer at the bar of his offended country. Disease and a natural death saved him from the vengeance of military law; but, as a warning and example, may shame and infamy rest upon his grave!

On the 17th of September, of this same year 1814, the Americans in Fort Erie, being joined by volunteers from their militia, made an attack in force upon the intrenched position of General de Watteville. Being repulsed with loss, they evacuated Fort Erie, demolished its works, and retreated to their own shores. This entire evacuation of the Canadian shore of the Niagara terminated all operations in the upper province. In abandoning the Michigan territory, we had kept possession of the important key-post of Michilimackinac. In the summer of 1814 the republicans made a great effort to recover this post, and did not recover it. It is scarcely necessary to mention the paltry skirmishes and inroads which took place on the frontier of the lower province during the winter. In 1815 the news of peace arrived before the season of the year which allows of extensive military operations in those frost-bound countries. It has been calculated that in three years of warfare, the attempts to carry out the grand plan of President Madison, or to effect the subjugation of the Canadas, were attended with the loss to the republic, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of nearly 50,000 men, besides an enormous expenditure of treasure and stores and warlike resources.* In the course of 1813, when the republican generals Harrison, Hampton, and Wilkinson were all in motion, co-operating in one great object, the frontiers of Canada were pressed upon by 30,000 men. Yet, when the conditions of the treaty of Ghent demanded restitution of all acquisitions which had been made by either party on the frontiers, the Americans had nothing but the defenceless shore of the Detroit to give in exchange for their fortress of Niagara and their key possession of Michilimackinac. And, let it not be forgotten that during two years of the war Great Britain had only a very small regular force and the militia of the country wherewith to defend a very long, winding, and, for the most part, very accessible frontier. If such were the result of the war, what would it have been if a man of military genius, courage, quickness, and decision had held the supreme command, instead of that old-womanly knight whom we have consigned to his dishonoured grave?

In the last great land action of the American war, although there was no lack of courage, there was an almost incredible amount of imprudence and miscalculation. Not satisfied with ruining the trade of New Orleans, and all the towns upon the river Mississippi, by blockading that river, our commanders determined to ascend the river and attack the city of New Orleans. This town, upon the eastern bank of the Mississippi, is about

*James's Naval Hist.—Quart. Rev. No. LIV.—Official Account by Captain Pring, who commanded the British brig in the action.—Ann. Regist.

110 miles from the sea; it is built upon a narrow neck of land, confined on one side by the river and on the other by almost impassable morasses; and, though in itself unfortified, it is not easy to conceive a place capable of presenting greater obstacles to an invader. Below the town are some tremendous forts which completely command the navigation of the river, the current of which is very heady and violent. The assailants could not possibly reach the town by water, and the march by land across the swampy country was difficult in the extreme. Our ill-fated expedition went as far up the Mississippi as it could, and then landed. On the 23rd of December, 1814, part of our troops were repulsed with loss by an American force. But this was only a check, and on Christmas-day General Sir Edward Pakenham, the chief in command, took up a position within six miles of New Orleans. Between the British army and that city the American main body was drawn up, being strongly posted behind a deep canal, with their right covered by the Mississippi, and with their left resting on a thick wood. They had a corps of observation thrown considerably forward, composed of 500 or 600 mounted riflemen, who hovered along Pakenham's front and watched his every motion; and other bodies of riflemen, some mounted and some on foot, lurked in almost every thicket and every sugar plantation, firing with a sure aim at all stragglers, harassing the English pickets, killing and wounding the sentinels, and preventing the main body from obtaining any sound and refreshing sleep. On the 26th of December there was some hard fighting; but the attempt of the British to turn the flank of the Americans was unsuccessful, and the defenders brought into play a very numerous and very well served artillery, firing grape shot, red-hot shot, &c., and doing great execution upon the heads of the English columns of attack. At the end of the day Sir Edward Pakenham took up a position two or three miles nearer to the enemy. His near approach and the course of the fighting had convinced him that the only practicable mode of assault was to treat the formidable field works which the republicans had thrown up as one would treat a regular fortification—erect breaching batteries against them, and try to silence their guns. Three days were employed in landing heavy cannon, bringing up ammunition, and making such preparations as were necessary. Having procured the materiel, one half of the English army was ordered out on the night of the 31st of December, to throw up a chain of works: the men halted about 300 yards from the enemy's line; and here the greater part of them, laying down their muskets, applied themselves vigorously to their task, while the rest stood armed and prepared for their defence in case the Americans should sally. The night was dark, the English maintained a profound silence, and the Americans kept a bad watch, for it was the last night of the year, and rum and other means of conviviality abounded in the republican camp. In this manner six batteries were completed long before the dawn of New Year's Day, and 30 pieces of heavy cannon were mounted on them. There had not been much digging and trenching. Every store-house and barn in the country was filled with hogheads and barrels of sugar and molasses, and these barrels and hogsheads were used instead of earth. Rolling the hogsheads towards the front, the English soldiers placed them upright to form the parapets of the batteries. We had the sugar and molasses, the republicans had the cotton bags and the unpressed cotton bales, and hogsheads and barrels besides. The morning of the 1st of January, 1815, was a very dark foggy morning in those swamps and bogs of New Orleans. The day was considerably advanced before the Americans could distinctly discover how near the British had approached to their lines, or see the novel use they had made of their hogsheads of sugar. As the mist cleared away our batteries opened a tremendous fire. The first effect of this firing and of the astonishment of the Americans was seen in the breaking of the American ranks, in the dispersion of their different corps, which fled in all directions in the most visible terror and disorder. Even their artillery remained silent. There were, no doubt, cogent reasons against making an assault at this first moment of panic, or so brave an officer as Pakenham would have made it. By degrees the republican infantry rallied; and then their formidable artillery began to answer the British salute with great rapidity and precision. They landed a number of guns from a flotilla, they took every gun from every vessel in the harbour, they increased their artillery to a great amount, and they brought a heavy flank fire as well as a front fire to bear upon Pakenham's 30 cannon in battery. The hogsheads and casks were knocked to pieces, the sugar and molasses thrown all about, a good many of our artillerymen were killed and wounded, and some of our guns were knocked over. Moreover, towards evening our ammunition began to fail, and the incessant fire which had been kept up for many hours began to slacken on our side. The English were obliged to retire, leaving their heavy guns to their fate; but, as no attempt was made by the Americans to secure them, working parties sent out after dark removed such of them as were worth removing. Nothing could tempt the republicans to make a sally or try their fortune in an open field. They knew their strength and their weakness, and they wisely kept behind their river and canals and bogs, and their breastworks of cotton bales, trusting to their superiority in artillery, and to their skill as riflemen. The fatigue undergone by the whole British army, from the general down to the meanest sentinel, was immense. For two whole nights and days, not a man had closed an eye in sleep. A new plan of operations was invented, which was considered worthy of the good Peninsular school in which Sir Edward Pakenham had studied his profession. It was determined to divide the army, to send part across the river, who should seize the

enemy's guns in battery there and turn them on themselves; while the remainder should make a general assault along the whole entrenchment. But, before this plan could be put into execution, it was necessary to cut a canal across the entire neck of land on which our army stood, to admit of boats being brought up for conveying the troops across the river. This was a Roman work, and it was executed with a spirit worthy of the legions of Cæsar. The men laboured by turns day and night, one party relieving another after a stated number of hours, in such order as never to let the labour entirely cease: there was no repining, and at last by unremitted exertions they finished their canal on the 6th of January. The unexpected arrival of Major-general Lambert, with the 7th and 43rd, two splendid battalions, mustering together 1600 effective men, raised the spirits of the besiegers. There also came up marines from the fleet, and a body of sailors ready to do or attempt anything. These additions raised Pakenham's force to about 8000 men. The number of armed Americans, of all classes, was estimated at 20,000; and every day brought them some reinforcement from the neighbouring country, from the killing regions of the Kentuckians, and from other parts far and near. Boats were ordered up to the newly cut canal for the transport of 1400 men; and in these boats Colonel Thornton, with the 85th regiment, the marines, and a party of sailors, was to cross the river, and carry the terrible flanking battery, which mounted 18 or 20 cannon. Thornton was to move in the darkness of night and in silence; he was to land at some distance from the American battery, to rush upon it and seize it by surprise in the dark, but not to begin his fire from it until he should see a certain rocket in the air, which would be the signal that Pakenham was commencing a general attack along the American lines. This was the whole of Pakenham's bold plan. It was deranged by various circumstances. The boats could not arrive at the appointed time; the soil through which the canal had been dug in so great a hurry being soft, parts of the bank gave way, choking up the channel and preventing the heaviest of the boats from getting forward; these heavy boats again blocked up the passage, so that none of those which were behind could proceed, and thus, instead of a flotilla for the accommodation of 1400 men, all that could reach their destination were a number of boats barely sufficient to contain 350 men. And so much time had been consumed in getting these few boats into the river, that the dawn of day was beginning to appear before Colonel Thornton could get across. He made good his landing, and formed on the beach without opposition and alarm; but day had already broke, and Pakenham's signal-rocket was seen in the air while he and his 350 men were yet three miles from the battery which ought to have been taken three hours ago. This was fatal to the plan; but blunders and negligences occurred in the main army. Besides their canal and their bales of cotton, the Americans had along their great line certain fixed, permanent ramparts. To mount these, and for laying down across the canal, Sir Edward Pakenham had ordered his attacking columns to be provided with ladders and fascines. But the order had been neglected; there was not a single ladder or fascine upon the field when the assault began, nor were any brought up until it was too late. The guns in the battery which Colonel Thornton was to take remained as Pakenham had seen them the preceding day: his signal-rocket went up, but no fire was opened upon the enemy from that battery. The assault along the lines was, however, commenced under a tremendous fire of American artillery, which mowed down Pakenham's men very fast. On the left a detachment of the 21st, under Colonel Rennie, stormed a 3-gun battery and took it, this battery being in advance of the canal or ditch. On the right a column, composed of the 21st and 4th, supported by the 93rd, crossed the ditch without fascines or ladders; but to scale the parapet without ladders was scarcely possible. Some of the men tried it by mounting upon one another's shoulders, and in this way a few actually entered the works; but they were not supported in time, and were soon laid low by a concentrated crash of musketry. Right and left the columns of attack were compelled to give way; and as they ran back the fire of the American artillery grew hotter and hotter, and some of the battalions betrayed symptoms of disorder and panic. Pakenham, leading on a fresh column of attack in person, received a slight wound in the knee from a musket-ball, which killed his horse under him. Mounting another horse, he again headed the troops, and he was seen, with his hat off, encouraging them on the crest of the glacis, when a second ball struck him, and he fell dead into the arms of his aide-de-camp. Generals Keane and Gibbs rode through the ranks, and endeavoured to encourage the assailants, till they were both carried off the field wounded, Gibbs mortally. Other officers were brought down by the keen American marksmen, who fired under cover, and with their rifles in rest. All was now confusion and dismay. Without leaders, without knowing what was to be done, almost without so much as a single subaltern officer left standing, the troops halted and opened, then began to retire, and finally the retreat became a disorderly flight. The strong reserve, however, closed up to cover the retreat, and give time for rallying; and so cautious were the republicans, that they would attempt no pursuit. They remained behind their strong lines, and merely plied their artillery. Thornton and his 350 men beyond the river did nobly, though it was too late. They drove the Americans, consisting in part of a corps of wild Kentuckians, from their positions; they drove three times their own number out of the battery; they took possession of their tents and of their eighteen pieces of cannon. The Americans, expecting no attack on this side of the river, had been taken by surprise, even though it was broad

daylight; and the British soldiers, marines, and sailors had fought with the greater spirit from believing that Pakenham's attack (announced by the signal rocket) was succeeding. But, before they could turn the captured guns upon the enemy, Colonel Thornton learned the true state of the case from the messenger who brought him an order to retreat immediately, recross the river, and join the main body of the army.* As Thornton retreated, the Kentuckians and their comrades began to return to their batteries; but, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, so very little stomach did they show for fighting in open ground, that they stopped by their recovered works, and gave no pursuit; and thus, under cover of some smoke which they raised by setting fire to a house, the English got back to their boats and crossed the river without molestation, carrying with them a good part of the American artillery which they had captured, and, among other pieces, a brass howitzer, on which was inscribed, "Taken at the surrender of York Town, 1781." In the advance and attack three men were killed and about forty were wounded, Colonel Thornton being among the latter, and this was all that the daring movement cost us. As soon as the whole army was reunited and order was restored to the broken regiments, a flag of truce was dispatched by General Lambert, upon whom the command devolved, with proposals for a suspension of hostilities to collect and bury the dead. The Americans readily agreed to a truce of two days. On the right and on the left of the American lines where the assaults had been made, the dead lay thick together, showing how close they had come to the works, how firmly they had stood, how well the American artillery had been served, and with what good aim their muskets and rifles had been fired. In some spots the men lay as if they had been mowed down in ranks. Nowhere was there an American to be seen among the dead, for the Americans had all fought under cover, scarcely ever showing more than their caps and heads as they fired their muskets and rifles over the parapets. It was their boast that in Pakenham's attack their loss amounted to only eight men killed and fourteen wounded; and it is probable that their loss was not much greater. It is worthy of notice that the proofs of good gunnery did not all proceed from Americans. New Orleans, once a French settlement, continued to be a great resort for Frenchmen of all classes; and a good number of Frenchmen, who had served in the army or navy of Bonaparte, were in the place when the British advanced against it. We find even in American books a good many of these well-practised individuals mentioned by name. General Lambert wisely abandoned the notion of making another attempt. But before he could begin a retreat it was found necessary to make a road across an execrable morass some miles in extent. This work occupied nine days, during which the British army remained in position within cannon-shot distance of the American lines; and, although the fame of their success brought more and more volunteers to swell the force behind those lines, no sally was made, nothing was attempted beyond firing of long shots with their big guns. But no, we mistake; something more was done; they held out every inducement to the British soldiers to desert; they threw printed papers into the pickets offering land and money as the price of desertion; they made a practice of approaching our outposts, and endeavouring to persuade the very sentinels to quit their station. They offered some of our men as much as fifty or one hundred dollars; they told them that all men who served kings must be in the condition of slaves, and they painted the blessings of liberty and equality, the happiness of republicans, and the ease and plenty of that land of sugar and tobacco, cotton and black slaves. At times these emissaries were roughly handled by the loyal soldiery; nevertheless a considerable number of our men, worn out by their present fatigues and privations, deserted, to die in the bosom of brother Jonathan and of yellow fever. When General Lambert began to move off—which was not until the 18th of January, when the whole of the wounded, the baggage and stores, the civil officers, commissaries, &c., were well advanced on their way to the English fleet—nothing was abandoned except ten pieces of heavy artillery which had been mounted in front of the bivouac, and which were old ships' guns of little value, and extremely cumbersome—and these guns were rendered perfectly unserviceable before they were left. And such was the skill with which the whole retreat was managed, and such the timidity or shyness of the Americans, who even now would not quit their works or attempt any pursuit, that the whole of the army got safely back to the ships lying in the Gulf of Mexico, near the mouth of the Mississippi. It was every way a useless and lamentable expedition (peace had been concluded in Europe before it commenced), and it cost us nearly 2000 men and officers in killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Jackson, afterwards President of the United States, was considered as commander-in-chief in New Orleans; and it was on this occasion that his admiring countrymen bestowed upon him the high appellation of "Conqueror of the Conquerors of Bonaparte."*

The last action of the war was the capture of Fort Mobile, in the new Alabama territory of the United States, by General Lambert, who had so ably conducted the retreat from New Orleans, and by Admiral Sir A. Cochrane. The troops were landed as early as the 7th of February, and by the 11th the place was ours, the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war. Fort Mobile commanded the principal sea-port of the territory (which has since grown into a state), and afforded

* The Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans, in the years 1814–1815, by the author of The Subaltern. Fourth edition, corrected and revised. London, 1836.—Dispatches of Generals Lambert and Keane.

* General Lambert, Dispatch—Major Mitchell of the Royal Artillery, official return of the ordnance taken from the enemy, &c.

a good naval and military position, and an excellent basis for further operations on the Mississippi, the Bay of Mexico, the rivers Mobile, Alabama, &c.

During the progress of the war, the British government had made several overtures, direct as well as indirect, for a reconciliation, and every royal speech at the opening of Parliament had expressed, with a determination to yield or commit none of our maritime rights, regret for the quarrel, or a wish that it might not be lasting. At first the overtures were met as a confession of fear and weakness—as an avowal that we were sinking under the weight imposed upon us by a war with France in the Old World, and with the republic of the United States in the New World; and, when their ship-of-the-line-like frigates had made old British frigates strike, it was fancied that our spell was broken, that the trident was falling from our hands. Bonaparte's grand disaster in Russia, which was well known all over the United States early in the year 1813, damped, but did not destroy, the hopes of the war party; for they could not conceive that so gigantic a power as that of the Emperor of the French could be destroyed at one blow. They hoped that the Man of Destiny would prevail against all the embattled crowned *despots* of Europe in the plains of Germany in 1813. This hope was shattered by the battle of Leipzig. But in the beginning of 1814, when Bonaparte was fighting on the soil of France, —when the armies of the allies were engaging, far from their own frontiers, in the very heart of the most warlike nation of Europe, they trusted that the star of Napoleon would shine forth again more luminous than ever. It was needful for them to cling to this hope, for the most ardent lover of this war with England well knew that it could not be continued without ruin to the United States, if England should be relieved from the great and exhausting French war, and be enabled to direct her whole attention to this little episode in America. But Bonaparte was beaten inside of France, as he had been beaten outside of France; and the 1814 hope was finished by the capture of Paris, and the abdication of Fontainebleau. Then, and not until then, President Madison and his party utterly despaired of the policy they had adopted, and became really eager for peace. Before this time, however, it had been sufficiently demonstrated that the conquest and annexation of Canada—incontestably the main object for which Madison had provoked this war—was not to be achieved by such troops and military resources as the central government could command; and the seat of sensibility had been violently affected, by the very many bags of dollars which had been spent in those useless expeditions beyond the lakes and the river St. Lawrence. Moreover, the opposition of the north-eastern states of the Union to a line of policy which they had never supported, and to a war which was threatening to make bankrupts of them all, compelled the pupil of Jefferson to pretend a wish to treat with England, even at the end of 1813. On the 7th of January, 1814, he communicated to Congress copies of a correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Munroe. From these letters, it appeared that Lord Castlereagh had proposed the appointment of plenipotentiaries to treat respecting terms of peace either at London or at Gottenburg, and that the American diplomatist, preserving his proper dignity, had acceded to his lordship's proposition, being authorized so to do by the president, who had made choice of Gottenburg for the scene of the negociations. The anti-war and anti-French party bitterly assailed the president for not assenting to a like amicable proposition made on the part of England long before: they accused him even now of a design to protract the negotiations, and they told him that this delay would not be borne by the impatient and ruined people of the eastern states. Besides repeating the threat of breaking up the federal union, the people of these eastern states began to declare that they would contribute no money, no men, no stores to the armies set on foot by the central government; that they would keep their own militia at home for their own defence; that *perhaps* they might be driven, by their necessities, to seek a separate reconciliation with Great Britain, &c. In the State of Massachusetts these threats were loudly expressed by Governor Strong, before the legislature of that state. So terrible, indeed, were these gales from the north-east, that President Madison, his government, and whole system were well nigh blown away by them. Nor did the president escape without yielding to them: prostrating himself before the blast, he repealed his embargo and non-importation acts! This, he hoped, would tend to allay some of the discontents occasioned by the restrictions on commerce, and remove, at the same time, some of the evil and ruinous effects of those restrictions on the American revenue, which was already in a deplorable state. But England frustrated these hopes by the extension of the British blockade along the whole coasts of the United States, which was announced in April, 1814, by Admiral Cochrane. And throughout this last year of the war, Madison had no reason to complain, as he used to do in former times before the war began, that British blockades of coasts were merely paper blockades; for so closely were the rivers, the great outlets of America, watched; so incessantly was the coast scoured from south to north, and from north to south; so vigilant was the look-out, even close in shore, that a trading vessel could hardly put out to sea —nay, could hardly creep along the coast from one harbour to another, without the dead certainty of being captured by the English. The year 1814 must have been altogether a blank and black year for Madison. He saw Washington burned under his nose; he could do nothing more on the side of Canada; great part of the province of Maine was wrested from the republicans by our expedition on the Penobscott River; he had scarcely a gleam of

satisfaction, except in the results of Sir George Prevost's wretched Plattsburg expedition.

The negotiations for peace, which had been removed by mutual consent from Gottenburg to Ghent, commenced in earnest in August, 1814. By means of various applications, and condescensions not quite consistent with the severity of republican principles, though not inconsistent with American practice, Madison and his friends secured the mediation or friendly offices of the Emperor Alexander of Russia. In the month of October the president laid before congress an account of the proceedings at Ghent. He made it appear that the British government had advanced certain demands, respecting the integrity of the territory of the Red Indians, the military possession of the lakes, and the settlement of the boundaries, which the American plenipotentiaries had not hesitated to reject as wholly inadmissible. The congress by a large majority confirmed this rejection; and measures were determined on for purely *defensive* preparations *if* the continuance of the war should be found inevitable. But it was easier to vote resolutions than to raise the money necessary to carry them into effect, or to reconcile the people of the north-eastern states to the prospect of any prolongation of hostilities. So low was the state of public credit that no loans could be negotiated. A system of taxation was resorted to which added fuel to fire. In none of the New England states would those war taxes ever have been paid. Six months of sternness and perseverance on the part of Great Britain would have taught the Americans a salutary lesson; twelve months' perseverance and energy in carrying out our blockade, and without any more expeditions by land, or any other risks or expenses, and the feeble ties which kept the northern and southern states together would have been snapped like a scorched thread. But it was a season of triumph and magnanimity in Europe:—the Emperor of Russia was very magnanimous, Lord Castlereagh was very magnanimous, and the people of England were very forgiving, and cared more for a completeness of peace than for the prospective advantages to be derived from the wholesome chastisement which might have been inflicted (perhaps as much to the benefit of the Americans as to our own benefit). The restoration of peace in Europe, with the overthrow of the founder of the continental system, of the new navigation code, and of the new system of international law, had indeed removed for the present many of the causes of differences between England and the United States. For example, we had no longer any present necessity to insist on our right of search, or on our right of excluding neutral vessels from the blockaded ports of an enemy. But we must deny that the prosecution of a war which could not by any possibility have lasted a year longer would have been a useless expenditure of money and an unjustifiable harshness on our part. The Americans had forced the war upon us in their way, and we ought to have finished it in our way. No principle ought to have been left unsettled, no question relating to boundaries or to anything else left open to be a perennial source of quarrel as soon as America should feel herself strong enough or bold enough to quarrel. As it was, the plenipotentiaries at Ghent agreed to waive every question at issue between us, and to take no notice whatever of the circumstances which had occasioned the war. On the 24th of December, 1814, they concluded and signed a treaty of peace and amity, which was ratified by both governments. The longest of the articles of the treaty related to the disputes respecting boundaries, yet still they left those disputes to be settled and determined by commissioners of the two nations who were to meet and discuss the questions hereafter. Each nation engaged to put an end to all hostilities that might be subsisting between them and the Indian tribes, and to restore to those tribes all the possessions and privileges which belonged to them previously to the war. Both parties likewise covenanted to continue their efforts for the entire abolition of the slave-trade. All the northern and eastern states of the Union were thrown into transports of joy by this peace. The Englishman who carried out the ratification of the treaty was carried by the citizens and people through the streets of New York in triumph and jubilee.

Virtually the long reign of George III. terminated in 1810 with the establishment of the regency; and, having brought the great events which were then in progress to their close, we may with propriety abstain from giving details of the minor events which took place between the year 1815 and the death of the old king. As it now rests there is a kind of epic unity and completeness in the history of this actual reign of nearly fifty years. To proceed would be to enter upon or merely touch the skirts of another era. Even with the noble episode of Lord Exmouth's bombardment of Algiers in the month of August, 1816, the story of Orator Hunt and his white hat, the doings of the Radical reformers, the Spa-fields mobs, the Manchester meetings and the affray at Peterloo, would be but as a farce after a sublime drama. The great events of the reign—more numerous, complicated, and important than those that were crowded in any two preceding centuries—have already occupied a space considerably exceeding the limits we originally proposed. The three great subjects—the consolidation and extension of our Indian empire, the war of American independence, and the wars arising out of the French Revolution—have been discussed very fully, as it was always intended they should be; and great pains have been taken to give a correct notion of the real character of the French Revolution, of the men who made it, and of the effects and tendencies of that convulsion. From 1790 this history is, for a quarter of a century, not merely the History of England, but the History of Europe.

Algiers.

George III. died in Windsor Castle on the night of Saturday the 29th of January, 1820, in the 82nd year of his age, and (counting the ten years of the regency) in the 60th year of his reign. For some years before his death he had been totally blind; and it does not appear that any temporary return of reason allowed him to comprehend and rejoice at the issue of the momentous struggle in which he left his country engaged in 1810, when his malady drove him into retirement. We only know that when others desponded his hopes were high, and that, so long as he had reason, he never despaired of the final triumph of England. No man within his realms had a more thoroughly English heart, or a more ardent desire to promote the welfare of the people and the interests and honour of the country. Unpopular in his youth and earliest government, he became endeared to the people in the midst of the misfortunes of the American war; and perhaps no sovereign had ever been more popular than he was during the last twenty-five years of his reign. When aged, afflicted with blindness, and with a still more awful calamity, he became to every truly British heart "the dear old king," "the good old king"—and the mingled feeling of affection, reverence, and grief, for the poor blind old recluse of Windsor Castle was honourable to the vast body of the English nation. The whole feeling was expressed by a decent London mechanic, who was viewing the festivities and rejoicings in Hyde Park for the peace of Paris, and the magnificent cortége of the Prince Regent, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, with the long array of warriors of fame, marshals and generals. The man's face was radiant with joy and exultation; but a cloud came over it—"Why is not our good old king *well*, and *here*, to see this sight!"—and as he said the words tears stood in his eyes. Of the character of George III., both as a man and as a sovereign, the facts which have been narrated in the body of our history will enable the reader to form a pretty correct opinion. The time is not yet come for drawing up an impartial, dispassionate, and complete character; but it may be well remarked now, that nearly every circumstance concerning him which has been brought to light of late years, and nearly every conversation which has been reported, or letter written by him which has been published, have tended to clear away the prejudices of former times, and to raise our estimate not merely of the goodness of his heart and intentions, but also of the powers of his intellect, and of his capacity for public business.

Our part of this work is done; and the pen drops from a weary hand which has known little rest since the work began. In the performance of our task, numerous errors may have been committed, and false conclusions may have been drawn from correct premises; but we have never, wittingly, tampered with a fact or falsified a figure. We are of no party, but we are of a country; and this, we trust, we have shown in the whole course of our labours. And it remains with us as a principle, and as a point of faith, that one of the greatest uses of National History is to maintain or minister to a high National Spirit.

# CHAPTER II.

## THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

THE first question connected with religion or the church that came before the legislature after the union with Ireland, was that of the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House of Commons. This question arose in consequence of the return of the celebrated John Horne Tooke, long distinguished as a reformer of the first water both in politics and in philology, as one of the representatives for the rotten borough of Old Sarum, on the nomination of the aristocratic and autocratic patron Lord Camelford, to the first imperial parliament, which met on the 2nd of February, 1801. Tooke, introduced by his friend Sir Francis Burdett and another member, took the oaths and his seat on the 16th of February; when Earl Temple immediately rose and gave notice that, if no petition should be presented against the honourable gentleman's return within the allotted fourteen days, he should then submit a motion on the subject. Nothing farther, however, was done in the matter till the 10th of March. Tooke, according to his own account, had attended in his place at the expiration of fourteen, fifteen, sixteen days, without receiving any communication from Temple. This he stated in a speech which he made when the case came on. "On the seventeenth," he continued, "severe indisposition kept me away: I found on the eighteenth that his lordship, in my absence, had given notice that he should on this day (the 10th of March) make a motion respecting the eligibility of the Reverend John Horne Tooke to a seat in this House. I attended on that day: his lordship then came to me, and very handsomely said he would tell me what sort of a motion it would be. The lawyers, his lordship said, had not been able to determine what sort of a motion he should make on the subject; but he told me he should be able to tell me what would be the motion on Tuesday. I attended; and then his lordship, instead of informing me of anything, made a new motion for the examination of witnesses." Meanwhile, Tooke had, with his characteristic dexterity, been manifestly steering his course in the House with a view to conciliate the quarter from which he had most to fear. In a debate, for instance, on the 19th of February, on a motion for censuring one of the late continental expeditions, the renowned champion of reform and democracy, who had already consented to enter the House of Commons as the nominee of a peer, and to sit as a representative without a constituency, surprised the public by making his *début* as a parliamentary orator with a speech in defence of ministers. In another debate on the 2nd of March, again, he took occasion to proclaim the first principle of his political creed to be an attachment to the ancient institutions of the country. "I am supposed," he said, "to be a great friend to innovations of every kind. I have been represented as an innovator, but I do not deserve that title. . . . I look to what is established, and approve of it—not because it is the best, but because it is established. Let any man examine what have been the sentiments that, upon every occasion, have fallen from me, and he will find that I have uniformly been against innovation." Temple's motion on the 10th of March was merely to call witnesses to the bar to prove the fact of the member for Old Sarum having taken holy orders; it was carried, after some debate, by a majority of 150 to 66; the witnesses were examined, and proved what was wanted; a select committee was then appointed to search the journals of the House, and the records of parliament, for precedents. This committee did not give in its report till the 2nd of April; and the matter was not again taken up till the 4th of May. Long before this, fortunately for Tooke, if he himself had not come to be regarded as a ministerialist, Lord Temple, formerly a steady adherent of Pitt, had, on the accession of the Addington ministry, passed over to the opposition. On the 12th of March, we find the member for Old Sarum coming forward, at the close of an animated debate on a motion by Sheridan for resisting the continuance of the Irish Martial-law Bill, with a proposal to mediate between the two contending parties, or, as he phrased it, to reconcile both sides of the House, and admitting that, although martial law might not be necessary for Ireland, martial force undoubtedly was. On the 25th of the same month, on the other hand, after the change of ministry, when Mr. Grey moved for a committee on the state of the nation, Temple joined the opposition, and both voted and spoke in favour of Grey's motion. All this, no doubt, told upon the final decision of the House as to Tooke's case, notwithstanding that he still continued to profess himself a patriot, and had indeed not only voted for Grey's committee as well as Temple, but had afterwards,

on the 14th of April, made a speech against the Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill—an occasion on which the minister could scarcely have expected him to sit silent unless he had actually sold himself for a sum of money, and then he would not have been worth purchasing. At the same time, in his speech on the 10th of March, on Temple's motion for calling witnesses to the bar to prove the fact of his ordination, he took care to hold himself out to the public as a martyr to his principles, to the democratic or ultra-liberal politics of which he had been so noted a professor. "I believe," he said, "this motion springs not from personal enmity to me (for I do not believe there is any personal enmity to me upon earth), but from political animosity." The motion also was resisted by Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, and the opposition or whig party generally. The evidence taken at the bar proved that Tooke, then Mr. John Horne, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, had been ordained a priest so long ago as on the 23rd of November, 1760, and that he had officiated as such for some time at the chapel of New Brentford, administering the sacraments, performing all the other duties, and receiving his "small tithes and other things by way of composition as ecclesiastical dues." In fact, Tooke, who had now entered parliament at the mature age of sixty-five, had been for about thirteen years minister at New Brentford, although, indeed, he had twice during that time managed to get away to the Continent with pupils in the capacity of a travelling tutor, and nearly all the while he remained at home had been much more of a political agitator than a parson. It appeared, from the cases stated in the report of the committee, that the practice throughout the seventeenth century had been to consider persons who had taken holy orders as disqualified to sit in the House; and their first report did not quote any case of later date than 1661. But in a second report they gave the entries from the journals respecting the case of a Mr. Edward Rushworth, a clerk, returned in 1784 as one of the members for the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, who was petitioned against, but eventually allowed to retain his seat.* On the 4th of May, after the order of the day had been read for taking the report of the committee into consideration, Earl Temple moved that "a new writ should be issued for the election of a burgess to serve for the borough of Old Sarum, in room of the Reverend John Horne Tooke, who, being at the time of his election in priest's orders, was, and is, incapable of sitting in this House." His lordship prefaced his motion by a long speech, into the general reasoning of which we cannot here follow him. The case of Mr. Rushworth, whom he described as having taken his seat unnoticed and unknown, and not professing to be in holy orders, "but, like the reverend gentleman opposite, appearing in a lay habit, and assuming lay functions," he endeavoured to get rid of by placing before the House what was known to be the fact (although not noticed in the journals) that Rushworth was only a deacon, and that it had been upon this point that his counsel rested the strength of his case. "It is not for us to inquire," said his lordship, "whether that distinction was or was not a proper one; the fact is, that the distinction was made, and on that distinction the committee formed their opinion. At best it is but the opinion of individuals, who, however respectable they might be, were liable to error; whose opinion may be reversed by another committee to-morrow, which again may be overturned by another the next day; and certainly is not sufficient, naked, unsupported, and alone, to counterbalance every precedent upon your journals, and the decided testimony of your parliamentary history." "I may be told," he afterwards observed, "that other clergy have actually sat in this House. The fact may be so, yet it does not alter my case. It is a very old and a very true law adage, that no blot is a blot till it is hit. Peers, minors, aliens, clearly ineligible, may have sat, and may at this moment be sitting, in this House: . . . . . All I contend for is, that, in every instance, without one solitary exception, where the House has noticed a priest within its walls, the individual so noticed has been expelled, and the principle laid down of the ineligibility of the clergy." The opposition to Temple's motion was led by Mr. Addington, the prime minister. His argument was somewhat perplexed; but the main drift of what he said seemed to be that, by the principle of Mr. Grenville's bill, every case of a disputed election ought to be left to the decision of a committee, and that the House should never interfere in any such case except when circumstances made it absolutely necessary. He admitted the abstract principle that persons in holy orders were ineligible; but he was convinced there was no real distinction between the state of a deacon and that of a priest; and, as a committee had decided that a deacon was eligible, another committee might possibly find Mr. Tooke's return good, if he should be again elected for Old Sarum, which he might very possibly be in the face of such a resolution as it was now proposed to pass. He seemed to think, too, that there was something in the point that previous to the year 1664 the clergy had been wont to tax themselves, but that then they gave up that power, and had been ever since taxed by parliament along with the laity.*

* Mr. Rushworth was probably one of the two ministers of the Church of England whom Sir James Johnstone, in his speech in the debate on the Test and Corporation Acts, on the 8th of May, 1789, said he understood to be then sitting as members of the House. See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 565. Rushworth sat throughout that parliament, dissolved in June, 1790; and he was again returned to the parliament which met in September, 1796, both for Newport and for Yarmouth, in Hampshire, when he made his election for the latter place; but he resigned his seat in March, 1797. He was, however, still alive, and he petitioned the House in the course of the present proceedings that no law might be passed depriving him of his right of being again elected. In his petition, presented by Mr. G. Vansittart on the 13th of May, he stated that it was twenty-one years since he had been ordained a deacon, that he had never exercised that office for above two months, and that he had for upwards of twenty years given up that order. He informed the House that he had been first returned in October, 1780 (which must have been immediately after his ordination), for Yarmouth (in Hampshire). That appears to have been the fact, but he immediately, or very soon, afterwards resigned his seat by accepting the Chiltern Hundreds.

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng., vol. iii. p. 851.

On the whole, while he would not have objected to the resolution if it had only stated a principle, he could not agree to that part of it which decided upon the special case; and therefore, to put the House in the way of getting at the ulterior object, and to meet, as he conceived, the general wish of the House, he concluded by moving the previous question.* Tooke himself then rose—as he professed, with the greatest reluctance. He began by giving them a sketch of the history of his life. He had been engaged, he said, in many important struggles, but scarcely ever had he been individually concerned. "I fought with the enemies of law, of liberty, and of truth. It was of importance for me to succeed; but my failure was not of more consequence to myself than to the rest of mankind. The subjects of dispute were common as the elements, air and water." This, indeed, was not exactly the first time he had been engaged in a personal struggle. After studying the appointed number of years at the university he had aspired to the degree of master of arts, which never before had been refused to any one—and he had no doubt would to-morrow be conferred upon a great dog, if he could pay the fees and call out *Pro Domino Rege*—but which was denied to him. In the end, however, we believe, he obtained the degree: it was some years after he had become notorious as a patriot that he had this contest with his *alma mater*. "The next struggle of this kind I had," he proceeded, "was when I offered myself as a candidate to be called to the bar. [This was in 1779: he had resigned his living in the church six years before.] I then followed the advice of the first lawyer, perhaps, that this country ever produced; I mean the late Lord Ashburton. I was not foolish enough to give up a situation which I then held, the profits of which were sufficient for my moderate desires. I had been a member of an inn of court from 1756, and I thought myself not unqualified to exercise the profession of the law. I might then have bettered my situation; but I would not, upon speculation, give up what I securely enjoyed. It was well that I did not. A noble marquess, whose name I shall not mention, but who is now a member of this House, interfered, and, his influence being great, my application was rejected. Why was I thus refused? Was there any law against me? None! Some precedent, then? None! Some arguments were offered to prove my incapacity? Not one! I was rejected, and the first that was ever rejected on similar grounds. To show that I am not altogether impertinent, the benchers, having on their side no law, no precedent, no reason, were so doubtful as to the propriety of their conduct, that they sent messengers to consult with the heads of the other inns of court. This learned body, therefore, were not certain that, though in orders, I was ineligible, or that, though in orders, I might not have laid them aside. I am sorry that the late chancellor of the exchequer (Pitt) is not in his place. He is well acquainted with these proceedings; and I am mistaken if they have not made a pretty deep impression upon him." Much more of his speech was equally egotistic; and in one passage he came down upon the authors of the report in his quality of a grammarian, pointing out their ignorance in having eleven times in twenty-one lines mistaken the Saxon *th* for a *y*, or the Saxon *y* for a *z*. He professed to have no personal anxiety to preserve his seat; but gravely stated that he considered himself bound to do his best to defend it as a duty he owed to his constituents—the seven domestics, to wit, or other dependent and obedient nominees, of Lord Camelford! What he urged in the way of argument did not amount to much, although he made sundry assertions which, if he could have proved them, might have been entitled to some consideration, and amused the House by a number of smart and biting remarks, and one or two good stories. It was upon this occasion that he told (and probably invented) the famous often-quoted anecdote about the poor girl who applied for admission to the Magdalen Hospital, and was answered that she must first go and qualify herself. If, instead of being a clergyman, he had been a notorious infidel, he would have been, he said, as competent to sit as any member present. He did not proceed to consider the case of a person who might be *both* an ordained clergyman and an avowed infidel. With regard to precedents he affirmed that all persons who had in former times been declared ineligible would be found to have actually continued to sit till they were disqualified by act of parliament. He meant that no particular description of persons had ever before been absolutely disqualified otherwise than by statute. Minors, aliens, and others, for instance, notwithstanding many resolutions of the House in special instances, had repeatedly been allowed to sit, till an act was passed disqualifying them in the reign of King William. But he did not venture to deny that individuals of these classes had uniformly, or at least generally, been found incapable of sitting, and turned out—as it was now proposed he himself should be—whenever the question was raised.* "Though I wish earnestly," he concluded, "to be out of the House, I feel it to be my duty to strive to continue in it as long as I can; and am prepared to meet opposition in whatever way it may present itself. I wish the House to proceed legally. I wish that an act should be passed, founded on the broad basis of general justice. Let the House save its character as much as

* Addington at first moved that "the order of the day be read;" but he afterwards withdrew that motion as irregular in the circumstances, and substituted the motion for the previous question.

* Among other things which he introduced having little or nothing to do with the question, he mentioned the case of Dr. Walker, the celebrated defender of Londonderry, whom, he said, King William wished to make a bishop; "but no; the bishops interfered; a man stained with blood, they said, was unfit to officiate in that sacred character. King William, however, gave him a regiment, and he died in Flanders, fighting bravely by his side." Dr. Walker was, in fact, nominated Bishop of Derry, and was killed, not in Flanders, but at the battle of the Boyne. In Pict. Hist. of Eng., vol. iv. p. 17, *note*, he is by mistake described as a Presbyterian divine. He was rector of Donoughmore.

possible, and try to preserve the confidence of the public." In the course of the debate that followed, Temple's motion was warmly opposed by Fox, who boldly maintained that clergymen neither were, nor ought to be, disqualified from sitting, and ended his speech by declaring that he did not see a scintilla either of reason or of law to support the present proceeding. He would have preferred a more direct way of meeting the motion than that proposed by Addington, but was content to vote with him, in the hope that the question would never more be revived. The same line of argument was taken by Erskine and Grey: Sir William Scott and Mr. Charles Williams Wynn supported the original motion; the attorney-general (Sir Edward Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough) and the solicitor-general (the Hon. Spencer Perceval) spoke in favour of that made by Addington, which on a division, was carried, by a majority of 94 to 53. So the reverend member for Old Sarum, however much against his inclination, retained possession of his seat. Addington, however, now proceeded to gratify him in his other professed wish, by taking measures to prevent his ever being returned a second time. Two days after this vote, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for, and obtained, leave to bring in a bill, entitled "A bill to prevent doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House of Commons," which, in fact, as eventually passed into a law,* disqualified not only priests and deacons of the Church of England, but also all ministers and licensed preachers of the Church of Scotland. On the second reading, the bill was vehemently opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, who was generally regarded in those days as a sort of political double or mouthpiece of Tooke's; but he was answered by the member for Old Sarum himself, who began his speech by saying that he rose for the first, and, he hoped, also for the last, time in his life in opposition to his honourable friend. He declared he wished the bill to proceed to a second reading, and should not in the committee propose any alteration tending to thwart the reasonable desire of the House to prevent the clergy from sitting as members. Afterwards, when the bill was in committee, he moved the insertion of a clause, declaring that, if any ordained person "should hereafter be elected, or, being elected, should continue to sit or vote in parliament, he should henceforth be incapable of holding any benefice, or any office of trust or emolument under the crown." If clergymen, he said, had such a disqualification as this staring them in the face, he believed the House would not be much troubled with ecclesiastical candidates. He again professed his wish to be himself out of the House; he was an old man, and sighed for retirement; and, if the House would be polluted by the clergy becoming members, it ought certainly to be purified as soon as possible. This joke, however, does not appear to have been put to the vote. On the contrary, a proviso was inserted on the motion of Addington, that nothing in the act should extend to vacate the seat of any member elected before its passing. The bill was again debated on the third reading, when Sir Francis Burdett renewed his opposition; but his motion, that it should be read that day three months, was negatived without a division. Tooke, in another speech of some length, pointed out various respects in which he conceived the bill would still have to be amended, if it was not to go down to posterity as a weight about the neck of the parliament that passed it. All the thoughts of gentlemen, he said, seemed to turn on the rights of the elected, while they totally forgot the rights of the electors. "Yes," somebody quietly rejoined, "for instance, those of Old Sarum." Tooke thanked the honourable member for the hint; Old Sarum was the very place he had had in his mind at the time. He declared that "he sat in the House as independent as any man in it. He had been returned unfettered by any conditions: he was not even bound to take care of Old Sarum. The House might take it and throw it on the floor, along with the other boroughs of the same description, if they pleased; he would not oppose it, and thus they would get rid of him at once." This seems to have been Tooke's last speech in the House of Commons, although he continued a member till the dissolution of the present parliament, in June, 1802. The bill was also debated at considerable length in the Lords, where it was attacked, in different styles, by Lord Thurlow and Lord Holland, and defended by Chancellor Eldon and Bishop Horsley; but the opposition to it does not appear to have been pressed to a division, and it was eventually passed in the same form in which it had left the Lower House. Nor has the law as thus declared been since repealed or altered.

In the same session in which this question was settled commenced the legislative agitation of sundry other questions relating to the rights, duties, and stations of the clergy, which were far from being so speedily or so easily determined. The attention of parliament appears to have been, in the first instance, called to the subject by a number of prosecutions which had been lately raised against clergymen under an act of the 21st of Henry VIII., entitled "Spiritual persons abridged from having pluralities of livings, and from taking of farms, &c." The strict observance of the regulations of this old statute had, in the change of times and circumstances, long been neglected and fallen into oblivion, when it was thus anew called into action by certain common informers for purposes of extortion. The first movement in the matter was made by Mr. William Dickinson, junior, member for Ilchester, who, on the 9th of June, 1801, after the House had on his motion resolved itself into a committee, obtained leave to bring in a bill "to protect and relieve, under certain provisions and regulations, spiritual persons from vexatious prosecutions by common informers, under the statute of King Henry VIII., in consequence of their non-residence

* The Stat. 41 Geo. III. c. 63.

on their benefices, or their taking of farms." The bill was accordingly brought in, and passed the Commons on the 24th of June; but it was dropped in the Lords, principally on account of the advanced state of the session, which terminated on the 2nd of July. The subject, however, was again taken up in the next session, being introduced in the Commons on the 7th of April, 1802, in a committee of the whole House, by Sir William Scott (afterwards Lord Stowell), who, in asking leave to bring in a new bill of relief, prefaced his motion with a long and elaborate speech. This speech contains some curious details respecting the financial circumstances of the church at the commencement of the present century. When the first-fruits and tenths were granted by Queen Anne for the augmentation of small livings, the returns made to the exchequer showed that there were then in England no fewer than 5597 livings under the value of 50*l.* per annum, of which, 844 being of the value of between 40*l.* and 50*l.*, there were 1049 under 40*l.*, 1126 under 30*l.*, 1467 under 20*l.*, and 1071 which did not exceed 10*l.* a year. Some were of the value of not more than 20*s.* or 40*s.* On the whole, of about 11,700 livings, the entire number in England and Wales, about one half were under 50*l.* a year, and under 23*l.* a year on an average. Even still, after all that had been done by Queen Anne's fund, and by the bounty of private benefactors, in the course of nearly a century, it was calculated that there were about 6000 livings which did not exceed an average of 85*l.* per annum, and that of these a very large proportion were still under the annual value of 30*l.* In the archdeaconry of Salop, which, as comprehending parts of five counties, might be taken as a fair sample of the general state of things, of 186 livings, only 109 had parsonage houses; and even of these many were totally unfit for the residence of any clergyman's family. Forty-seven livings had no glebe-lands. Of the whole number of livings, and this, Sir William observed, in a part of the country in which the ecclesiastical state is conceived to be much more respectable than in the average of the kingdom, only 19 were above 200*l.* per annum; 27 were under 50*l.*, ranging up to that sum from so low an amount as 45*s.* No living, it was stated, would remain so low as 2*l.* 5*s.* a year, if the patrons would accept of augmentation from Queen Anne's bounty; but this was declined for fear of its bringing them under the bishop's jurisdiction. The present income of Queen Anne's fund, Sir William stated from authority, was only between 14,000*l.* and 15,000*l.* per annum, nearly the same as it had been at its first institution: the accounts had not been published for some years, and an erroneous notion had got abroad that it now yielded from 40,000*l.* to 50,000*l.* a year. Of the entire number of about 11,600 church livings in the kingdom (a considerable over-statement), the patronage of about 2500 belonged to the bishops and other ecclesiastical persons and bodies; that of nearly 1100 belonged to the crown; that of above 2000 belonged to various lay corporations, including the colleges in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and that of the remaining number of nearly 6000, or about a half of the whole, was in the hands of lay individuals. From these facts, and various general considerations upon which he dilated, referring chiefly to the influences in which the statute of Henry VIII. had originated, and to the great change that had taken place since in the circumstances of the country, Sir William Scott urged the expediency of amending that old statute by a new enactment which should at once remedy the inconveniences of its present operation, and, at the same time, more effectually secure its object. The old act had been passed by a king and parliament both in a state of excitement against the church;—the king was now in the midst of the business of his divorce; the parliament was the one immediately following that, the first that had been held for fourteen years, in which Cardinal Wolsey, having already accumulated the popular hatred against himself and the church by his haughty bearing and arbitrary government, had insulted the Commons by appearing among them with the most ostentatious prelatic pomp, and demanding "to know the reasons of those members who opposed the king's highness's subsidy." Springing out of the ferment of passions thus created, the statute imposed a pecuniary penalty, to be recovered by any one who should sue for it, upon whoever should be, in any circumstances, wilfully absent for the space of one month from his benefice, which the courts had interpreted to mean from the parsonage house of that benefice. Under this act the only defensive causes of absence that had been allowed were actual imprisonment of the body elsewhere, or such infirmity of body as made residence dangerous to life, or the want of a parsonage house on the living—and even that last plea had been, in some recent cases, in effect disallowed, or at least materially contracted, by its being rejected unless where it was shown that the clergyman had taken up his abode as near to his parish as he could. The statute further enacted that no clergyman, beneficed or not beneficed, should take a house except in a city, market-town, or borough, under the penalty of 10*l.* a month; that no vicar should take a lease of the parsonage under a penalty amounting to ten times the value of the profits of such lease; that no clergyman should hold a lease of land, in any circumstances, even although it had descended to him in the way of inheritance, and although he did not himself occupy the land, under a penalty of ten times its annual value; and that no clergyman should so much as buy or sell a cow without becoming liable to forfeit triple its value. In lieu of these antiquated restraints, the new bill proposed to substitute, in regard to farming, a liberty in cases where the ancient statute operated injuriously; in regard to residence, a fair and reasonable allowance of time to the clergyman for the occasions of private life (now in his case very different from what they were

formerly, when the clergy were all unmarried, and intercourse between distant parts of the country was rare among any class of men), free from the doggings of the common informer, but under the superintendence of the bishop, who was to have restored to him the power of granting licences for absence in certain cases expressly enumerated in the bill. It was on the ground of the additional powers thus proposed to be given to the bishops that the bill was principally opposed. On the 31st of May, when the House was about to go into committee on the bill, Mr. John Simeon, one of the members for Reading, attacked it as a measure intended not merely to abrogate the salutary statute of Henry VIII., but on the ruins of that act to erect a new code of ecclesiastical law of the most dangerous nature, founded on an unconstitutional power which it went to place in the hands of the bishops. In this debate, even the attorney-general declared that he only wished the bill to go into committee in order that certain alterations might be made in it, and that, if it came out of the committee unamended, he certainly should oppose its further progress. The result was, that, although the bill did undergo a variety of alterations in committee, so as, by his own acknowledgment, to have become much superior to what it was when first brought in, Sir William Scott deemed it expedient on the 9th of June, which was within three weeks of the prorogation, to intimate that, seeing the slow progress it had made, it was not his intention to press it further that session, in the hope that it would be revived at an early period of the next. Another bill was, in fact, brought forward and carried through the Commons in the following year, during the first session of the new parliament which met in November, 1802; but was rejected by the Lords, after it had passed the committee, on a point of form, arising, as it would appear, out of a clause which had been added to it for securing a certain amount of stipend to curates in proportion to the value of the benefice, and for compensating such of them as should be displaced by the new regulations as to residence. But, still not discouraged, Sir William Scott returned to the charge in the next session; and, on the 1st of December, 1803, obtained leave to bring in another residence bill, announcing at the same time that the provision for the relief of stipendiary curates would be made the subject of another measure. This, however, and a long series of subsequent attempts in 1805, 1806, and 1808, all failed, or proved only partially efficient. In the last-mentioned year, Mr. Perceval, at the time prime minister, sustained a third defeat in endeavouring to carry a measure for settling the salaries of stipendiary curates; then the question was allowed to sleep for some years: it was again brought forward in 1812; but it was only finally settled in 1817, by a bill brought in by Mr. Manners Sutton (the present Viscount Canterbury), which consolidated into one comprehensive statute the whole law relating both to the salaries of curates and the residence of the clergy generally. By this act (the 57 Geo. III. c. 99) the determination of the salaries of curates in all cases is, as originally proposed by Sir William Scott, left wholly to the bishop, acting according to the regulations of the act, which direct that its amount shall be fixed according to a scale framed with a reference to both the value and the population of the benefice; and the bishop is further empowered to determine summarily, upon the complaint of either party, any difference as to the matter that may afterwards arise between the clergyman and his curate. The regulation of the residence of the clergy is also placed much more completely than before in the hands of the bishop; he is authorised to grant licences for non-residence, on certain grounds enumerated in the act, and likewise on any other grounds which may seem to him reasonable, provided that, in the latter case, the licence be submitted to and allowed by the archbishop. He may, moreover, enforce residence in a summary way, by monition and sequestration, which, after a certain time, if unattended to, will effect the actual avoidance of the benefice. The descriptions of clerical persons exempted from the obligation to reside on their cures are left generally by this act the same as they were before, except that the age under which university students are exempted is contracted from forty to thirty years. The penalties incurred by non-residence without a licence, by persons not exempted, are settled at one-third of the clear annual value of the benefice, if it exceeds three months in the year; one-half, if it exceeds six; two-thirds, if it exceeds eight; and three-fourths, if it is for the whole year; to be recovered by any one who will sue for them. The space of time, therefore, which a clergyman is legally bound to reside upon his cure is nine months in the year. This act also repealed the old prohibition against farming by the clergy, substituting a regulation restraining all beneficed or dignified clergymen, and all curates or lecturers, from taking to farm more than eighty acres without the written consent of the bishop, which, moreover, can only be granted for a term not exceeding seven years. And all clerical persons are, by another section of the act, prohibited from carrying on any trade, or buying and selling for lucre, upon pain of forfeiting the value of the goods so bought or sold; and the contracts entered into by them in any such trade or dealing are made utterly void.

In the various discussions which took place in parliament during the present period respecting these and some other propositions as to ecclesiastical matters, many facts were mentioned relating to the state of the established church and the clergy, some of the most important of which it may be desirable to notice here.

In 1804 the provision made for the clergy in the city of London came under discussion in the course of the debates on a bill for increasing the amount of certain of the livings there, the parochial assessments for which, it appeared, still remained

the same as settled by what is called the Fire Act, passed after the great fire of 1666. In a debate on the motion for the third reading of this bill in the Lords, on the 19th of July, the Bishop of London (Porteus) stated that, of 50 livings in the city, the value of the highest was only 200*l.* per annum; others were only 150*l.*; many were no more than 100*l.* In another debate, on the 23rd, Bishop Horsley (then of St. Asaph) explained that the bill affected 86 parishes; but, owing to the unions that had been made after the great fire, only 51 (a mistake, we believe, for 50) livings; and that there were, besides, 19 London parishes which it did not comprehend. In these last, he stated, the average annual amount of the assessments raised for the support of the clergyman was 290*l.* The bill met with some opposition; but it eventually passed. It raised the value of the lowest of the 50 livings to 200*l.*, and that of the highest to 366*l.*

In 1805 a bill was brought in to repeal so much of an act of the 9th of George II. as went to restrain colleges in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge from purchasing the advowsons of livings. The law proposed to be abrogated by this bill was stated to have been enacted at the instance of Lord Hardwicke, and considerable opposition was made to its repeal. It was contended, however, that under existing circumstances the restraint was attended with injurious effects. The number of livings in the gift of the universities, it was stated by the Bishop of Oxford (Randolph), did not exceed a moiety of the number of the members, meaning probably the members who were in holy orders or destined for the church. Afterwards in another debate, on the 29th of April, the right reverend prelate entered into some calculations, from which it appeared that the entire number of livings at the disposal of the colleges and universities, among which were many of small value, did not amount to 700. If this account was correct, the bill, which soon after passed into a law, has not had a very extensive operation in the space of nearly forty years that has since elapsed; for the number of advowsons possessed by the universities and colleges at the present moment does not amount to quite 750. Of these the two universities hold about 600.

In 1809 a grant of 100,000*l.* was made to the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, the better to enable them to fulfil the objects of their trust. In proposing this grant, Mr. Perceval stated that it would take forty years for the first-fruits and tenths alone, which Queen Anne had made over for that purpose, to raise all the poor livings even to the moderate value of 50*l.* a year. According to the Report of the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Revenues, published in June, 1835, there were at that date still 297 benefices under that value. The grant was opposed in the Upper House by Lord Holland; in reply to whom the Earl of Harrowby, on the 18th of June, 1810, went at great length into the financial circumstances of the church. At this time the intention of the government appears to have been that the grant of 100,000*l.* should be continued annually until all the livings in the church should be raised to 150*l.*, or at least 100*l.*, a year. Lord Harrowby stated, that when Queen Anne's fund was first established the number of livings under 50*l.* was between 5000 and 6000; and that now there were not much more than 1000 under that value, and not above 4000 under 150*l.* per annum. It had been generally supposed that the poor livings were chiefly confined to parishes in which the population was inconsiderable and the duty light—"remote villages, where we wished certainly to give the clergyman a better income, because it was not fitting that he should receive less than a day-labourer; but where his poverty was out of sight, and did not affect the interests of any considerable portion of the community." Returns which had been recently obtained, however, proved the error of this supposition. It appeared that, of the whole number of livings under 150*l.* per annum, there were above 600 which, in 1801, had a population of between 500 and 1000 persons, and nearly 500 having a population of above 1000; of these 79 had between 2000 and 3000; 35 between 3000 and 4000; 17 between 4000 and 5000; 10 between 5000 and 6000; and some much more. In 15 parishes in the diocese of Chester, containing in all a population of 208,000 persons, the entire revenue of the clergy was no more than 1315*l.* His lordship next proceeded to the subject of the residence of the clergy. According to returns made by the bishops in 1807, the number of incumbents legally resident in the 11,164 parishes of England and Wales was only 4412, or little more than one in every third parish. The number actually resident, even including some who lived not within but only in the neighbourhood of their parishes, certainly did not exceed 5000, or did not reach to nearly one in every two parishes. There were, indeed, 340 other persons returned as exempt on account of cathedral or college offices, many of whom might probably be resident part of the year; but even the addition of all these would still leave considerably more than half the parishes of the kingdom entirely in the charge of curates. In 1835, we may observe, it was found that the total number of parishes in England and Wales was 11,077; the total number of benefices, 10,517; and the whole number of curates, 5,227. So that still, as formerly, we may say that curates are the actual pastors of about half the parishes in the kingdom. Of the resident incumbents in 1810, there were about 1500 whose incomes were under 150*l.* per annum. These were all the incumbents that were resident, out of about 4000 parishes in which, as stated above, the livings were of that amount. Of these poorly endowed livings, therefore, 2500, or five-eighths of the whole, were left to the pastoral superintendence of curates. In the remaining 7167 parishes, again, where the value of the living exceeded 150*l.*, there were 3556 incumbents either actually or virtually

resident, leaving only 2612 cases, or little more than a third of the entire number, in which curates were left to do the duties. The whole number of non-resident incumbents of all classes, after deducting dilapidated churches and sinecures, was found to be 5925. Of these, those who were non-resident upon one benefice on account of residence upon another were 1797; those who resided in a house of their own or of a relative were 152; those who resided near their parishes and did duty were 476. Deducting these three classes from the whole number, there still remained 3500 parishes which must either have no curate at all—a thing which Lord Harrowby said he trusted the vigilance of the church never permitted—or they must be served by the incumbent or curate of a neighbouring parish, which was next to not being served at all; or they must be served by a curate paid out of what the incumbent could spare from the income of the benefice. It appeared that the greatest number of pluralities was not among the poorest classes of incumbents. This, indeed, was only what was to have been expected; for, as his lordship remarked, "the incumbent of a large living was much more likely, from his situation and connexions, to procure a second, than the incumbent of a small one." The act regulating the salaries of curates had not yet passed, and Lord Harrowby took an opportunity in this speech of expressing himself in terms of strong condemnation on the rate at which the services of such assistants were sometimes remunerated by the actual incumbent. "The present practice," he said, "according to which the non-resident incumbents of livings of 50*l*., 60*l*. or 70*l*. a year put into their own pockets a portion of this wretched pittance, and left much less than the wages of a day-labourer for the subsistence of their curates, appeared to him far from creditable to the parties concerned, and calculated to degrade the character of the church. Many instances came within his own knowledge in which parishes were served for 20*l*., or even for 10*l*. per annum; and in which, of course, all they knew of their clergyman was the sound of his voice in the reading desk or pulpit once a week, a fortnight, or a month." In 1835 it was found that the average salary of curates exceeded 80*l*.

A series of discussions on the subject of tithes was commenced in 1816, by a motion for certain returns which was made in the House of Commons on the 16th of May, by Mr. J. Christian Curwen. Mr. Curwen remarked that, among the numerous petitions which had recently been presented to the House on the distressed condition of agriculture, there was scarcely one in which the burden of tithes did not form one of the most prominent grievances complained of. Many petitions had been received directed solely against this particular grievance. The principal point, however, to which he wished to direct the attention of the House on this occasion was the practice which had crept in of tithe cases being decided by the Court of Exchequer without the intervention of a jury. Anciently suits for tithes were instituted in the ecclesiastical courts; and, whenever a plea of modus, exemption, or composition was alleged, the Court of King's Bench, on application, stayed the proceedings, and directed the question to be tried by a jury. In the reign of James I. this produced a disagreement between the courts, and the matter was brought by appeal, first, before the twelve judges, and then before the king in council, by both of which tribunals it was determined that here, as in all other cases, the subject was entitled to have all matters of fact decided by a jury. James himself heard the question solemnly argued for three days by the archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical lawyers, on the one side, and by certain of the judges on the other. This decision appeared to have been acquiesced in for about fifty years. At last a new plan was fallen upon with the view of avoiding the intervention of a jury: the recovery of tithes was sought for in a court of equity. The first cause, however, in which the Exchequer decided on the fact without a jury was determined only in 1687; ever since then the same practice had, in certain circumstances, been followed by that court. Another of his objects Mr. Curwen explained to be to check the prevalent disposition for extending tithes: "I am afraid," he said, "it has occurred too often, that the tithe-gatherer has of late entered the garden of the poor cottager, and demanded the tithe of his half-dozen gooseberry bushes, and perhaps a solitary apple-tree." His ultimate aim, at the same time, the honourable member confessed, was the total extinction of tithes. On the 22nd of the same month Mr. R. W. Newman moved the appointment of a select committee to take into consideration the petitions on the table on the subject of tithes, and report their opinion as to the expediency of substituting pecuniary payments for tithes in kind. The motion gave rise to a debate of some length, but the speakers dealt in arguments rather than in facts, and no opposition was made to the appointment of the committee, which, however, it was agreed, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, should confine its report to the question of whether it might be expedient to enable proprietors of tithes to grant leases thereof under due regulations. Mr. Peel also suggested that the inquiry should be extended to the subject of Irish as well as English tithes. The appointment of a committee to inquire into the collection of tithes in Ireland had been moved for by Mr. Parnell (the late Lord Congleton, best known as Sir Henry Parnell) in 1810, but refused by the House; and other motions made upon the subject by the same honourable member in 1811 and 1812 had met with a similar fate. In the course of the debate on Mr. Newman's motion the conduct of the Irish clergy in the collection of their tithes, which had been commented on on former occasions, and by some of the preceding speakers, with great severity, found a warm defender in Mr. Leslie Foster. "He felt bound," he said, "to enable the House to ap-

preciate from facts, rather than assertions, whether rapacity or moderation was the character of the clergy of Ireland. Paradoxical as it might sound, he was convinced that it was actually to their moderation they might attribute the attacks which they now had to sustain; and, had they stood as firmly on their rights as the clergy of England, they had not been so assailed. . . No other body in these free countries had ever been so plundered; they had been robbed by a vote of the House of Commons, above eighty years ago, of the tithes of agistment—not less, certainly, than a fourth of their entire property; and this robbery had been sanctioned by a law which was almost the last proceeding of the Irish legislature, and which this united parliament would have rejected with indignation."* Throughout one-half of Ireland, Mr. Foster went on to say, the clergy abstained from demanding the tithe of potatoes. In all the north of Ireland, 6*d.* or some such trifling sum was accepted for the tithe of the important article of flax. "Of the tithes of gardens, so severely collected in England, he had never heard; and, indeed, most of the long catalogue of small tithes, familiar in England, were in Ireland unthought of." Even of such crops as they did take tithes of, he asserted, as the result of inquiries he had instituted, that the proportion the Irish clergy realised was not a tenth, but generally only a twenty-fifth or a thirtieth part. The report of the committee was presented by Sir John Nicholl, the chairman, on the 18th of June: it embodied in sixteen resolutions a plan for enabling ecclesiastical proprietors of tithes to grant leases thereof for fourteen years or a shorter term to the proprietors of the land, with the consent of the patron and the bishop of the diocese. No legislative proceeding, however, was founded upon this inquiry. Nor did anything come of two successive attempts which were made by Mr. Curwen in 1817 and 1818 to amend the law relative to moduses, prescriptions, and exemptions from tithes. No statute of limitation, Mr. Curwen complained, existed against the claims of the church; consequently no length of possession, not even an uninterrupted enjoyment for centuries, barred her right to tithes; nothing less than complete proof of the origin of the exemption claimed by the land-owner was of any avail against the demand. And this even while against the crown a possession of sixty years was now a bar, since the act of the 9th of Geo. III. It appeared, from the accounts on the table, that in the last seven years above 120 suits for tithes had been determined in the courts of Exchequer and Chancery, and that about an equal number were still pending; doubtless, mostly the result of the uncertainty occasioned by the non-admission of prescription and enjoyment as a ground of title in regard to this description of property. During the time that these 120 suits had been going on, Mr. Curwen asserted, the churches of the clergymen by whom they had been raised had in many instances been nearly deserted; to such lengths had hostilities in many cases been carried between pastor and flock. Another object of the honourable member was to put an end to the abuse of which he had complained in the preceding session, of courts of equity deciding without the intervention of a jury on what were called *rank* moduses of tithes,—that is to say, such as, from their amount, were presumed to argue a more modern date than the reign of Richard I. Leave was granted to bring in a bill to accomplish these and other reforms, which, however, was merely read for the first time and printed. When Mr. Curwen again took up the subject in the next session, and moved, on the 19th of February 1818, for leave to bring in a new bill, his views were supported by Sir Samuel Romilly and Mr. Brougham, but both Mr. Peel and Lord Castlereagh joined Sir William Scott in discountenancing them, although no opposition was offered to the introduction of the bill. Mr. Peel thought that the bill promised rather to increase than to prevent litigation. As to the statement of there being 120 tithe causes then pending in the Court of Exchequer, the truth was, that only 69 of them had been instituted by the clergy, and only 35 of them had been commenced within the last three years. "It would not," Mr. Peel said, "in his opinion, be difficult to show that the application of the same principle of prescription to tithes as to other property would be very unjust." And no doubt there is much greater likelihood that tithes legally due should, in certain circumstances, remain unclaimed or unexacted for a period of fifty or sixty years than that the right to an estate in land should be allowed so to lie dormant. The mere fact that the clergyman has only a life-interest in his tithes creates an important difference between the two cases.

The condition of the established church in Ireland, since the Union no longer a sister church, but a branch or integral part of that established in England, was brought under the notice of parliament by various motions in the course of the years 1807 and 1808. On the 20th of April, 1807, immediately after the accession of the Duke of Portland's administration, the Right Hon. W. Wickham, member for Callington, who had been one of the lords of the treasury under Lord Grenville, moved in the Commons the appointment of a select committee to consider the subject of the

* The resolution of the Irish House of Commons against tithes of agistment (pasture land) was passed on the 18th of March, 1735; it declared that any lawyer assisting in a prosecution for such tithes should be considered as an enemy to his country. No tithes of agistment were ever collected after this; but it was only by a clause inserted in the Act of Union (with the hope of its occasioning the abandonment of that measure), on the motion of Sir John Macartney, in 1800, that this species of tithe was legally abolished in Ireland. The burden of tithes in that country, therefore, falls only on the land under tillage, the greater part of which is held by cottier tenants. "I know of no act," says a late well-informed and patriotic writer, "more mischievous, more impolitic, and unjust. The rich are in this manner exempted from bearing their share of a burden which is proved by the very exemption, and the whole weight is suffered to fall upon the poor, who are the least able to support it. The oppression is the more galling as it increases with the increase of tillage; it will affect the great mass of the people as population is extended; and, on the whole, may be considered as one of the most serious of the difficulties which occur in considering the affairs of Ireland."—*An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political, by Edward Wakefield*; 2 vols. 4to., Lond. 1812, vol. ii. p. 486.

building, rebuilding, and keeping in repair of churches and glebe-houses, and the purchase of glebe-houses and glebe-lands, in Ireland. Mr. Wickham stated that, in consequence of a paper which he had laid on the table of the House in 1803, two acts had been subsequently passed by parliament; one for the loan, without interest, of a large sum for the relief of the Irish church from the Board of First Fruits; the other for the advance of 50,000*l.* for the same object by the lord-lieutenant. Both these acts, however, had remained entirely inoperative: it appeared that the securities they required for the money could not be obtained. Although the population of Ireland was half that of England, Mr. Wickham observed, the number of parishes in the former country had been originally only 2436, and by subsequent consolidations had been reduced by the year 1791 to 1120. The average population of parishes, therefore, was about five times as great in Ireland as in England. It was explained by Dr. Duigenan, that there was an old act, of the reign of Elizabeth, he believed, which authorised the lord-lieutenant and privy council to divide or consolidate parishes according to the necessity of the case; and accordingly it happened that, where the patronage of the crown was most extensive, these unions were most apt to take place. "For instance, if a gentleman had good interest, and connexions of any weight, a single parish might be in so low a state that it would not be worth his acceptance; he then would perhaps give the real statement of the case to his friend or patron, and afterwards a recommendation would come from the crown that two adjoining parishes should be consolidated into one, which the bishop in such case mostly agreed to." Such was the poverty of the people in many parts of Ireland, Dr. Duigenan contended, that if it had not been for these unions of parishes the clergy would have devoured the people; or rather, as he afterwards stated his idea, they would have been starved, or left without the means of supporting the respectability of their station. Sir John Newport remarked that, although the lord-lieutenant had, by the old act referred to, the power of disuniting parishes, he had not found any instance in which this had been done. Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald, after mentioning that some of the livings in the south of Ireland amounted to 1000*l.*, to 1500*l.*, and even to 3000*l.* a-year, added that in some instances where a consolidation of livings and parishes had taken place the services rendered to the people by their clergyman had been diminished in proportion as his income had been augmented; "for no place of religious worship was provided within the reach of the inhabitants; nor could such parishioners obtain baptism for their children, or the other rites of the church; and the consequence was that the Protestant inhabitants, in such places, had disappeared." The committee was appointed, and a bill was afterwards brought in; but, when it came to the second reading in the Lords, it was opposed by the government, and was not carried farther. The Earl of Hardwicke conceived that all that was required was to carry the former act of 1803 into execution. On the 31st of July, a few days after this, Sir John Newport, in the Commons, inquired if any thing was intended to be done in the matter by his majesty's ministers. It was a subject, he said, which it was well known had engaged the serious consideration of the late government. He had the authority of the primate of Ireland for stating that there were in one diocese no fewer than ten parishes without either church, glebe-house, or any sort of residence for the clergyman. Mr. Perceval replied that it was the intention of his majesty's present servants to turn their attention to the state of the church in Ireland as soon as they should have the necessary information before them. In the next session an act was passed "For enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in Ireland;" but it was complained of by Sir John Newport, in its passage through the Commons, as a measure very far short of being efficient for the purposes for which it professed to have been framed. In the course of the same session, on the 16th of May, 1808, Sir John moved for leave to bring in a bill "For the more equal valuation of the revenue of the first fruits in Ireland; and for the due collection thereof." It appeared, he stated, that the entire annual amount of the first fruits at present collected in Ireland was no more than 350*l.** One reason of this was that a large proportion of parishes were not valued at all, and contributed nothing: it might be reckoned that there were 1500 parishes where first fruits were valued, and 900 where they remained still unvalued. Besides, the valuations that had taken place were a century old, and bore no proportion to what they now ought to be. He proposed that the payment of first fruits should not attach to any living under the value of 250*l.*; but, even thus limited, he had no doubt, from every calculation he had made, that the revenue from this source, if it were properly collected under a new and fair valuation, would, after deducting all expences, produce between 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* per annum. The motion, however, was opposed by ministers, and, after a short debate, was negatived on a division by a majority of 67 to 50. The same fortune attended other attempts of the opposition in subsequent sessions to touch the system of the Irish church. Thus, on the 13th of May, 1810, Mr. Parnell was defeated by a majority of 69 to 48 on a motion for a select committee to inquire into the collection of tithes in Ireland. Again, on the 23rd of June, 1812, a

* There may be some doubt, however, whether this be not a misprint for 3500*l.* In the course of the debate which took place upon Sir John Newport's motion, as reported in the Parliamentary Debates, xi. 277–285, both Mr. Foster, the Irish Chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr. Horner, are made to state or to assume that the produce of the first fruits in Ireland amounted to 3000*l.* And this is the amount given by Mr. Wakefield, Account of Ireland, ii. 476, on the authority of Mr. Foster's speech (which, however, is referred to a wrong page in the Parliamentary Debates). At the same time it may be observed that Mr. Foster's argument would rather lead to a suspicion that the misprint is in the amount as given in *his* speech—that the 3000*l.* ought to be 350*l.* or 300*l.*

majority of 39 to 36 negatived a resolution moved by the same honourable member, pledging the House early in the next session to take this subject into its consideration, "with a view to a legislative measure conducive to the relief of the lower orders of the people, and the more satisfactory provision of the clergy of the established church." On this last occasion Mr. Parnell observed that the object he had in view, the substitution of another equivalent source of income for the clergy of Ireland in place of tithes, had engaged the attention both of Mr. Perceval and Lord Redesdale, each of whom had prepared a bill for its attainment. He rested his case wholly on the dissimilarity of the circumstances of England and Ireland, contending, without any reference to the general objections which had been made to tithes as provision for a clergy, that there existed in Ireland a peculiar state of things which would justify the commutation of tithes there without affording any precedent for a similar measure in England. One distinction was the fact that nine-tenths of the people in Ireland did not belong to the establishment. Another was the comparative novelty, or modern date, of the practice of enforcing the payment of tithes in that country. For a long time after the Reformation, as had been stated by Primate Boulter, "the clergy took what they could get thankfully; and very few went near their livings." It was not till the surrender of Limerick (in 1691) that the Protestant clergy began to realize their legal right to tithe. According to Primate Boulter tithe of agistment was never demanded till 1720; the demand was not then acceded to, and the vote of the House of Commons in 1734 took away no realized right, but only one which the Irish people had never acknowledged. To this day the clergy had never been able to enforce the exaction of tithes on many articles which were titheable according to the common ecclesiastical interpretations of the law. In some parishes no tithes had ever been claimed on hay; in others, on potatoes; in others, on flax. Hence great uncertainty and endless litigation as to what articles are titheable and what not. Another distinction consisted in the way in which tithes were collected in Ireland — principally (for the reason already explained) from the poorest occupiers of the soil, and, as a consequence of that, through the medium of tithe-proctors and tithe-farmers, whose harsh modes of proceeding produced an incredible amount of suffering and oppression. When a composition was agreed to the practice was for promissory notes, payable in a year, to be taken; and thus all the lower orders were placed in the power of the proctors, it constantly happening that their notes could not be paid when they became due. Mr. Parnell combated, as an unfounded prejudice, the notion advanced by many among the opponents of the reform of the tithe system, that the real oppressors of the poor in Ireland were the landlords and middle men. As for the middle men, "their origin sprung from the Catholic penal laws—the confiscations of property, the expulsion of the great Catholic families,—a state of things rendering it impossible for any quiet proprietor of land, a century ago, in Ireland, to obtain anything from it, except by letting on long terms to the few solvent Protestants that inhabited the strong towns. But, whatever evil might belong to the system, it was daily wearing out. The middle-men might in some instances have acted with severity towards their tenantry; but, for the most part, they were highly useful, and exceedingly kind and charitable to the lower orders of the people." In answer to the motion, it was urged that any plan of commutation was rendered nearly impracticable by the circumstance that it must proceed upon the principle that the clergy had an absolute estate equal to one-tenth of the growing tillage of the country, and that the fair application of that principle would certainly, under any arrangement, make the occupier of the soil pay very much more to the tithe-owner than he did at present. Mr. Wellesley Pole, the Irish secretary, described the actual payment of tithes in Ireland as "a mere flea-bite" compared to what it was in England, and this seemed to be admitted on all hands to be the fact.

A short debate on the state of the Irish church took place in the House of Commons on the 22nd of April, 1819, on a motion by Sir John Newport for an address to the prince regent, requesting his royal highness to direct an inquiry to be instituted into the present condition of that establishment. Sir John observed that in consequence of an address from the House a similar inquiry had been instituted in 1806, and that a report from the commission appointed on that occasion had been laid before the House in the following year. That report had strongly called attention to the importance of the residence of the clergy, and had recommended that the union or disunion of parishes in Ireland should be effected only under the authority of the privy council. It might be admitted that, when pasturage prevailed in Ireland and tithes were comparatively unproductive, the union of parishes was in many cases almost a measure of necessity. But what was remarkable was, that as tillage advanced such unions appeared to have become more instead of less frequent. Thus, although only 37 had taken place in the 62 years from 1718 to 1780, in the 20 following years, from 1780 to 1800, the number had been 25; and in the 18 years that had elapsed since 1800, it had been no less than 34. As an instance and illustration of the effects of this system, Sir John stated, on the authority of a letter which he had received from a gentleman of the highest respectability, that within the district in which the writer resided, and which comprehended a union of four parishes, there was neither resident clergyman nor parish church. The church had been reported to be in perfect repair in 1807, but was now in ruins, nor had any attempt been made to repair it, or to erect a new one, although upon the roof falling in, a few years after the report of 1807, 900*l.* had been subscribed

for the latter purpose; and public worship had never since been performed in those parishes, except only on one occasion in the private house of the writer of the letter. Of the incumbent, who had been appointed about eight years ago, and who held another situation in the cathedral of the diocesan from whom he had received the living, and whose relation he was, the united parishes never saw anything but when he came to collect his tithes. It was afterwards mentioned that the name of this incumbent was Cox, and that his relation and patron was the Bishop of Kildare. The bishop in whose diocese the united parishes were had been appealed to without effect, although he had promised both to accelerate the re-building of the church and to enforce the residence of the incumbent. Yet the sum of 500,000*l.* had been voted since the Union* for the erection of churches and the purchase of glebe-lands in Ireland. It appeared, however, that six disunions of parishes had been ordered since 1807, of which four were in the archbishopric of Cashel. The motion was not opposed by ministers; but some explanations were entered into by Mr. Leslie Foster in reply to Sir John Newport's statements. Although 34 unions of parishes might have taken place since 1800, only 18, he observed, had been ordered by the privy council since 1807; and against these were to be set the six disunions which had been effected within the same period. All the parishes united by the authority of the privy council, too, had before been episcopally united from time immemorial; that is to say, we suppose, it had been the uniform practice to allow them to be held by one incumbent. The number of benefices in Ireland, according to the report of 1807, was 1183; and at that date there were churches only in 950 of them. In each of the remaining 233 benefices, however, a commodious church, Mr. Foster stated, had been since built; while several old churches, which were previously more like barns than churches, had also undergone complete repair. As for glebe-houses, the Board of First Fruits had already purchased land for such houses in 239 benefices; and every endeavour was making to conclude similar purchases in the remaining parishes where the clergyman was still without a residence. Ever since 1808, when the new law of residence had been passed, the Irish bishops, Mr. Foster asserted, had diligently used the new powers with which they were invested to promote and enforce residence; and he believed exemptions now were never granted unless in cases of ill health or where there was no glebe-house. In regard also to the practice of the bishops formerly in allowing so much non-residence, it ought to be recollected "that, from the conduct of the Irish Parliament in appropriating the tithes of all the monasteries which were left untouched, very little or nothing of tithe was left in many districts of that country for the maintenance of the parochial clergy. This was the case in Connaught and many parts of Munster; and hence former bishops could not consistently enforce the residence of the parochial clergy in such districts."

In 1818 an important act was passed by parliament, by which the sum of 1,000,000*l.* was granted "for building and promoting the building of additional churches in populous parishes" in England. It was provided that the money should be vested in commissioners, who were to apply it in some cases in defraying the entire expense of the churches to be erected, in others in assisting the subscriptions of the parishioners or other private individuals. In moving the second reading of the bill in the Lords on the 15th of May, after it had passed the Commons, Lord Liverpool entered at some length into an explanation of the circumstances under which it had been brought forward by the government, and the views with which they proposed such an appropriation of the public money. It had been his intention, Lord Liverpool stated, to bring forward a measure of this description long ago; but various circumstances in the situation of the country had caused him to defer it. Some calculations of the number of new churches that were required had proceeded upon the supposition that church accommodation was wanted for the entire population; but this was a fallacious assumption. There were to be deducted not only all children under a certain age, and all who were too old or infirm to attend public worship, but also so many of the inhabitants of every parish as were necessarily left at home to take care of the houses while the rest were at church—a number which could scarcely be estimated at less than one for every house—and all those who belonged to dissenting congregations, forming, undoubtedly, a large proportion of every populous parish in the kingdom. Looking to all these considerations, he was disposed to think that the wants of the country would be sufficiently met if church accommodation were provided for a third of the population in country places, and a fourth in great towns. It was in the latter, however, that most was required to be done. In the metropolis, it was calculated that five additional churches would be required for the parish of Marylebone; four for that of Pancras; four for St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; four for St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green; three for Lambeth; and so on for other parishes. The town of Manchester, it was thought, would require an addition of seven churches, Sheffield of four, Stockport of four, Birmingham of three or four, and other towns of one, two, or three. The parliamentary grant, it was estimated, would of itself be sufficient for the erection of 100 churches; but considerable aid was expected from subscriptions, so that it might not unreasonably be anticipated that in all from 150 to 200 new churches would be built. In the town of Liverpool six churches had been built wholly by subscription; so that that town, which was very inconsiderable at the commencement of his majesty's reign, now,

* We believe this is what Sir John must have said. The report of his speech in the 'Parliamentary Debates' makes him speak of "500,000*l.* voted some time since."

that it had attained a population of 100,000 souls, had fourteen churches. Though some opposition was made to the details of the bill, the necessity of the measure thus brought forward by the government was generally admitted in both Houses, as arising out of the vast increase of the population during the preceding century: even so long ago as in the reign of Anne, when neither the population of the kingdom nor that of the metropolis was half as great as it had since become, parliament, as Lord Liverpool remarked, had voted fifty new churches for London alone, although only nine of them were actually erected. The Ecclesiastical Commission established by this act has, as is well known, been in operation ever since; and the parliamentary grant, aided by private benefactions, or rather in many cases coming in aid of the contributions of private parties, has been productive of numerous additional churches in all parts of the country.

The favour thus shown by the legislature to the church after a century of neglect, in so far at least as regarded the main point of enabling it to be what it professed to be, the church of the nation, or of endeavouring to give an expansion to its power of religious instruction and superintendence in some proportion to the rate at which the increase of the population was going on, may be taken as indicating some change in the public feeling towards the church in the closing years of the present period. And that, again, would imply something of a change of character in the church, or clerical body, itself; for the change of public feeling would produce this, if it had not been produced by it:—most probably there had been a mutual action and re-action; or, at any rate, the clergy would be acted upon by the same causes and influences, whatever they were, which operated upon the general public. Howsoever it had been brought about, it is certain that a revolution, to a considerable extent, had been lately wrought in the spirit of the establishment; that, whether alarmed by the rapid growth of dissent, or struck with any other unaccustomed apprehensions as to the security of its position, or merely impressed by something in the general aspect of the times and sharing the common thoughtfulness and earnestness that had succeeded an age of universal unbelief and indifference, it had been for some time casting off much of the carelessness or secularity in which it had contentedly passed the greater part of the preceding century, and was awakening to quite a new sort of existence. Perhaps the most distinct evidence of this increased zeal and activity is afforded by the progress during the present period of the several great schemes for the diffusion of religion by other means than the ordinary services of the church, which were, either exclusively or to a great extent, supported and managed by the clergy and other members of the establishment. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, consisting entirely of members of the established church, had been founded so long ago as in the year 1699, and had been in action, printing and distributing copies of the scriptures (principally in the Welsh and Manx languages), and maintaining a few missionaries in foreign parts, throughout the last century. But till towards the commencement of the present its progress was comparatively slow and languid, and its operations on a very limited scale. In 1761 the number of members, though an increase had been going on for about twenty years, was still no more than 600, and the annual subscriptions scarcely exceeded 3000*l.*; in 1765 it had about 700 subscribers, and an anuual income of somewhat above 5000*l.*; at the end of the century the number of members had become about 2000, and the amount of subscriptions about 10,000*l.*; by the year 1809 there were 3560 members, and subscriptions to the amount of more than 16,000*l.*; in 1819 the number of members was 14,000, and the income of the society very nearly 56,000*l.* Connected with this society is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was incorporated in 1701, and also now expends a large revenue in foreign missions. The Church Missionary Society (originally styled the Society for Missions to Africa and the East), is also, as its name implies, composed exclusively of members of the establishment; it was founded in 1804, and its annual expenditure now amounts to not much short of 100,000*l.* There exist also in connexion with the established church the Prayer Book and Homily Society, which began its operations about 1812, and whose income in 1818 exceeded 2000*l.*, and some other minor institutions of a similar kind, which mostly sprung up either in the first years of the present or in the latter part of the last century. Under the same head may be mentioned the National School Society, founded in 1811, the object of which is the education of the children of the poor upon the principles of the established church. And several other of our modern religious associations which embrace Christians of various denominations have also always drawn a large proportion of their supporters from the members of the establishment, more especially the greatest of all, the British and Foreign Bible Society, which, from an income of only about 600*l.* at its commencement in the year 1804, continued to grow in numbers and wealth throughout the present period, till in 1820 it had attained the splendid revenue of 123,000*l.*

All this, doubtless, evinced, as we have said, that a new vitality of some sort or other had awakened within the established church, both among clergy and people. And evidence of the same fact was exhibited in various other ways. The particular system of doctrine which has in recent times been called Evangelical Christianity has never been without a footing in the church of England; it was the Puritanism, which, having partly produced the Reformation, broke out within the church immediately after that event, and, notwithstanding all attempts to suppress or extirpate

it, continued to grow in strength till at last it overturned both church and state in the next century: having achieved this catastrophe, it appeared to have exhausted its force, and for nearly a century after the Restoration and the Conformity Act, which aimed at expelling or extinguishing it, it lay comparatively dormant and little heard of; but the rise of Methodism and other causes warmed it into life again in the latter part of the last century, and it continued to grow in activity and power throughout the present period. In some respects, indeed, it may have appeared to have changed its character: instead of manifesting its old disorganizing tendencies, it may have actually allied itself to conservatism or even to high-churchism; but anything of this kind can only be considered as a change of outward form, impressed by temporary circumstances and passing events; essentially, whether designating itself puritanism or evangelicalism, this spirit is beyond all question hostile to such a system as the church of England. For a while, however, warmth and light may be diffused by the fire that is in the end to set the mansion in a blaze. There can be no doubt that the clergy of the establishment, in the period under consideration, were generally characterised by a much more laborious performance of their duties, both expressly prescribed and only implied or popularly expected, than their predecessors had been for some generations. Another effect of the same causes that had produced this change was that a more scrupulous selection was made, if not by patrons of benefices generally, at least certainly by the government, with which the most important appointments rested, of the men to whom livings and influential offices in the church were given. The bishoprics in particular were now usually bestowed with a less exclusive reference than formerly to political connexion and influence. Some degree of professional eminence, at least, was made the ground of selection in a greater proportion of instances than formerly. Yet the new system does not appear to have produced any remarkably superior race of prelates. The only names of any distinction, whether for theological or other learning and talent, which graced the episcopal bench, either in England or Ireland, during the present period, are the following:—Richard Hurd, who was made Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in 1774, and translated to Worcester in 1781, but received no further promotion, though he lived till 1808; John Douglas, made Bishop of Carlisle in 1787, and removed in 1791 to Salisbury, where he remained till his death in 1807; Beilby Porteus, who was made Bishop of Chester in 1776, and of London in 1787, and who died in 1808; Richard Watson, appointed in 1782 to Llandaff, over which see he continued to preside till 1816, when he died; Thomas Percy, who died in 1811, Bishop of Dromore, to which he had been promoted in 1782; Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, who was made Bishop of Ossory in 1796, and was translated to Meath in 1798, and who lived till 1823; Samuel Horsley, who was raised to the see of St. David's in 1788, whence he was transferred to that of Rochester in 1793, and to that of St. Asaph in 1802, and who died in 1806; George Prettyman (afterwards Tomline), made Bishop of Lincoln in 1787, and translated in 1820 to Winchester, which he held till his death in 1827; George Isaac Huntingford, who was made Bishop of Gloucester in 1802, and was translated to Hereford in 1815, and who died in 1832;

Porteus, Bishop of London.

Watson, Bishop of Llandaff.

Hurd, Bishop of Worcester.

TOMLINE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Thomas Burgess, raised to the see of St. David's in 1803, whence he was transferred to that of Salisbury in 1825, and who died in 1837; Herbert Marsh, who was made Bishop of Llandaff in 1816, and of Peterborough in 1819, and who died

MARSH, BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH.

in 1839; William Van Mildert, who was made Bishop of Llandaff in 1819, and translated to Durham in 1826, and whose death took place in 1836; and William Magee, who was raised to the bishopric of Raphoe in 1819, and to the archbishopric of Dublin in 1822, and who died in 1831. Not more than two or three of these names can be placed in a high class of intellectual or literary merit; perhaps the ablest man in the list was Horsley. It is remarkable, too, for how little professional literary performance of any high order the world is their debtor: the only great or considerable divines among them are Archbishop Magee and Bishop Van Mildert; the generality of them were known and are remembered only as cultivators in rather a small way of criticism and the *belles lettres*, grammarians and commentators, pamphleteers and political speech-makers.

The liberality of parliament, which, during the present period, improved the condition of the poorer clergy in England and Ireland, was also extended to those of the church of Scotland. In 1810 an act was passed for augmenting parochial stipends in certain cases in that country, by which an annual sum, not to exceed 10,000*l.*, was allotted for raising all livings to the value of 150*l.* a-year, exclusive of manse, or parsonage-house, and glebe, and a further sum of 2000*l.* to raise to 200*l.* the money incomes of certain clergymen (mostly the ministers of what are called the second livings in several of the burghs), who are not legally entitled to glebes and manses. In making this arrangement an average was taken of the value of all the poorer livings for the preceding seven years; and such addition from the bounty was assigned to each as brought it up to the amount of 150*l.* Of 943 livings, the entire number in the establishment, 208 were found to be under that value; of these 37 receive from the augmentation fund less than 20*l.* each, one drawing only 11*s.* 6*d.*; 17 receive above 100*l.* each annually, the augmentation in one case being no less than 138*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*, the former stipend having been only 11*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The stipends, however, being for the greater part paid in grain, their money value varies with the rise and fall of prices; and we believe that, in consequence of the average according to which the parliamentary allowance was fixed having been deduced from a series of dear years, that allowance does not now generally suffice to make up the income which the act professes to secure, and there are a good many livings receiving no assistance from the grant, which yet since the arrangement was made have descended below the specified point of 150*l.* a-year.

The history of the church of Scotland for the eighteen or twenty years comprised in the present period is destitute of any events of importance. The two parties, popularly called the Moderates and the Highflyers, continued to pursue their contests in the General Assembly and the other judicatories; the former for the most part in alliance with the conservative or ministerial, the latter with the whig or opposition, party in the state; and the two comprehending between them nearly every man in the church. If a third or independent party, or anything that professed to be such, had as yet any existence, it was entirely insignificant. Notwithstanding the temporary dislocation which it received from the interruption of its usual relations with the government during the short reign of All the Talents in 1806 and 1807, the Moderate party continued to maintain the predominance which it had acquired under Dr. Robertson, who had been succeeded as its leader by Dr. George Hill, Principal of St. Mary's College in the university of St. Andrew's, a man certainly, limited as was the sphere in which his talents were displayed, of the highest endowments for the post which he was thus called to occupy, were it only for his rare gift, not indeed of passionate mob eloquence, but of that serene and luminous oratory, at once dignified and persuasive, by which real busi-

ness is best expounded and advanced, and in which educated minds are most fitly addressed. When Dr. Hill retired from the Assembly about the year 1816, a few years before his death, the leadership of the party fell to the late Dr. John Inglis, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, also a man of remarkable ability, though more of a logical than a rhetorical debater. On the opposite side, at the close of the last century, the chief direction of affairs had been in the hands of Dr. John Erskine, one of the

Dr. John Erskine.

ministers of the High Church, Edinburgh, and as such the colleague of Dr. Robertson, with whom his friendly intercourse in private life was never interrupted by the conspicuous opposition of their politics and public positions. When Dr. Erskine died at a venerable age in 1803, or perhaps some years before that event, his place as leader of the minority in the Assembly was understood, we believe, to be assumed by the late Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, bart., another of the minis-

Sir Henry Moncreiff.

ters of Edinburgh, whose honesty and independence of spirit and general elevation of character commanded universal respect during a long life, and to whose authority on all points belonging to the constitution of the church great deference was paid by his party. The late Dr. Andrew Thomson, minister of St. George's Church, Edinburgh, had also, however, before the close of the present period risen to a foremost place on the same side, and acquired that distinction and influence in the Assembly which his remarkable debating talents would have secured for him in any theatre of popular eloquence in the world.

Throughout the whole of the present period, as we have intimated, the state of parties in the Scottish church continued the same as in the days of Principal Robertson; that is to say, the Moderate party maintained the ascendancy to which he had raised it, and their opponents, with their more popular principles and professions, and their actually greater popularity, remained a minority, it might be said a fixed and hopeless minority, in the church courts. In our own day the progress of events had reversed this order of things, and, for some ten or twelve years before the late disruption, the popular party, composed for the most part of the clergymen who have now left the establishment and set up a new church for themselves, had formed a majority in the General Assembly. It was this change of position which enabled them to pass their Veto Act in 1834, and to follow up that first step by the further proceedings which speedily involved the church in a contest with the civil courts, and ultimately produced the resignation and secession that have recently taken place of a fourth part of the regular parish ministers, besides a large proportion of the holders of certain newly created charges, called *quoad sacra* parishes, whom, indeed, in the view of strengthening themselves, the Veto party, since they had got the upper hand, had called in to seats and votes in the several ecclesiastical judicatories, but who, as soon as the matter was brought into question, were found to have no right to places there. That the course thus taken by the church, under its new guides or drivers, was a deviation from that which it had steadily held for a good many years past, was not denied by those who urged it, and, indeed, was undeniable; but they have always asserted and contended that it was nevertheless in perfect conformity both with the constitution and standards of the church, and also with the principles which had always been held and professed by themselves and their party—proclaimed and invoked by them on all proper occasions while they were a minority and an opposition, and consistently retained after they had the power of carrying them into effect. For example, they now profess themselves opposed to the existence of lay patronage of church livings in any shape: the Veto Act, which gave, or attempted to give, to the people in every parish an absolute and discretionary right of negativing any presentation to the cure by the legal lay patron, was, it will generally be thought, pretty well for a first blow at the system of patronage, and would hardly have required a second to effect its complete overthrow if a little more time had been allowed for the new popular power to organise itself and acquire the habit of effective exercise; but, be that

as it may, the authors and supporters of the Veto Act have since generally avowed that nothing less than the entire destruction of lay patronage is what their principles demand; and while they were still in the church, and commanded a majority in the Assembly, they had already begun, as a party, to take measures for the accomplishment of that object. A large section of them, indeed, had for some time gone the length of denouncing patronage as opposed, not only to the constitution of the church, but to the spirit of Christianity and the word of God itself —though without, it is true, any one of those who had entered the establishment through this breach in its defences feeling bound on that account to retire from it till he had availed himself of his position to do it all the mischief that he could. It is curious to compare with all this the conduct and professions of the same party at so late a date as the close of the reign of George III., or of the period we are now reviewing. In the year 1818 appeared a Life of Dr. John Erskine, by Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, with an appendix containing an elaborate account of the history and constitution of the Scottish church, in which, as has been noticed above, Sir Henry was at this time one of the chiefs of the popular party, and perhaps the man to whom more than to any other they looked up as their light and oracle on all constitutional questions. The present opponents of patronage are in the habit of writing and talking as if patronage was a thing utterly unknown in the earliest and purest age of the Scottish church, a monstrous novelty derived from prelatical England, and first imposed by act of parliament in the reign of Anne, a few years after the Union. "Whatever may have been said to the contrary," writes Sir Henry, with his characteristic honesty and frankness, "patronage was certainly in use down to the latest period before the Restoration of which there is any record of the proceedings of General Assemblies;" and he quotes several acts of Assembly in proof of this fact, which indeed nothing but the grossest ignorance or unfairness could affect to doubt, or attempt to suppress. It is true, as he states, that patronage was from the Reformation down to the Restoration universally regarded as a grievance by the clergy; but what was it the church in those days of primitive purity desired to substitute for that hated mode of appointing ministers to vacant benefices? Was it either any plain and straightforward system of election by the people, or the absolute negative for any reason or for no reason at all, the *sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*, of the Veto Act? Sir Henry shall answer. "These acts," he goes on, "demonstrate that patronage was, to a certain extent, still in use, even at that period of the church which has been commonly supposed to have been most adverse to it. But they show at the same time the solicitude of the clergy to get into their own hands the command of as many patronages as possible. And the truth is, that at this time neither the crown nor the subject-patrons were frequently in a condition to resist them. The presbyteries were, in a great measure, allowed to nominate the candidates for vacant parishes, not only when they sent lists to the crown, but in other cases. The candidates named by them were proposed to the kirk-sessions, who, in each case, from several in the nomination, were allowed to elect one, who was then proposed to the congregation. By the Directory for the election of ministers of 1649, if a *majority* of the congregation dissented, they were to give their reasons, of which the presbytery were to judge. If the presbytery should find their dissent founded on *causeless prejudices*, they were, notwithstanding, to proceed to the settlement of the person elected. And there is a clause subjoined, which in those times would apply to many cases, 'That, where the congregation *was disaffected or malignant*, in that case the presbytery were (*by their own authority*) to provide the parish with a minister.' Though this mode seemed to give weight to the clergy only in the first nomination, or on extraordinary emergencies, and more influence to the people in ordinary cases, it is evident that the clergy had still the chief influence in the ultimate decision, as well as in the selection of the candidates. For, when the people were divided, which very generally happened, it lay with the church courts, at last, to determine between the parties; and it can scarcely be supposed, with all the purity which can be ascribed to the intentions of the clergy, that the candidate who had most favour among them was often rejected."* But, imperfect and ineffectual as he thus shows the apparent right of objection enjoyed by the people before the Restoration to have been, Sir Henry does not hesitate to affirm that the still greater limitation of that right under the system established at the Revolution was a decided improvement. "These circumstances," he goes on, "are adverted to, because they go a great way to explain the provisions of the act of 1690. It was not thought expedient to give the clergy the influence, which, in whatever form it was exercised, they really possessed before the usurpation of Cromwell, and still less to place any power in the great body of the people which could interfere with the right of election. King William's advisers followed a middle course between these extremes. Though their arrangement was certainly suggested by the former practice, it was in a great measure free of its chief disadvantages. In place of the presbytery it gave the original and exclusive nomination to the heritors and elders. The person nominated was then indeed to be proposed to the congregation, who might approve or disapprove, *for reasons shown and substantiated;* but who had no power of rejection, without substantiating reasons, which the presbytery, and (on appeal) the superior courts,

* Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D., late one of the ministers of Edinburgh: by Sir Henry Moncreiff Wellwood, Bart., D.D. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1818, pp. 430, 431. This statement entirely accords with the accounts we have given in Pict. Hist. of England, iii. 444, 490; and iv. 631, 632, 648: and Pict. Hist. of Geo. III. i. 523-526.

were to pronounce sufficient; *at whose judgment the cause was to be ordered and concluded.* But no *majority* of the congregation was mentioned, as in the Directory of 1649, who might, for reasons shown, disapprove, though they had not a right of election. Each individual parishioner might give his reasons of dissent from the judgment of the presbytery, a regulation which, though apparently as popular, was in its practical effect a very different thing from the voice of a recognised majority." * Does this leader of the popular party, then, in 1818, or did the church in the vaunted era of purity and freedom between the re-establishment of presbytery at the Revolution and the re-imposition of lay patronage in the end of the reign of Anne, hold, with their *soi-disant* modern followers and representatives, that any other mode of appointing clergymen than by the election of the people is forbidden by the word of God? Let us hear. "There does not appear," says Sir Henry, "during the whole interval from 1690 to 1712, the least vestige of a doctrine, so much contended for at a later period, which asserted *a divine right* in the people, individually or collectively, to elect the parish ministers. In all the questions before the General Assemblies with regard to the settlement of parishes there is no claim to this effect either asserted or pretended; nor does there appear to have been, in any single instance, an opposition to the execution of the Act 1690 on any principle of this kind. Whatever have been the disadvantages of the Act 1712, they did not originate in its contradiction to any supposed claim of divine right, which, at the time of this enactment, although there might be private opinions of individuals in its favour, was neither avowedly asserted nor conceded."† "It is well known," he adds, "how keenly this doctrine was brought forward at a later period, and how much more mischief it produced than any principle involved in it would have naturally led dispassionate men to anticipate." The allusion here is to the movement which in 1732—exactly a century before the first introduction of the modern Veto project—issued in the former secession, led by Ebenezer Erskine.‡ The agitation of the matter had commenced only some seven or eight years before it brought about this result. After having observed "that even the directory of 1649, though sometimes appealed to, did not give *the election of ministers* to heads of families, or to those who have since been called *the Christian people;*" and "that all the overtures [propositions made to the Assembly] on the subject from 1712 to 1723 are substantially founded on the act 1690, though in some of them a more popular language is employed than in others;" Sir Henry proceeds to state that from 1725 to 1732 the proceedings of the Assembly began to assume a different character: "From this time," he says, "it is quite clear that there is a party contending for popular election in the settlement of ministers; that is, for an election by the heads of families, as well as by heritors and elders; in opposition both to the law of patronage and the practice established under the act 1690."* And in opposition also, he might have added, to the system of 1649, as he had just shown. The doctrine of Erskine, as laid down in his sermon preached at Stirling, on the 4th of June, 1732, and immediately after published, was, in his own words, "that those professed presbyterians who thrust men upon congregations, without and contrary to the free choice their great King had allowed them, were guilty of an attempt to jostle Christ out of his government, and to take it on their own shoulders." This doctrine, which has been adopted almost in terms by the most considerable section of the new secession, Sir Henry Moncreiff denies to have been held or practised by the Scottish church at any period since the Revolution, or to be even reconcileable to the language of General Assemblies at any time before. "The First Book of Discipline† had, indeed," he observes in a note, "placed the election of pastors in the people at large. But, when the points not sufficiently digested there were corrected and new modelled in the Second Book of Discipline,‡ the election of pastors is declared to be 'by the judgment of the *eldership* (that is, of the presbytery) and the *consent* of the congregation;' this language signifying, according to all the laws and usage which followed, the right of the people either to give their consent, or to state and substantiate their objections, of which the presbytery were to judge. The people were not the electors, even by this rule; and, though it gave more power to the presbyteries than was ever afterwards conceded to them, it gave the people exactly the same place which the language of the church, both in early and later times, uniformly assigned them."§

So much for the views held by this eminent authority as to the original constitution and fundamental principles of the Scottish establishment. What he has left on record of his opinions and sentiments as to the position in which the patronage question stood in his day, and the course which it had become expedient to follow in regard to it, is equally curious when considered in connexion with what has since taken place. "The great majority of the church," writes Sir Henry, in bringing his historical deduction to a close, "are convinced that the system of patronage, so long resisted in the church courts, is at last completely established. Even many of those individuals who held a different doctrine thirty or forty years ago do not think it expedient, in the present times, to revive a controversy which such a long series of decisions in the supreme court is held to have settled. It appears to them that, at this distance of time, the revival of the controversy would not only contribute nothing

* Life of Erskine, pp. 431, 432. † Id. p. 434.
‡ See Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 649.

* Life of Erskine, p. 440.
† Adopted by the General Assembly in 1567. See Pict. Hist. of England, ii. 748.
‡ Agreed upon by the General Assembly in 1581. See Pict. Hist. of England, ii. 749. Neither of the Books of Discipline was ever ratified or assented to by the Scottish parliament.
§ Life of Erskine, p. 446.

to lessen the evils which they still impute to the system which has been so long acted upon, but that, without any real advantage to the country, it would aggravate the difficulties which occur in effectuating the induction of individual presentees, and add greatly to the irritations which serve so much to distract and to divide the people." * And again: "The controversies relating to patronage are certainly now, in a great measure, at an end. And, whether the policy ultimately adopted by the church has been agreeable or contrary to its original constitution, or is at last to be considered as wise or impolitic, the whole weight of government being uniformly given to the ruling party, it would now be equally unwise and inexpedient to disturb the decisions of more than half a century, and to agitate the country anew by controversies which, with the influence of government on one side, would always have the same termination."† Between the time at which this was written and published, it is true, and the revival of the agitation against patronage, some of the chief circumstances from which both the inexpediency and hopelessness of that attempt are inferred by Sir Henry had given place to quite another state of things. Among the many other changes which followed the breaking up in 1831 of the Tory regime, which may be said to have subsisted for the preceding fifty years (for the brief occupation of place by the Whigs in 1806 and 1807, under a hostile court, made no real interruption of this system), one was the disseverance of the old confederacy, or connexion of mutual confidence and support, between the Moderate party in the Scottish church and the king's government. The new administration certainly did not give any direct countenance or encouragement to the demand for the abolition of patronage; but its natural alliance was with the side of the church which was more or less favourable to that project, which it therefore could not help aiding and promoting in effect, however unintentionally or reluctantly. The day, at any rate, was now gone by in which the whole weight or influence of government was uniformly given to the party that steadily and systematically supported patronage. Besides, the spirit of the time, which was calling out in all directions for the extension of the popular power, had not been without effect upon this question of patronage in the Church of Scotland; a movement in the matter had been commenced some years before by a society established in Edinburgh for the purchase of patronages or advowsons, with a view to their being eventually placed in the hands of the parishioners; and, although the operations of this body had not been very brilliant, and it had attracted but little notice or support, yet both among laity and clergy some attention to the subject had been generally re-awakened, and the vague feeling, which had been sometimes rising and spreading, sometimes subsiding again and dying away, was soon blown into an eager and pretty widely diffused desire for the repeal or modification of the existing law, when the commotion of reform or change in all things, excited by the grand ministerial war-cry of parliamentary reform, began to fill the air. But the opposition to patronage would still probably have failed to obtain the ascendancy in the General Assembly, even under these favourable circumstances, if it had not been for another change which had taken place in the state of the church since Sir Henry Moncreiff wrote what has been quoted above. Those clergymen, both leaders and subordinate members, of the popular party, of whom he speaks, who had for thirty or forty years gone along with their opponents in supporting the law of patronage, and who, whatever might have been their original opinions, could not, after so long an acquiescence, have with any decency stood forth as its assailants, had now all, or almost all, given place to another generation not so pledged or committed; but many of whom, on the contrary, fresh from their college debating clubs, had come into the church courts with no other notions of either the practice or the principles of ecclesiastical polity, or polity of any kind, than what they had been naturally impressed with by the general innovating and democratic spirit of the day. The end of their pilotage of the vessel of the church, accordingly, has been as instructive as such attempts usually are: the confident anticipations and assurances with which they entered upon their new course have been wholly falsified by the event; instead of the Veto Act having, as they promised it would do, brought new power and prosperity to the establishment, it has well nigh blown it into the air. If, indeed, their real intention was revolution, or destruction, and not reform, they have been more successful.

Nothing was done during this period to remove the political disabilities of the Protestant dissenters; the grand question of the Test and Corporation Acts was never even discussed in parliament; but some greater security was given to the freedom of public worship, and certain antiquated restrictions and liabilities, which, although they had fallen practically into desuetude and almost into oblivion, might yet be thought to be offensive and insulting, were removed from the statute-book. On the other hand, however, an attempt was also made to narrow the limits of the liberty which had in modern times been conceded to the teaching of religious doctrines different from those inculcated by the established church. On the 29th of April, 1811, Viscount Sidmouth, in the House of Lords, announced his intention of bringing in a bill to render more efficient the acts of the 1 Will. and Mary c. 18, and the 19 Geo. III. c. 44, in so far as they related to Protestant dissenting ministers, with the view, as he said, of correcting some existing abuses, which he held to be not only inconsistent with the due interpretation and meaning of those acts, but with their real and most important objects. On the 9th of May, accordingly, he brought forward his proposed measure, and explained its design and provisions. By the act of the 19th of

* Life of Erskine, p. 466. † Id., p. 473.

Geo. III., amending that of the 1st of Will. and Mary, commonly called the Toleration Act, dissenting ministers or preachers, in order to their being entitled to the exemptions conferred by the Toleration Act, were required, in lieu of subscription to certain of the Thirty-nine Articles, merely to make a declaration of their being Christians and Protestants, and of their general belief in the Scriptures. But the question was, who were the persons entitled to the benefits conferred by the legislature upon this condition. In both acts they were described as persons dissenting from the Church of England, in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, and being preachers or teachers of any congregation of dissenting Protestants. The mode that had come to be pursued in the matter, Lord Sidmouth stated, was, "that any person, however depraved, however ignorant and illiterate, whether descending from a chimney or a pillory, if he appeared at the quarter sessions and claimed to take the oath of allegiance to his sovereign and that against popery, and made the necessary declaration provided by the 19th of Geo. III., was entitled to and could demand a certificate, although there was no proof of his fitness to preach, or of his having any congregation requiring his ministerial services." Bating the passion or rhetorical colouring of this statement, it was a correct account of the existing practice; but from the largeness or vagueness of the terms employed in the two acts it might be fairly inferred that, loose or liberal as this practical interpretation of them might be thought, it scarcely went beyond the intentions of the legislature, which pretty evidently were that, provided security were given that the privilege would not be abused to the public preaching of sedition or absolute infidelity, no obstruction should be placed in the way of any person who chose taking upon himself the function and character of a dissenting minister or religious teacher. Lord Sidmouth, however, thought otherwise. Some of the immunities, he observed, granted by the two acts threw a burthen upon the rest of the community. Down to 1802, for instance, one of those immunities had been an exemption from military service; and still persons licensed under the two acts as dissenting preachers enjoyed an exemption from serving on juries and from other civil duties which were imposed upon the generality of their fellow-subjects. The acts, he also mentioned, had been differently understood in different counties; in Devon, Buckingham, and Norfolk, the certificate or licence continued to be granted or refused at the discretion of the magistrates. From all this he inferred the necessity of the description of persons entitled to be licensed being more strictly defined, and also of a considerable limitation being put upon the right. The bill proposed to restrict the licence under the acts to persons either having been actually appointed or admitted to be ministers of separate congregations of dissenting Protestants, duly certified and recorded or registered according to law, or who should be recommended by at least six householders belonging to some one such recognised congregation. The measure, however, excited a ferment of opposition among the dissenters as soon as its nature came to be understood. When Lord Sidmouth moved the second reading on the 17th, both Lord Stanhope and Lord Grey urged the postponement of the motion for a few days, that there might be time for the numerous classes of persons who conceived their interests to be affected by the provisions of the bill to petition the House. Earl Grosvenor, however, on the other hand, approved of the principle of the proposed change, and thought it would tend both to strengthen the established church and to make religion in general more respectable and more respected. Lord Redesdale, acknowledging that the bill certainly seemed greatly to agitate the public mind, observed that a measure framed upon similar principles, which had been proposed by himself some years before in the House of Commons, had appeared to meet with general approbation. The motion for the second reading was ultimately deferred till the 21st, and then it gave rise to a long debate. Before Lord Sidmouth rose, Lord Liverpool, as the representative of the government, admitting the good intentions with which his noble friend had moved in the matter, and only lamenting that the real object and tendency of the bill had been so much misconceived, and that so much agitation and alarm had prevailed respecting it since it had been brought before the House, suggested the expediency, in the circumstances, of its being withdrawn. Lord Sidmouth, however, declined to accede to this request. About five hundred petitions against the bill were then presented by Earl Stanhope, Lord Holland, the Earl of Lauderdale, the Earl of Moira, Earl Grey, the Earl of Rosslyn, Lord Erskine, the Marquess of Lansdowne, and other peers. One, it was stated, was signed by above 4000 persons. In the speech with which he introduced his motion Lord Sidmouth went at some length into an explanation and defence of the bill. As an illustration of the abuses that prevailed under the existing practice he stated a case that had come before the magistrates of Stafford, where a man who could not read or write had applied for a certificate. "One of the magistrates inquired if he could sign his name: his reply was, he did not come there to write. The magistrate told him, if he would read the act he would find what was required, and he asked him to read aloud: to this the applicant answered, he did not come there to read. He was then interrogated if he could write. His reply was, No; he was not ashamed to own it. Could he read? No. The magistrate observed how improper it was for him to claim this certificate, who could not read the Bible, the doctrines of which he was about to preach. .... To this the other, with an unblushing countenance, replied that the magistrate knew nothing of inspiration." The man got his certificate. In sitting down, however, his lordship observed that, seeing the

hostility or indifference of the government, and the disposition that prevailed against the bill, he did not expect that it would pass. The Archbishop of Canterbury, for his own part, thought the measure a good one, but of much more importance to the dissenters than to the established church; and therefore, "as the dissenters, who at first approved of the bill, it now appeared, differed from it, he considered it to be unwise and impolitic to press it against their inclination or consent." Lord Erskine affirmed that the numerous petitions which had been that night presented against the bill were but a tenth part of the number that would be poured into the House if time were afforded for their transmission from the remoter parts of the country. It was, he declared, a mistake to suppose, as had been asserted by the mover of the bill, that itinerant preachers or probationers, by subscribing the declaration and taking out the licence, became exempted from parochial offices. "There could be no doubt in the minds of magistrates on this subject, and a single *mandamus* in the court of King's Bench would decide the matter at once and for ever." Lord Erskine moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. Lord Holland and Earl Stanhope also spoke at considerable length and with much animation against the measure. Earl Grey, in answer to what had been said about persons obtaining exemptions from the militia improperly by taking out licences to preach, observed that this was impossible, as by an act passed in 1802 no person was entitled to be so exempted unless he was the minister of a separate congregation. "Nor was that alone sufficient. The party applying was restricted from following any trade, that of a schoolmaster excepted. These regulations were most minutely adhered to both in the general and local militia; and, much as he objected to the bill, he would be content to withdraw his opposition if the noble viscount could show him a single instance since the act of 1802 where exemption had been obtained improperly by a dissenter." His lordship afterwards referred to certain returns on the table of the House, from which it appeared that the whole number of persons who had been licensed for the last forty-eight years amounted to 3678, or about 77 annually on an average; that for the last twelve years the number had been 1173, or about 97 annually; and that for the six years from 1802 to 1808 the number had been 963, or about 160 per annum. From this account Lord Grey inferred that neither the actual number nor the increase of persons availing themselves of the law which it was now desired to modify justified that proposed interference. In the end the amendment was carried without a division, and the bill was consequently lost.

In this same session, on the 21st of March, a few weeks before Lord Sidmouth began his abortive attempt, Earl Stanhope had presented to the Lords a short bill entitled 'For the better securing Liberty of Conscience.' He had, it appears, proposed it on a previous evening as a rider to the Mutiny Bill. The measure, however, does not seem to have been farther proceeded with that year. But in the next session, on the 2nd of June, 1812, his lordship brought forward a new bill "For the relief of certain members of the Church of England and others from the operation of certain unjust penalties and disabilities," which was then read a first time, and the second reading of which his lordship moved on the 3rd of July. He explained that it did not touch either the Test and Corporation Acts, or the question of what was called Catholic Emancipation; "the object of it merely being to prevent persons from incurring any disability on account of their religious opinions, with a proviso to prevent religious opinions from being made the stalking-horse for exciting disorder." It appears to have been a measure of the same kind with that brought forward by his lordship in 1789, of which an ample account is given in our last Book.* To show the absurdity and injustice of the penalties exigible under the old statutes from persons not going to church, he now remarked that it had become physically impossible for a large proportion of his majesty's subjects to go to church, inasmuch as it appeared from returns lately printed by order of the House that there were 4,000,000 more people in England than all the churches of the establishment could contain. "The subject of uniformity," we are told, "his lordship illustrated by an anecdote of the chapel clock with four faces in Vere-street, near Cavendish-square, to which, on passing one day, he looked up to see the hour, and observed that on one of the faces it was five o'clock; but, having an angular view, he saw that the second face pointed at a quarter past five: thinking this very odd, he looked at the third face, and found that to point at half-past five; this was odder still: he looked at the fourth face, and this was three quarters past five." If this anecdote was intended to insinuate that the uniformity assumed by the law to exist in the established church was in reality no uniformity at all, it is to be hoped that matters have since improved in that respect, as well as with the clock at Vere-street Chapel. Another remark which his lordship made upon the same head was, that the variations between the Book of Common Prayer as printed at Oxford and as printed at Cambridge amounted to above 4000. Nobody seems to have thought it worth while to answer Stanhope; but, when the question was put to the vote, the bill was thrown out by a majority of 31 to 10. Upon this Lord Holland asked if it was to be understood that nothing was to be done by the government with regard to the disabilities under which the dissenters laboured; since in that case he should himself feel it his duty to submit some proposition to the House on the subject. In reply Lord Liverpool declared himself thoroughly convinced that some alteration of the existing laws was absolutely necessary; and he added that the

* See ante, vol. iii., pp. 564, *et seq.*

subject had engaged the most serious attention of the cabinet, and that, notwithstanding the many difficulties that were to be overcome, he hoped to be able in the course of a few days to bring forward a bill which should remedy the evils complained of. On the 10th of the same month, accordingly, Lord Castlereagh, in the Commons, moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill "to repeal certain acts, and amend other acts, relating to religious worship and assemblies, and persons teaching or preaching therein." One leading object of this measure was to remove all doubts as to the right of persons professing to be desirous of officiating as dissenting religious teachers to obtain certificates entitling them to act in that capacity. The bill was read a first and second time without opposition, and when it came to the third reading, on the 20th, Mr. William Smith, the chief leader of the dissenting interest in the House, expressed the gratification he felt at the evidence thus afforded of the increasing liberality of the times. "The Toleration Act," he observed, "had been formerly construed by the magistrates as enabling them, at their discretion, to refuse qualifications, instead of confining exemptions within the bounds of the law. A noble lord (Sidmouth) had attempted to rectify by his bill the misconstructions which had taken place, but that bill gave great alarm to the dissenters in general. He must, however, perfectly acquit the noble lord of any hostile feelings towards the dissenters, and was sure that he meant his bill for their good, but they differed in opinion from his lordship as to the probable effects of it. He thought that the present bill would remove the practical evils which the dissenters had to complain of, although it did not recognise the great principle which they maintained, that the civil magistrate had no right to interfere in matters of religious opinion, and that every man was to profess or promulgate any religious opinions provided he did not disturb the public peace." The bill, which passed through all its stages in both Houses without opposition, and became the statute 52 Geo. III. c. 155, besides settling the question as to the right of dissenters to be licensed as religious teachers, entirely repealed the 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 1, by which penalties were imposed upon Quakers and others who should refuse to take oaths; the 17 Car. II. c. 2, known as the Five-Mile Act, and by which also all persons were prohibited, upon pain of fine and imprisonment, from teaching schools, unless they should be licensed by the ordinary, and should have subscribed a declaration of conformity to the liturgy, and should reverently frequent divine worship in the established church; and the 22 Car. II. c. 1, commonly called the Conventicle Act.* In lieu of these old restraints it enacted simply that dissenting places of worship should be registered in the bishop's or archdeacon's court; that they must not be locked, bolted, or barred during the time of divine service; and that the preachers or teachers must be licensed according to the 19 Geo. III. c. 44. These conditions being complied with, the persons officiating in, or resorting to, such places of worship were declared entitled to all the benefits of the Toleration Act; and the disturbance of their assemblies was made a punishable offence.

This measure, however, although it satisfied the dissenters themselves, was far from satisfying their great volunteer champion in the House of Lords. In the speech noticed above, which he made on the 3rd of July in moving the second reading of his own bill, Lord Stanhope is reported to have spoken as follows, in reference to a proposition for amending or settling the law in regard to the licensing of dissenting preachers (of the same nature with that contained in the more comprehensive measure of the government afterwards introduced), which Mr. Smith appears to have already brought forward in the Commons:—"One Mr. William Smith had lately been dabbling in these matters, but not with much success. He proposed by his bill a completely new system, according to which licences were to be granted not only to a man to preach, but old women were not even allowed to say their prayers without it: people were not to be allowed to exercise their natural rights without permission from Mr. William Smith. The quantity of licences required would be innumerable, and it would have been a great improvement of the scheme if Mr. Chancellor Vansittart had thought of making it a very fruitful source of revenue by imposing a stamp-duty of 5*s.* or 10*s.* on every licence." It was to these observations, we suppose, that Mr. Smith alluded in his speech in the debate on the third reading of the government bill on the 20th, when he described that measure as one that would be felt by all the dissenters to be a great advantage gained by them, and as "far from meriting the opprobrious epithets which had been bestowed upon it in another place." Another circumstance connected with the history of this act that ought not to be omitted is, that it had originally sprung from the suggestion of the late chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Perceval, as was stated by his successor, Mr. Vansittart, in the course of this same debate. The measure, Mr. Vansittart also said, "gave him peculiar pleasure when viewed in conjunction with the other proceedings of the legislature, and when he considered that the same parliament which had shown the utmost liberality of sentiment towards the dissenters had been no less distinguished by its bountiful regard to the interests of the established church. It had not been deterred by the difficulties of a period of such extraordinary exertion and expense from providing for the wants of the parochial clergy by grants of unexampled munificence: besides the discharge of the land-tax on small livings to the value of at least 200,000*l.*, and which commenced in 1806, direct grants had been made for their augmentation amounting, in the four last years to no less than 400,000*l.*"

* See Pict. Hist. of Eng., iii. 833.

The legislation, during the present period, for the relief of the dissenters was completed in the next session by the passing of an act (the 53 Geo. III. c. 160) removing certain penalties imposed by an act of 1698 (the 9 and 10 Will. III. c. 32) upon persons impugning the doctrine of the Trinity. By the law thus repealed the denial of the doctrine of the Trinity was punishable, for the first offence, by incapacity to hold any office or place of trust; and, for the second, by incapacity to bring any action, or to be guardian, executor, or legatee, or purchaser of lands, together with imprisonment for three years without bail. The repealing bill originated with Mr. William Smith, who moved for, and obtained, leave to bring it in on the 5th of May, 1813, the government offering no objection; and, having gone through all its previous stages, it was read a third time and passed in the Lords on the 22nd of July. "It should seem now, therefore," observes Mr. Justice Coleridge, in noticing the effect of this act, "that the temporal courts have no jurisdiction directly in cases of heresy, but they may still have to determine collaterally what falls within that description; as, in a *quare impedit*, if the bishop pleads that he refused the clerk for heresy, it is said that he must set forth the particular point; for the court, having cognisance of the original cause, must, by consequence, have a power as to all collateral and incidental matters which are necessary for its determination, though in themselves they belong to another jurisdiction."*

Almost the only names of general literary celebrity among the dissenting clergy of this period are those of the late Reverend Robert Hall, of Leicester, and John Foster, of Bristol, the author of

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the well-known 'Essays on the Formation of Character;' the former distinguished for his flowing and finished eloquence, the latter for originality of thought and force of style. The Baptist connexion, we believe, claims both these writers. Of popular preachers and active controversial pamphleteers almost every sect could boast;—the Methodists of Rowland Hill, and William Huntingdon, and Matthew Wilks; the Independents of John Clayton, Sen. and William Bengo Collyer; the Unitarians of Theophilus Lindsey and Thomas Belsham, &c. &c.; but no name eminent for theological learning graces this portion of the annals of any of the dissenting churches.

No other subject was so fully or so frequently discussed in parliament during this period as that of the removal of the political disabilities of the Roman Catholics, or what was now commonly styled the question of Catholic Emancipation. Anything like a detailed account of the crowded succession of debates and other proceedings which make up the history of this question from the Union with Ireland till the death of George III. would fill several large volumes. We can here, therefore, only attempt the merest outline or index of the course of the long controversy.

It is a curious fact, little adverted to or remembered in the present day, that the Union, when proposed by Mr. Pitt, received the general approbation and support of the Irish Catholics, and that their aid materially contributed to the carrying of the measure. The Irish parliament, before its extinction, had incurred the hostility of the Roman Catholics by obstinately refusing to admit them to seats in it. Mr. Pitt, on the other hand, had long been the friend and supporter of their claims, which both he and they expected to be able to carry in the imperial parliament. The cordiality which subsisted between the two parties was evinced by the result of the deliberations of "a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates held at Dublin on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January, 1799, to deliberate on a proposal from government of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrines, discipline, or just influence;" when it was resolved "That a provision, through government, for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom [of Ireland], competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted;" and "That, in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to the vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed is just, and ought to be agreed to." All the four Roman Catholic archbishops were present, and signed these resolutions.

Mr. Pitt, finding that he could not move the king to consent to the concession of the Roman Catholic claims, resigned a few days after the meeting of the first imperial parliament, in the end of January 1801. Mainly by his influence, however, the discussion of the question in parliament was kept back throughout Mr. Addington's administration; nor was it mentioned during so much of the current session as elapsed after Mr. Pitt's resumption of office in May 1804.

But on the 21st of January, 1805, within a week

* Note on Blackstone, 4 Com. 50. Mr. Justice Coleridge refers to Hawkins, Pl. C. B. 1 c. 2.

after the commencement of the next session, the Earl of Suffolk, in the House of Lords, gave notice of a motion on the subject, if it should not be taken up by some other peer, or if nothing should be done in regard to it by ministers. On the 19th of March thereafter Lord Grenville intimated that he should on the 25th present to the House a petition on the part of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland. This he did accordingly, and the petition, after having been read by the clerk, was, in terms of Lord Grenville's motion, ordered to lie on the table; but the motion of the Duke of Norfolk that it should be printed was negatived. On the same day a similar petition was presented in the Commons by Mr. Fox. On Friday, the 10th of May, Lord Grenville moved in the Lords that the petition should be then taken into consideration in a committee of the whole House. In the course of his speech, referring to the hopes excited in the minds of the Catholics of Ireland at the time of the Union, Lord Grenville said, "No authorised assurance was ever given; no promise was ever made to the Catholics that such a measure would be the consequence of the Union; but it is no less true that, by the arguments of those who supported the Union, by the course of reasoning in doors and out of doors, hopes were given that the subject of Catholic Emancipation would be more favourably considered here than it was ever likely to be in the parliament of Ireland. Those who wished well to the Union could not so far betray their trust as not to state that one of the recommendations of the measure was that it did seem to afford the only practicable mode of preventing the renewal of the disputes which had produced such calamities in Ireland. It was not, therefore, either from persons authorised or not authorised to make assurances as to the effect of the Union that the hopes of the Catholics were raised; it was from the nature of the subject itself that they entertained, and were justified in entertaining, great and sanguine expectations that the measure would lead to the consequences so anxiously desired." The opposition to the motion was led by Lord Hawkesbury (afterwards Earl of Liverpool), secretary of state for the home department. His lordship said, "I have great satisfaction in feeling, that, differing as I do on part of the subject from some persons whose vote this night will be dictated by the same general principles as my own, no efforts have been omitted by me to prevent this question from being agitated under the present circumstances. Similar exertions for the same purpose have been made by my noble friend who is at the head of the government of Ireland (the Earl of Hardwicke): but, as all our exertions have proved ineffectual, as the Catholics have been advised to press forward their claims on the attention of parliament at this particular period, contrary to their own interests, and, as I think, to a just consideration of what is due to the tranquillity of the empire, I feel it to be a duty to have no reserve on the subject." He then stated that, though he thought the circumstances of the time furnished alone a sufficient ground of opposition to the motion, yet his own objections applied to any time and to any circumstances in which the subject could be brought forward. In the debate that followed the motion was supported by Lords Spencer and Holland, and opposed by the Duke of Cumberland, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Mulgrave (chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster), Earl Camden (secretary of state for the colonies), the Bishop of Durham (Barrington), Lord Redesdale (Irish chancellor), and the Earl of Limerick; at four o'clock on Saturday morning the discussion was adjourned till Monday; when it was resumed on that evening, the motion was supported by the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Oxford, Lord Hutchinson, the Earl of Ormond, the Earl of Albemarle, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Moira, Earl Darnley, Lord King, and the Earl of Longford; it was opposed by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, Lord Carleton, Lord Boringdon, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sutton), the lord chancellor (Eldon), Lord Harrowby (foreign secretary), the Earl of Westmoreland (lord privy seal), the Bishop of St. Asaph (Horsley), Lord Ellenborough, Lord Auckland, and Lord Bolton; and, after Lord Grenville had replied, the House divided at near six o'clock on Tuesday morning, when the numbers were found to be, for the motion 49 (including 12 proxies), against it 178 (including 45 proxies). Lord Auckland, who was in office under Pitt when the Union with Ireland was arranged, in the course of his speech said; "It will ever be a consideration of just pride to me that I have borne no small share in adjusting all the details of that transaction; and I do not hesitate to declare that, if the concessions now proposed were in the contemplation of those with whom I acted at that time, their views were industriously concealed from me, and from others of their associates. It is indeed true that, soon after the Union, there was, apparently, a sudden change in the opinions of some leading persons respecting the subject now in discussion. I do not impute any blame to that change, or doubt its sincerity, though I must deplore it. That change has given an irreparable shock to the confidence of public men in each other; and to it perhaps are owing many of the distractions and difficulties under which the empire has since laboured." On this same evening, the 13th, a motion to the same effect with that of Lord Grenville was made in the Commons by Mr. Fox: here the opposition to it was led by one of the most furious and extreme enemies of concession, the famous Dr. Duigenan, member for the city of Armagh;* he was followed on the same side by the attorney-general (Perceval) and Mr. Alexander; the only other speech delivered in support of the motion

* The report of Dr. Duigenan's speech fills fifty-two long columns of the 'Parliamentary Debates.' Grattan, who rose immediately after him, described it as consisting of four parts; 1st, invective against the religion of the Catholics; 2ndly, invective against the present generation; 3rdly, invective against the past; and 4thly, invective against the future. "Here," said Grattan, "the limits of creation interposed, and stopped the learned member."

that night was a brilliant oration by Grattan, who spoke on this occasion for the first time in the imperial parliament; at three o'clock on Tuesday morning the debate was adjourned; when the House re-assembled that evening the motion was supported by Mr. William Smith, Mr. Lee, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. George Ponsonby, Mr. Windham, Sir John Newport, Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald, the Hon. H. A. Dillon, Mr. John Latouche, Sir John Coxe Hippesley, Colonel Hiley Hutchinson, and Mr. Hawthorn; it was opposed by Sir William Scott, Mr. Foster, the chancellor of the exchequer (Pitt), Mr. Archdale, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Hiley Addington, Lord De Blaquiere, Sir George Hill, and Sir William Dolben; Fox replied at considerable length; and then the House divided a little before five o'clock on Wednesday morning, when the motion was negatived by a majority of 336 against 124. Pitt, whose speech was not a long one, of course took his ground in resisting the motion upon the time and circumstances in which it had been brought forward. The considerations, he stated, which made it impossible for him to urge emancipation while he was in office before made it equally impossible for him to urge it now. "Seeing, sir," he concluded, "what are the opinions of the times, what is the situation of men's minds, and the sentiments of all descriptions and classes, of the other branch of the legislature, and even the prevailing opinion of this House, I feel that I should act contrary to a sense of my duty, and even inconsistently with the original grounds upon which I thought the measure ought to be brought forward, if I countenanced it under the present circumstances, or if I hesitated in giving my decided negative to the House going into a committee."

The majorities on this occasion, in both Houses, were swelled by all those friends of the principle of concession who had taken office with or attached themselves to Pitt, and who felt, or professed to feel, with him that the measure ought not to have been brought forward at that moment. Mr. Pitt died in January 1806, and then Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville came into power. Nothing was done for the Catholics in the premiership of Fox, any more than had been done for them in that of Pitt. On the 11th of March, immediately after the formation of the new administration, when the Hon. H. A. Dillon, in the House of Commons, requested to be informed what were the intentions of the government with regard to emancipation, remarking that rumours had gone abroad of a very extraordinary change of sentiments having taken place in certain quarters on that subject, Fox, with something of pettishness, declined answering the question. "So far," he said, "as I am concerned in this question, whenever it comes under discussion I shall be perfectly ready to state my opinion; and all I think it necessary to say as to my future conduct is to refer to a consideration of my past. I cannot, however, hesitate to state, that, if any gentleman were to ask my advice as to the propriety of bringing forward the Catholic claims at present, I should recommend him to take into consideration the prospect of success, and the greater probability of succeeding this year or the next; at the same time to bear in mind the issue of last year's discussion." This almost amounted to an admission, upon Pitt's own grounds, that the late premier had judged rightly in opposing the attempt then made. At all events Fox, now that he was himself premier, pursued the very same course.

Fox died in September 1806, leaving Lord Grenville at the head of affairs; and then, on the 5th of March, 1807, the first day of the next session, with a new parliament, Lord Howick, secretary for foreign affairs, moved for and obtained leave in the Commons to bring in, not a measure for giving the Catholics seats in parliament, but only a bill for enabling them to hold the higher commissions in the army and navy. The fate of this proposition, involving, as it did, that of the ministry which brought it forward, forms a memorable part of the general history of the country.* On the 18th of March the second reading of the bill, which had been already twice postponed, was, on the motion of Lord Howick, postponed a third time, under circumstances stated not at that moment to admit of explanation. In point of fact, the ministers, finding that the king would not give his consent to the bill, agreed to withdraw it; but his majesty, not satisfied with this, required them to sign an engagement that they would propose no further concessions to the Roman Catholics; and the day after their refusal to comply with this demand he sent them an intimation that he must look out for other servants.

After this Catholic emancipation became almost an annual question in parliament. In 1808 the immediate consideration of the subject by a committee of the whole House was moved on the 25th of May by Mr. Grattan in the Commons, and on the 27th by Lord Grenville in the Lords. In the Commons the motion was negatived, on a division at six o'clock on the morning of the 26th, by a majority of 281 against 128; in the Lords it was negatived by 161 to 74. All the ministers, including Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, and the other members of the government who professed themselves favourable to the abstract principle of emancipation, still, after the example of Mr. Pitt, voted against the proposition in the circumstances in which it had been brought forward.

Grattan's speech on this occasion is memorable, as having contained the first mention of the famous project of the *Veto*, which he announced as a proposition that the Catholics had authorised him to make: the proposition, he said, is this; "That in the future nomination of bishops his majesty may interfere and exercise his royal privilege, by putting a negative upon such nomination; that is, in other words, to say, that no Catholic bishop shall be appointed without the entire approbation of his majesty." It turned out afterwards that Grattan's

* See ante, pp. 259, 263.

authority for making this proposition was a paper drawn up by the Rev. Dr. Milner of Wolverhampton, one of the English vicars-apostolic, and the accredited agent of the Irish Catholic hierarchy, who, having been sent for to London on the eve of the parliamentary discussions, and consulted by Lord Fingal, Lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Ponsonby, had put into the hands of the last-named gentleman the following statement:—"The Catholic prelates of Ireland are willing to give a direct negative power to his majesty's government, with respect to the nomination of their titular bishoprics, in such manner that, when they have among themselves resolved who is the fittest person for the vacant see, they will transmit his name to his majesty's ministers; and, if the latter shall object to that name, they will transmit another and another, until a name is presented to which no objection is made; and (which is never likely to be the case) should the Pope refuse to give those essentially necessary spiritual powers, of which he is the depository, to the person so presented by the Catholic bishops, and so approved of by government, they will continue to present other names, till one occurs which is agreeable to both parties, namely the crown and the apostolic see."

It appears, however, that very soon after the rising of parliament objections began to be started among the Catholics to the granting of this Veto. The opposition is said to have first shown itself in a clerical synod held at Cork; after which at a meeting of bishops convened at Dublin in September it was resolved to be "the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Catholic bishops, which mode long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary." The publication of this resolution immediately divided the upper classes of the Irish Catholics into two parties—those who still continued to support the Veto and those who sided with the clergy in opposing it; but the lower classes, as was to be expected, nearly all sided with the clergy against the Veto.

The next parliamentary discussion was in 1810. On the 18th of May in that year Mr. Grattan, in the Commons, moved that the petition of the Roman Catholics should be referred to a committee of the whole House; the debate was protracted by adjournment over two other days, the 25th of May and the 1st of June; on a division there were 109 votes for the motion, and 213 against it. In the Lords a similar motion was made by the Earl of Donoughmore on the 6th of June, and, after a long debate, was rejected by a majority of 154 (including 62 proxies) to 68 (including 32 proxies). All the members of the government, whatever opinions they professed to hold on the abstract question, still continued to resist the claims in the circumstances in which they were brought forward. Canning spoke against the motion in the Commons; and Lord Grenville, who had been recently elected chancellor of the university of Oxford, did not appear in its defence in the Lords.

In 1811 the same motions which had been made in the preceding session were repeated in the Commons by Grattan on the 31st of May, and in the Lords by Lord Donoughmore on the 18th of June. The majority against the motion was in the Commons 146 to 83; in the Lords 121 (including 47 proxies) to 62 (including 26 proxies).

For some time before this certain proceedings of the leaders of the Roman Catholics in Ireland had been attracting extraordinary attention. The public interests of the Irish Catholics had long been watched over by what was called the Catholic Committee, which appears to have usually consisted of a few noblemen and gentlemen of that persuasion, selected or appointed principally on account of their residence in Dublin. But at a general meeting of the Catholics held in May, 1809, a new constitution was given to this committee, which was now made to consist of all the Catholic peers of Ireland, of all the surviving members of the Catholic Convention of 1793, of the remaining members of the two committees that had prepared the Catholic petitions to parliament in 1805 and 1807, and of 36 representatives from the parishes of the city of Dublin. This numerous body held several meetings in the months of July, October, and November, 1809, at which there were long and warm debates; and then, having agreed upon a new petition to parliament, it dissolved itself. In 1810 the same committee was re-appointed at another general meeting, and continued to act throughout that year, drawing to itself more and more of the attention of the public and of the government, both by the increasing violence of the debates that took place, and by the new character that its proceedings assumed in other respects; for it no longer now confined itself to the preparation of a petition to parliament, but took up all sorts of matters that could be in any way brought under the description of Catholic grievances, including the acts of the authorities, the administration of the law, and the other occurrences of the day. The government, however, although it kept a watchful eye upon what was going on, did not interfere till the committee addressed a circular letter to the Catholics in every county of Ireland, stating "their conviction of the imperative necessity of an increase of their numbers," so that there might be managers of the petition which the committee had been entrusted to prepare connected with every part of the country; "that the committee should become the depository of the collective wisdom of the Catholic body; that it should be able to ascertain, in order to obey, the wishes, and clearly understand the wants, of all their Catholic fellow-subjects;" and suggesting the propriety of ten managers of the petition being appointed in every county. The letter affected to warn those to whom it was addressed that according to the existing law no species of delegation or

representation could be suffered to take place, nor could any person, "without a gross violation of the law, be a representative or delegate, or act, under any name, as a representative or delegate." At the same time it was clearly intimated, though not expressly stated, that the county managers were all to be members of the great Dublin committee: in those cases in which there were any persons connected with the county among the survivors of the delegates of 1793, it was directed that, as these persons were already constituted members of the committee, only so many additional managers should be appointed as would make up the number to ten; and in conclusion the letter said:—"In appointing those managers, the committee respectfully solicit your particular attention to the many advantages to be derived from naming managers whose avocations require or leisure permits their permanent or occasional residence in Dublin, where the ultimate arrangements as to the petition can best be made." This letter, signed "Edward Ray, Secretary to the General Committee of the Catholics in Ireland sitting in Dublin," was dated from the committee's place of meeting, No. 4, Capel Street, 1st January, 1811. It appears, however, that, having no doubt been prepared by a sub-committee, it was kept a profound secret from all except the confidential persons to whom it was sent, and escaped even the vigilance of the government, for about three weeks: it is affirmed to have been not till the 23rd of January that the Irish government became possessed of the fact that such a letter had been written, and not till the 10th or 12th of February that they obtained a copy of it. It is acknowledged, however, which seems somewhat extraordinary, that they "at the same time received private information of the most secret nature that several thousand copies of that letter were circulating in Ireland; that many members of the augmented committee had been returned; that some of them had actually arrived in Dublin; and that the whole of them were expected to arrive time enough for the meeting of the 16th of February, or, at latest, for that of the 23rd." Such was the statement afterwards made in the House of Commons in his own defence by Mr. W. Wellesley Pole, the Irish Secretary.* "We were also informed," he farther said, "that the letter had been penned by the lawyers belonging to the Catholic Committee, and that great pains had been taken to keep within the letter of the law, and to avoid incurring its penalties, the object being to obtain a complete representative body from all the counties of Ireland, under the pretext of assisting in managing the petition. It was also stated that, when all the members had arrived, and the Catholic Convention had assembled, it would be kept sitting for the purpose of diffusing throughout Ireland the flame which the committee had raised in Dublin. The Irish government also received information of the mode in which the elections had been and were to be conducted. One main object, it appeared, was to secure secrecy; and names were sent down from Dublin of particular persons resident in that city whom the committee recommended to be returned as delegates from certain places; and by this contrivance it was expected that a full attendance would always be secured." It may be noted that of this Catholic Committee Mr. O'Connell was already a leading member.

Whatever may be thought of the supineness of the government up to this time, it seemed to be now determined to wipe off that imputation at least. On the 13th of February Mr. Wellesley Pole addressed from the Castle a circular letter to the sheriffs and chief magistrates in all the Irish counties calling upon them to cause to be arrested and committed to prison, or only set at large upon bail, all persons in any way concerned in sending up the so-called managers to the Catholic committee, which body was expressly designated in the letter "an unlawful assembly." The law upon which the secretary for Ireland grounded this order was an act passed by the Irish parliament in 1793 (the 33 Geo. III. c. 29) entitled "An Act to prevent the election or appointment of unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions or other addresses to his majesty or the parliament:" it had been passed to put down the Catholic Convention of that year, and was commonly known by the name of the Convention Act. On the 18th of February, as soon as the letter was heard of in England, the subject was mentioned in the House of Lords by the Earl of Moira, and in the Commons by Mr. Ponsonby; ministers stated that the proceeding had been taken without their knowledge; but the intimation of it which they had received from the authorities at Dublin Castle "was," Lord Liverpool declared, "accompanied with reasons founded on various sources of information, some of them of a secret nature, which proved that a systematic attempt was making for the violation of the law, which the government of Ireland felt to be such as to justify it in having recourse to this means of prevention." On the 22nd the subject was again brought forward in both Houses: a motion for an address to the prince regent, requesting that he would direct copies to be laid before the House of all dispatches addressed to or received from the lord-lieutenant of Ireland respecting Mr. Secretary Pole's letter, was made by the Marquess of Lansdowne in the Lords, where it was negatived without a division, and by the Hon. J. W. Ward in the Commons, where it was rejected by a majority of 80 to 43. On the 7th of March, after Mr. Wellesley Pole had come over to England, the same motion, somewhat varied, was again made in the Commons by Mr. Ponsonby, and was negatived by a majority of 133 to 48. Finally, on the 4th of April Earl Stanhope in the Lords moved a resolution declaring the letter to be a violation of the law, which was supported only by 6 votes against 21. Meanwhile, Mr. Wellesley Pole's

* In debate of 7th March, 1811.

circular had been followed up by the Irish government with other displays of activity and would-be vigour. On the 23rd of February two magistrates were sent from the Castle to disperse the Catholic Committee; but on being assured that the meeting was not the committee, but only one of a number of Catholic gentlemen for the purpose of signing a petition to parliament, they came away without doing anything. After the rejection by parliament of the motions of Grattan and Lord Donoughmore in May and June, the Catholics in Ireland resumed their preparations for carrying into effect the scheme announced in the committee's letter of the 1st of January, and during the summer county meetings for the appointment of delegates, or managers, were held in all parts of the country, many of which are said to have been attended by Protestants as well as Catholics. At last, notwithstanding a proclamation issued from the Castle on the 30th of July, warning all persons to abstain from all proceedings contrary to the Convention Act, and directing justices of the peace and magistrates to disperse the threatened meeting of delegates whenever it should be held, the so-called committee actually assembled on the 19th of October, to the number of nearly three hundred, at the theatre in Fishamble-street, Dublin, in the presence of an immense concourse of spectators. They remained together, however, only about a quarter of an hour; so that, when a body of police magistrates, in conformity with instructions from the Castle, arrived to order them to disperse, the members were already beginning to retire. All that had been done, or attempted to be done, was to adopt a new petition to parliament, which had been previously prepared; and it was very generally suspected that their being allowed the few minutes necessary for going through this form before they were interfered with was in consequence of an arrangement or understanding with the authorities. However this may be, government had already apprehended five individuals for a breach of the Convention Act in attending an aggregate meeting at Dublin on the 9th of July, as also a meeting for the election of delegates for one of the parishes of that city on the 30th of the same month; and one of these, Dr. Sheridan, was brought to trial in the court of King's Bench, Dublin, on the 21st of November. The result was that, although the facts were clearly enough proved, and the law was as clearly and decidedly laid down by the lord chief justice, the jury brought in a verdict of Not Guilty. Upon this the attorney-general declined for the present to proceed with the other cases. On the 23rd of December, having adjourned to that day, the Catholic Committee met again at the theatre in Fishamble-street; but, on a magistrate presenting himself among them and ordering them to disperse, after some hesitation, they agreed to break up. On the same evening, however, the members and others, to the number of above three hundred persons, assembled at a tavern, and signed a requisition for a general or aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland; and the said aggregate meeting accordingly took place three days after in Fishamble-street, when, among other resolutions, one was passed to address the prince regent upon the subject of the late invasion of their right to petition, as soon as the restrictions on his authority should cease; and another, requesting the general committee of Catholics in Ireland to assemble in Dublin on the 28th of February next.

This rapid outline of the chronological succession of events will put the reader in possession of the state in which matters stood at the re-assembling of parliament on the 7th of January, 1812. On the 31st of that month the whole policy of the Irish government in relation to the Catholics, and even many of the bearings of the question of emancipation itself, were discussed in the House of Lords on a motion made by Earl Fitzwilliam that their lordships should immediately resolve themselves into a committee of the whole House to take into consideration the present situation of affairs in Ireland. The motion was negatived by a majority of 162 (including 76 proxies) against 79 (including 37 proxies); and a similar motion made in the Commons on the 3rd of February by Lord Morpeth was, after two nights' debate, rejected, on a division, which took place at half-past five on the morning of the 5th, by a majority of 229 against 135. The most remarkable speeches delivered on this occasion were those of the Marquess Wellesley in one House and Mr. Canning in the other, both of whom argued strongly for the expediency of conceding the claims of the Catholics, although deprecating the agitation of the question at that moment, and declining to vote for the proposed inquiry.

Meanwhile, Mr. Thomas Kirwan, another of the persons apprehended by the Irish government for taking part in the meetings of the 9th and 30th of last July, had on the 28th of January been brought to trial before the court of King's Bench at Dublin, and a verdict of Guilty returned; but, when he was brought up for judgment on the 6th of February, he was merely fined one mark and discharged, and at the same time the other prosecutions were abandoned by the attorney-general. On the 28th of February an aggregate meeting of the Catholics was held in Dublin in conformity with the arrangement made on the 26th of December, and a petition to the prince regent was read and unanimously adopted. The restrictions on the regency, it may be noticed, had expired on the 18th.

The Catholic question was again discussed at considerable length in the Lords on the 19th of March, on Lord Boringdon's motion for an address to the prince regent, requesting him to form a more efficient administration, which was defeated by a majority of 165 (including 75 proxies) against 72 (including 29 proxies). The proposed address represented it to be impossible that, in the state in which Ireland was, the general confidence and good will of the country should be enjoyed by any admi-

nistration the characteristic principle of whose domestic policy, as well as the bond of whose connexion in office, was the determination not only not to recommend, but to resist, a fair and dispassionate consideration of those civil disabilities under which his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in that part of the United Kingdom still laboured, and of which they complained as most grievous and oppressive. But the question underwent a much more complete discussion on the 21st of April, when Lord Donoughmore moved that the House should go into a committee to take into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion. The debate upon this motion lasted till five o'clock on the morning of the 22nd, and then the division showed a majority against the motion of 174 (including 71 proxies) to 102 (including 35 proxies). On the next day, the 23rd, a similar motion was made in the Commons by Grattan; there the debate was adjourned, at two in the morning, to the 24th; and when a division at last took place, at half-past six on the morning of Saturday the 25th, the adverse majority was found to be 300 to 215.* In these debates both the Marquess Wellesley in the one House, and Mr. Canning, who spoke towards the close of the debate, in the other, warmly supported the proposition for going into committee. Canning declared that the opinions he now avowed were those he had held ever since he had been capable of forming an opinion on the subject: "I take no shame to myself," he added, "for having on other occasions resisted the inquiry which I now recommend. I did so on a view—a just view, I think, I am sure an honest and well-intentioned view—of public duty. While there existed in the breast of the sovereign an insurmountable obstacle to the entertainment of this question, an obstacle not of opinion but of conscience, the only alternative left to a public man who held the opinions which I profess to have holden on the question was, either to push those opinions into action at all the hazards to which such a course would be liable—at the hazard of one calamity too dreadful to be contemplated without awe and terror (a calamity under the infliction of which we are now actually suffering, and to which, therefore, I may now without impropriety allude) —or manfully to interpose between the conscience of the sovereign and the agitation of this question, at whatever risk of unpopularity or of misconstruction. This latter was the course which I thought it my duty to adopt. I persevered in it under many taunts in this House, perhaps under some obloquy out of doors. But these taunts and that obloquy I patiently endured; and, had it pleased heaven to spare to us still the blessing of that reign, the untimely and calamitous eclipse of which we are now deploring, I would still have endured all manner of reproach rather than have let in upon the mind of an aged and venerable sovereign that overwhelming anxiety which the agitation of this question would have occasioned." The considerations thus stated by Mr. Canning no doubt influenced other honourable members who now also voted for the first time in favour of the Catholics. Lord Castlereagh, however, who had recently returned to office as successor to the Marquess Wellesley in the foreign secretaryship, still spoke and voted against the motion, repeating and adopting the declaration of the prime minister, Mr. Perceval, that the cabinet were "unanimous in their opinion that the question of concession to the Catholics could not now be conveniently agitated, nor any inquiry gone into upon the subject of the legal disabilities of his majesty's Catholic subjects in Ireland with the hope of coming to any ultimate and satisfactory arrangement."

A few days after this, on the 11th of May, Mr. Perceval was assassinated. This event is probably to be regarded as the real cause of the breaking up and termination of the arrangement under which resistance to the Catholic claims had formed one of the principles of the government. It is true, indeed, that in the letter written by the prince regent to the Duke of York on the 13th of February, to be communicated to Lords Grey and Grenville, his royal highness, in contemplation of the restrictions on his authority being shortly to expire, had expressed his wish that his hands should be strengthened by the association in the government of some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life had been formed, and that the arduous contest in which the country was engaged might be conducted "by a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis." But, whatever these general expressions may have been intended to imply, it is certain that there was no change in the actual policy of the government as to this matter down to the death of Mr. Perceval. In the negociations that were entered into immediately after that event with Mr. Canning and the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Liverpool hinted (in his letter of the 19th May), that the considerations which "up to a very recent period" had absolutely precluded the entertainment of the Catholic question by the government might by some be thought "since the month of February" to have ceased to be in force; but, as Lord Wellesley observed in his answer, whatever might be the opinion of certain individual members of the cabinet upon this point, the practical result had been that the same course continued to be pursued by the government after as before the month of February. We have just seen that in April Grattan's motion was opposed as usual by all the ministers—by those who professed themselves favourable to the principle of emancipation, as well as by the rest. From the moment of Mr. Perceval's removal, however, this system was abandoned.

On the 22nd of June, after the attempts at a reconstruction of the ministry on a broader basis had failed, and Lord Liverpool remained at the head of affairs with a cabinet formed substantially of

* The report of the debate in the Lords fills 95 columns, that of the debate in the Commons 313 columns, in the 'Parliamentary Debates.'

the old materials, Mr. Canning in the Commons moved, that the House would, "early in the next session of parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland; with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." On that very morning there had arrived in London certain violent resolutione passed at an aggregate meeting of the Catholics, held in Dublin on the 18th, one of which, alluding to the late petition to the prince regent, lamented that "the promised boon of Catholic freedom had been cruelly intercepted by the fatal witchery of an unworthy, secret influence, spurning alike the sanction of public and private virtue, the demands of personal gratitude, and the sacred obligations of plighted honour;" while others expressed a determination to accept only of full, unqualified, and unconditional emancipation; and the speeches and whole tone of the proceedings were fiercely opposed to the project of accompanying the repeal of the penal laws, either by the Veto, or by any new restrictions under the name of securities for the established church. Canning began his speech by alluding to the anxiety existing in Ireland on the subject of his motion; an anxiety of which he was sorry to say they had, in the course of that very day, received some strong and painful indications; but what had just taken place in Dublin, he ingeniously added, appeared to him only one symptom of that habitual irritation of the public mind in Ireland, which was produced by the unsettled state of the question to which his motion related, and an additional motive for recommending the immediate consideration of that question in the only quarters, and in the only mode, by which it could be brought to a final and satisfactory adjustment. In the debate that followed the motion was supported both by Mr. Wellesley Pole (who was on the point of resigning the Irish secretaryship to Mr. Peel), and by Lord Castlereagh and other members of the ministry. Some of the members, however, such as Mr. Vansittart, the new chancellor of the exchequer, in declaring their intention to vote for the motion, intimated that their opinions in opposition to what was called emancipation remained unchanged, and that the concessions which they were prepared to agree to, if the proposed inquiry should be instituted, were confined within comparatively narrow limits, and could not be expected to prove satisfactory to the zealous advocates of the Catholic cause. In the end, after an amendment moved by General Mathew, proposing that the House should take the subject into immediate consideration, had been negatived without a division, the original motion was carried by a majority of more than two to one, the numbers being—Ayes 235, Noes 106. And still more remarkable, perhaps, than this victory was the result of a similar motion made on the 1st of July by the Marquess Wellesley in the Lords, where the previous question, moved by the Lord Chancellor, was carried only by a majority of one, the numbers being 126 (including 52 proxies), against 125 (including 51 proxies; so that the peers present were equally divided).

The parliament, however, which had already sat six sessions, having been dissolved in September, the pledge which Canning had obtained from the House of Commons came to nothing. But on the 25th of February, 1813, the question was once more brought forward, in the new parliament, by Grattan, who moved that the House should immediately resolve itself into a committee for the object specified in Canning's resolution. The subject had for many months before been agitated out of doors more generally and eagerly than ever, and petitions for and against emancipation, from all parts of Great Britain as well as of Ireland, had for some time preceding the expected discussion been poured into both Houses. The debate in the Commons lasted four nights, on each of which the House sat till two or half-past two in the morning, and the division took place at four o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 2nd of March, when the motion was carried by a majority of 40, the numbers being 264 for it, and 224 against it.* In the speech with which he introduced his motion Grattan had referred very shortly to the subject of securities, by stating that the bill he proposed to bring in should contain "such provisions as would guard the rights of the church, and the colleges, and the corporations;" but the most important statement that was made in reference to this point was by Mr. Plunkett, who declared that the opinion he had always entertained, and always expressed, publicly and privately, was that the measure of emancipation could not be finally and satisfactorily adjusted unless some arrangement should be made with respect to the Roman Catholic clergy, and some security afforded to the state against foreign interference. "On the best consideration I have been able to give the subject," he added, "and on the fullest communication I have been enabled to obtain on it, I am satisfied that such security may be afforded without interfering in any degree with the essentials of their religion; and, if so, the mere circumstance of its being required is a sufficient reason for conceding it. . . . What this security may be, provided it shall be effectual, ought, as I conceive, to be left to the option of the Catholic body. I am little solicitous about the form, so that the substance is attained. As a Veto has been objected to, let it not be required; but let the security be afforded either by domestic nomination of the clergy, or in any shape or form which shall exclude the practical effect of foreign interference. Let them be liberally provided for by the state, let them be natives of the country and educated in the country, and

* The report of this debate fills 330 columns of the "Parliamentary Debates."

let the full and plenary exercise of spiritual authority by the pope, which forms an essential part of their religious discipline, remain in all its force; leave to their choice the mode of reconciling these principles, and stand not upon the manner, if the thing is done." On the 9th of March the House went into committee in conformity with the decision come to that day week. That night was consumed in a debate upon a general preliminary resolution moved by Grattan, affirming the expediency of providing for the removal of the Catholic disabilities, the opposition to which was led by the speaker, Mr. Abbot, but which was carried on a division by a majority of 186 to 119. On the 30th of April the Emancipation Bill was at last brought in by Grattan, and, having been read a first time, was ordered to be printed. It proposed to substitute a new declaration and oath, to be taken by Roman Catholics instead of the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and the declarations against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints; and to provide that no Roman Catholic should hold the office of lord high chancellor, or lord keeper or lord commissioner of the great seal of Great Britain, or of lord lieutenant or lord deputy, or other chief governor, of Ireland, or any office in the established churches of England and Ireland, or of Scotland, or in the ecclesiastical courts, or the universities or colleges, or schools of royal or ecclesiastical foundation, or should exercise any right of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices, or advise the crown in such exercise: and it further proposed to enact that no person born out of his majesty's dominions, except those born of British or Irish parents, should be capable of exercising any episcopal duties or functions within the United Kingdom, under the penalty of being liable to be sent out of the kingdom. Difficulties, however, now began rapidly to accumulate around the attempt which had been so far successful to settle this great question of domestic policy. The first opposition came from a section of the friends of the measure, to satisfy whose scruples it was found necessary to make the bill more restrictive by the addition of the offices of lord chancellor or lord keeper of Ireland, and commander-in-chief in Great Britain, to those from which Catholics were to be excluded, and also by the appointment of two commissions or boards, one for Great Britain and the other for Ireland, consisting of a certain number of Catholic bishops, peers, and commoners, which should make a report to the king or the lord-lieutenant in attestation of the loyalty and peaceable conduct of every person desiring to exercise episcopal functions in the Roman Catholic church, before he should be permitted so to do. Clauses to effect these changes in the bill were accordingly prepared, and made generally known before the day appointed for the second reading, the 11th of May. But when that day came, Sir John Coxe Hippesley, hitherto a strenuous advocate of emancipation, and long the recognised agent in parliament of the English Catholics, moved, according to a notice which he had previously given, that, instead of the bill being proceeded with, a select committee should be appointed to examine and report on the state of the laws affecting the Catholics, on the number of their clergy, on their intercourse with the see of Rome, and on the regulations of foreign states respecting the nomination and collation of clergy of that persuasion, and the terms on which they were permitted to hold such intercourse. The honourable baronet's speech was very learned (as all his speeches were) and very long; but the pith of it was contained in the few words in which he expressed himself when he gave notice of his motion a few days before, on which occasion he declared that he yielded to no man in ardour on the subject of Catholic emancipation, "but he would say that, as to the simple repeal of the existing disabilities, simple would be the vote of that House in agreeing to it." The motion, however, was negatived, after a debate of some length, by a majority of 235 against 187; and on the 13th the second reading of Grattan's bill was carried by a majority of 245 to 203. It was committed the next day; but no discussion took place till the 24th, when Abbot, the speaker, again led the attack, and, in a celebrated speech,* moved that the words "to sit and vote in either House of parliament" should be left out of the bill. The state of feeling among the Catholic public at this time may be gathered from a short passage in Mr. Abbot's speech. "Have the Roman Catholic laity," said he, "and their Catholic Board (the hitherto avowed and accredited organ of their sentiments) declared their approbation of this bill? Certainly not. And, so far as we do know of their proceedings, some of their most distinguished leaders and auxiliary delegates have, in three successive meetings, most vehemently declaimed against it. The Roman Catholic clergy, on their part, also cry out loud against its ecclesiastical provisions. The Roman Catholic metropolitan Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Troy, has declared them to be worse than the old veto. And a vicar apostolic in England [Dr. Milner], who presides episcopally over the midland district, and is himself the agent for all the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, has denounced them as what all Roman Catholics must abhor, and has declared to the world that, sooner than accept them, they will lay down their lives upon the scaffold." And even the language of some of the friends of emancipation in the House, such as Sir J. C. Hippesley, who declared that the clause taken by itself had his most cordial approbation, but who declined voting for it as part of the present bill, may show us how poor a prospect there was of the measure proving satisfactory if it had been assented to by the legislature. "The bill," the honourable baronet affirmed, "had been carried by physical force, not by discussion; and he would predict that the triumph would be short, which had arisen from the inde-

* Immortalized in Moore's lines, "There was a little man, and he had a little soul," &c.

cent precipitation of the bill, when the House should come to its senses." The triumph of the supporters of the measure was in fact over already, or on the point of extinction. The question having been loudly called for, the committee divided at near two in the morning—and then it was found that the clause was lost, the numbers being 247 for it and 251 against it. Upon this result being announced, Mr. Ponsonby rose and said that, as the bill without this principal clause was neither worthy of the acceptance of the Catholics nor of the further support of the friends of concession, he would move that the chairman do now leave the chair; which motion being agreed to, there was consequently no report made to the House, and the bill proceeded no farther. That day week, however, Grattan gave notice that he would move for leave to bring in another bill early in the next session. Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, in a meeting held at Dublin on the 26th, had issued an address to the clergy and laity of their communion in that country, in which they announced their unanimous adoption of the following resolutions:—"1. That, having seriously examined a copy of the bill lately brought into parliament, purporting to provide for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects labour, we feel ourselves bound to declare that certain ecclesiastical clauses or securities therein contained are utterly incompatible with the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, and with the free exercise of our religion; 2. That we cannot, without incurring the heavy guilt of schism, accede to such regulations; nor can we dissemble our dismay and consternation at the consequences which such regulations, if enforced, must necessarily produce." Subsequently, at a meeting of the Catholic Board in Dublin, on the 17th of July, a committee was actually appointed, on the motion of Mr. O'Gorman, to consider the propriety of addressing the Spanish cortes, to request their interference in favour of their co-religionists of Ireland! On the other hand, Orange Societies were now, for the first time, established in England.

The British Roman Catholic Board, however, declined to join in the violent or extreme course adopted by their Irish brethren. In a meeting, held at London on the 25th of May, they passed a resolution expressive of their gratitude to the framers and supporters of the late bill; and another condemnatory of the conduct of Dr. Milner, who had just published a bitter pamphlet against that measure, and to whom a vote of thanks had been carried in the Irish Board. On the 31st of May the Duke of Norfolk introduced in the Lords a bill to secure to Irish Catholics while resident in Great Britain the immunities granted to them by the Irish Act of the 33 Geo. III., repealing the penalties imposed by the 21 Char. II.; and this bill, being supported by the government, passed both Houses before the termination of the session, without opposition, and became law as the statute 53 Geo. III. c. 128.

The question of emancipation never again attained so high a point of prosperity in parliament during the present period. The spring and summer of the next year, 1814, were distinguished by the prevalence in Ireland of a fierce and general spirit of outrage, which was undoubtedly traceable in great part to the excitement supplied by the proceedings of Orangemen and Ribbonmen, and other illegal party associations both among Catholics and Protestants. In the end of June and beginning of July several bills for enabling the government the better to meet and repress the disturbances were introduced into the House of Commons by the Irish secretary, Mr. Peel, and were carried at a rapid pace through parliament and passed into laws. Meanwhile a new commotion had been raised in the Catholic body by the publication in the beginning of May of a rescript or letter from Monsignor Quarantotti, president of the Sacred Missions at Rome, communicating the opinion of a council of the most learned prelates and theologians of that city, to the effect that certain propositions for a new emancipation bill which had been transmitted to him for his consideration might be and ought to be accepted by the Irish Catholics. At a meeting of the Catholic Board, held at Dublin on the 7th of May, a furious cry of indignation against this advice of Quarantotti and "the slaves at Rome" was raised by Mr. O'Connell, and a committee was appointed to prepare resolutions condemnatory of the letter for an aggregate meeting which was to take place on the 19th. On the 12th, also, the Catholic clergy of Dublin met and passed resolutions declaring the rescript non-obligatory on the Catholic church in Ireland, and against the granting to an anti-Catholic government of any power, direct or indirect, in the appointment of Catholic bishops. At the aggregate meeting on the 19th the condemnation of the rescript was carried by a great majority. On the 25th it was declared not mandatory by the Catholic bishops, in a meeting of their body held at the college of Maynooth; and a deputation was appointed to convey their unanimous sentiments on the subject to the holy see.

In this state of things, on the 27th of May, Mr. Grattan intimated to the House of Commons that he should not bring forward any measure founded upon the Catholic claims in present circumstances. "I shall not," he said, "enter into a detail of those circumstances; it is sufficient to say that no proposition can under those circumstances be formed with any prospect of advantage, or with any other effect than to throw back the question, and to throw it back at a time when nothing but precipitation can prevent its ultimate success." In this determination Sir J. Coxe Hippesley expressed his concurrence; the necessity of deliberation, which he had always urged upon the House, was, he said, increased by existing circumstances; and then he added: "It was not his intention to enter into these circumstances; but he thought it necessary to notice that the Catholic Board was permanently sitting in Dublin, and, in fact

was become a permanent parliament, levying taxes on the Catholics of Ireland. . . . . He had not heard whether the right honourable gentlemen opposite intended to interfere with the Catholic Board; but it was certainly their duty immediately to suppress it." On the 8th of June, a similar announcement to that made by Grattan in the Commons was made by Lord Donoughmore in the Lords.

Before the last-mentioned day the step Hippesley recommended had been taken by ministers. On the 3rd of June, Dublin was surprised by a proclamation from the lord-lieutenant declaring the Catholic Board to be an illegal body, and giving notice that, if it should continue its meetings, all those present would be proceeded against according to law. An aggregate meeting of the Catholics was forthwith held, at which a resolution was passed denying the illegality of the board; but that body nevertheless abstained from continuing its meetings in the face of the proclamation.

In 1815, Ireland was in a still more disturbed state than it had been in the preceding year, and additional powers were put into the hands of government by the renewal of the Insurrection Act and other legislative measures. The Catholics now, at an aggregate meeting held in January, recommended that the members of the late board should form a voluntary association; and at a meeting of this body, which took the name of the Catholic Association, it was some time after resolved that another application should be made to parliament. But Grattan still declined moving in the matter. In these circumstances the charge of the question was committed to Sir Henry Parnell, who on the 30th of May proposed that the Commons should resolve themselves into a committee of the whole House to take it into immediate consideration. The motion was directly opposed by Hippesley; Canning and Plunkett were not in the House; and Castlereagh and many other friends of emancipation, while consenting to go into committee, expressed in strong terms their sense of the inexpediency of the proposition at that moment, and intimated that there were many parts of the bill which Parnell intended to bring in (and which had been already printed in the newspapers, as well as sufficiently explained in a series of resolutions moved on a former day, but withdrawn, on account of an informality, without being put to the vote) to which they could not give their support. Grattan stated the course he should pursue, and the considerations by which he was guided, in a few impressive words at the end of the debate. He should certainly vote, he said, for going into the committee, on the principle which had been explained by so many of the preceding speakers; but for some of the parts of the measure to be proposed he must frankly declare that he could not vote. "I have no hesitation," he added, "in saying that I condemn the application for unqualified concession. The knowledge I have of the sentiments of this House convinces me that such a proposition will not pass. . . . . Sir, unless the Catholic body pursue a conciliatory line of conduct —unless they come to this House, not with a silent and implied, but with a declared attachment to the vital principles of the constitution, they will not succeed. I have told them before, and I now repeat it, that, unless they adopt a spirit of conciliation, they will never succeed. I will say further, that conciliation is not only necessary to their interest, but essential to their duty both to the state and to one another." The motion for going into committee was negatived on a division by a majority of 228 to 147. A similar motion, made on the 8th of June in the other House by Lord Donoughmore, who, however, guarded himself against being supposed to have any connexion with or to act with any reference to any proceedings that had taken place elsewhere, either in or out of parliament, was, after a short debate, transformed by its author's consent into a motion that the House would resolve itself into the proposed committee at an early period of the next session, and was then rejected by a majority of 86 (including 44 proxies) to 60 (including 31 proxies). The diminished numbers that voted upon the question this session, and attended the discussion, in either House, was of as unfavourable augury for its immediate or speedy success as even the increased majorities by which it was thrown out. It is proper, however, to mention that Lord Donoughmore expressed himself, for his own part, opposed to securities, and stated that he objected to the clauses added in committee to the bill of 1813.

At a meeting of the Catholic Association at Dublin, in December, a letter was read from Cardinal Litta, written by desire of the pope, in which permission was given to Catholics to take any one of three forms, which were annexed, of an oath of fidelity and obedience to the crown, and in which his holiness also expressed his willingness to permit a list of candidates or nominees to be exhibited to the government when appointments were to be made to bishoprics, that, if any of them should be disliked or suspected, their names might be struck out, provided a sufficient number were left for his holiness to choose from. The right, however, of revising, sanctioning, or rejecting rescripts from Rome, it was declared, could never be conceded to the government, nor even discussed or taken into consideration: "it is an abuse," said the letter, "which the Holy See, to prevent greater evils, is forced to endure, but can by no means sanction." This letter had not much effect in reconciling the Irish Catholics even to the qualified Veto and other concessions which it recommended or authorised.

In the next session the Catholic claims were twice brought before the House of Commons, by Grattan as the representative or organ of one section of the Irish Catholics, by Sir Henry Parnell as speaking the sentiments of another section. On the 21st of May, 1816, Grattan, holding in his hand the letter of Cardinal Litta, moved in a short speech that the House would take the laws affect-

ing the Roman Catholics into consideration early in the next session of parliament; but the motion was rejected on a division by a majority of 172 to 141. Sir Henry Parnell proposed his scheme on the 6th of June following in his favourite form of a series of resolutions, which, however, on finding that he was not to have the support of Lord Castlereagh and the other government friends of emancipation, he withdrew without pressing them to a division. On the 21st of the same month the subject underwent another short discussion in the Lords on a resolution, similar to Grattan's, moved by Lord Donoughmore, which was also negatived on a division, but only by a narrow majority, the numbers being for the motion 69 (including 29 proxies), against it 73 (including 36 proxies).

In 1817 the question was again brought before the House of Commons, on the 9th of May, by Grattan, in a motion for taking the laws affecting the Roman Catholics into immediate consideration in a committee of the whole House. His idea, Grattan stated, was, not in any degree whatever to put it out of the power of the House to insist on full satisfaction relative to the proffered securities before they proceeded to legislate; so that nothing that might take place should be considered operative unless the House should be perfectly satisfied that the securities offered would ensure the safety of the Protestant church and state. Nevertheless, it should appear that Grattan came forward on this occasion as to a certain extent the representative of both the parties into which the Catholics were divided. The two parties, at least, had agreed to keep their differences in abeyance till it should be seen what was the issue of the present motion. The state of matters out of doors at the moment is thus clearly and correctly described in a speech delivered in opposition to the motion by Mr. Leslie Foster:—"In the last year the Catholics of Ireland were divided: the one, principally consisting of their lay aristocracy, and those under their immediate influence, presented a list of a few hundred names; the other included their clergy, and the persons present at the various county and aggregate meetings which were held, and, it may be asserted in truth, embraced the great mass of the Roman Catholic population. The first class, in return for emancipation, were ready to acquiesce in any arrangements or regulations that should be found not inconsistent with their religion. The second, and more numerous, would hear nothing of regulations. The different securities which had been suggested were by them considered as so many forms of insult, and unqualified emancipation alone was in their opinion worthy of acceptance; the smaller party were by them denounced as betrayers of the cause; their petition was denominated a scandalous document, and, as I am informed, was condemned in Dublin by a Roman Catholic archbishop from his pulpit. The proposed security which excited all this indignation was the concession of a Veto to the crown in the nomination of their bishops. To-day we hear nothing of the smaller party. They observe a prudent, and, perhaps, a necessary silence; but we are distinctly told that the great body of the Catholics, rather than agree to the detested measure of the Veto under any form, prefer to continue without emancipation. . . . They come forward, however, with a new offer, and propose the domestic nomination of their bishops, as an all-sufficient security to satisfy every Protestant apprehension. On a former night, when the petition was presented,* we were informed that the Catholics are at this time in a peculiar disposition for arrangements; but it was afterwards distinctly acknowledged, and will not now be denied, that all their readiness is confined within the narrow limits of this offer:—they are ready to appoint their own bishops, and the pope is ready to give up his claim to their nomination. And this is their proposal." This, however, Mr. Foster proceeded to show was to propose nothing new; it was to propose merely that the bishops should be appointed for the future in the same manner as they had been in fact appointed hitherto. "The nomination," he proceeded, "of the Roman Catholic bishops has been for a long time as practically domestic as any possible arrangement can now render it. When a see is vacant, a recommendation is forwarded to Rome, from Ireland, of the individual who is to be appointed, and I understand that within the time of memory there have not occurred more than two or three instances of any difficulty in confirming the choice of this domestic nomination. The persons who thus nominate to Rome are, as I understand, a certain number of the Roman Catholic bishops: how they are selected I do not pretend to know: latterly, it is said that, by mutual courtesy, they recommend, as of course, the coadjutor of the deceased bishop. This coadjutor is selected by the bishop in his lifetime. The transmission of the episcopal rank in the Irish Roman Catholic church is therefore in practice a mere matter of testamentary bequest, every bishop taking his office under the will of his immediate predecessor in the see. Some persons, I know, propose that the election shall hereafter be made by the deans and chapters; the bishops, I should think, would hardly consent to such an alteration; but, if they should, the new mode will neither be more domestic, nor more conducive than the present towards giving satisfaction to a Protestant." The debate to which Grattan's motion gave rise was of moderate length, and was terminated by a division in which the numbers proved to be, for the motion 221, against it 245. So the question was once more lost. On that day week a similar motion was made in the Upper House by Lord Donoughmore, and was rejected by a majority of 142 (including 60 proxies) to 90 (including 36 proxies).

In the course of this session, it may be mentioned, an Act was quietly passed, under the title of "An Act to regulate the administration of

* This was on the 28th of April, when a petition from the Roman Catholics of Ireland was presented by Sir Henry Parnell.

oaths in certain cases to officers in his majesty's land and sea forces" (the 57 Geo. III. c. 82), which in effect conferred upon Roman Catholics the same right of holding the higher commissions in the army and navy, the proposal to concede which had thrown out "All the Talents" ten years before.

The next time that the question of Catholic Emancipation was brought forward in parliament, and the last time during the period to which our review extends, was in the session of 1819. On the 3rd of May in that year its great champion, the venerable Grattan, again lent it the aid of his eloquent advocacy in once more moving that it should be immediately taken into consideration in a committee of the whole House. The debate that followed was chiefly remarkable for the manner in which, after it had gone on to about one o'clock in the morning, the vote was precipitated by the clamour of both sides, while it was understood that some of the most distinguished members who had not yet spoken, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Canning, Mr. Plunkett, Mr. Peel, and others, were anxious to address the House. The general determination, however, appeared to be not to suffer the debate to be either continued or adjourned; and, the question having been put from the chair, a division took place, when it was found that the motion was negatived by a majority of two, the numbers being for it 241, against it 243. This was Grattan's last service; he died within little more than a year from this time, at the age of seventy-five. On the 17th of May a motion to the same effect with that which had been thrown out by so narrow a majority in the Commons was made in the Lords by Lord Donoughmore, and was there negatived by a majority of 147 (including 50 proxies) to 106 (including 36 proxies). Of the bishops, only the Bishop of Norwich (Bathurst), who was present and spoke, and the Bishop of Rochester (King), who sent his proxy, voted for the motion; sixteen, including the two English archbishops, divided against it, and five more voted by proxy on the same side.

Thus, after so many years of almost incessant battering at the gates of the constitution, the adherents of the ancient religion, forming the great mass of the people in one division of the empire, remained still, at the end of the reign of George III., on the outside, in nearly the same position in which they had been left by the last relaxation of the penal laws in 1803, and as to political rights much where they had been placed by the Revolution of 1688. They were yet, as then, incapable of holding office either under the crown or in corporations, and of either sitting in parliament or even (if the oath of supremacy should be tendered to them) exercising the elective franchise. The course of events, however, was now manifestly and rapidly preparing the way for their restoration to the condition of citizens. Though their legal position was unchanged, their actual power was prodigiously augmented: however the majorities for and against them might fluctuate in either House of Parliament, no man could doubt that out of doors they were steadily advancing in all the elements of real strength. Even the apparent divisions that had for a time prevailed among them had only had the effect in the end of more completely uniting them, partly by proving the importance of union, partly by developing the numerical insignificance of the minority. The Catholic aristocracy and gentry never again attempted or showed a disposition to make a bargain for themselves by giving up any of the points upon which the national heart was set, or by separating themselves from the clergy and the people. On the other hand juster views of the mode in which the question ought to be looked at gradually came to prevail; and it was ultimately settled without any stipulations as to the appointment of their pastors, or other matters belonging to the internal economy of their church, being demanded from the Roman Catholics more than from other bodies of dissenters.

There remains to be noticed, in connexion with the history of religion during the present period, perhaps the most extravagant fanatical delusion of modern times, if we ought not rather to say of any age or country whatever, not excepting the most benighted and barbarous; we mean that produced by the famous Joanna Southcott. This woman, the daughter of a small Devonshire farmer, was born in that county in April, 1750, and spent the first forty-two years of her life after leaving her father's house sometimes working at the upholstery business, at other times as a maid-servant in Exeter and the neighbourhood, as little heard of by the world as any other person of the same humble condition. Besides, however, that she was not good-looking, and was on that account the less exposed to be led into any levity or unsteadiness, she had always been of a religious turn, and was in the habit not only of giving most of her leisure to the reading of the Bible, but also, according to her own account, of, in all cases of doubt or difficulty, making direct applications to heaven for advice, which, she said, never failed to be given to her soon afterwards either by some outward sign or some inward feeling or impulse. She belonged to the communion of the Wesleyan Methodists, and was very zealous in her attachment to her sect. It was in the year 1792 that her insanity (for such, and not knavery or designed imposture, it undoubtedly was) made what we may call its first public outbreak, when she went to the Methodist clergyman she attended, the Rev. Mr. Pomeroy of Exeter, with a quantity of sealed-up packets, which she told him contained her prophecies, and desired him to keep till a time she mentioned, when they were to be opened and would prove the truth of her claims to inspiration. The reverend gentleman received the precious papers, and was evidently at first very much inclined to go into the notion of Joanna's prophetic mission; but after a little time he changed his mind, or got frightened, and, declaring his opinion to be that her inspiration or call was from the devil, he committed the unopened

predictions to the flames. "From that time," says a late distinguished writer, who published a lively account of Joanna and her doings while she and Pomeroy were both still alive, "all the Joannians, who are now no inconsiderable number, regard him as the arch-apostate. He is the Jehoiakim, who burnt Jeremiah's roll of prophecies; he is their Judas Iscariot, a second Lucifer, son of the morning. They call upon him to produce these prophecies, which she boldly asserts, and they implicitly believe, have all been fulfilled, and therefore would convince the world of the truth of her mission. In vain does Mr. Pomeroy answer that he has burnt these unhappy papers:—in an unhappy hour for himself did he burn them! Day after day long letters are dispatched to him, sometimes from Joanna herself, sometimes from her brother, sometimes from one of her four-and-twenty elders, filled with exhortation, invective, texts of Scripture, and denunciations of the law in this world and the devil in the next; and these letters the prophetess prints, for this very sufficient reason—that all her believers purchase them. Mr. Pomeroy sometimes treats them with contempt; at other times he appeals to their compassion, and beseeches them, if they have any bowels of Christian charity, to have compassion on him and let him rest, and no longer add to the inconceivable and irreparable injuries which they have already occasioned him. If he is silent, no matter; on they go, printing copies of all which they write; and, when he is worried into replying, his answers also serve to swell Joanna's books. In this manner is this poor man, because he has recovered his senses, persecuted by a crazy prophetess, and her four-and-twenty crazy elders, who seem determined not to desist till, one way or other, they have made him as ripe for Bedlam as they are themselves."* Meanwhile, the falling away of her first believer had been abundantly compensated to Joanna by the accession of other adherents both lay and clerical. Among the persons of superior station in the world who speedily joined her were three clergymen of the established church, one of them the Reverend T. P. Foley, minister of Old Swinford in Worcestershire, a near relation of Lord Foley, and a distinguished man of fashion; but her most zealous disciple was the celebrated William Sharp, the engraver, a man of genius, and the most eminent practitioner of his art in England in that day. Many of her followers at a somewhat later date are said to have been the same persons who had gathered around Richard Brothers;† she admitted the truth of Brothers's mission and prophecies, and acknowledged him as King of the Hebrews. Brothers, however, whose day was from about 1792 to 1798, had become nearly quiet before Joanna began to make much noise. It was not till some time after the commencement of the present century that she came fairly forward as the foundress of a new religion—a sort of supplement to Christianity—for to this height did her pretensions at length soar: she represented Christianity as only half a religion, and the scheme of redemption imperfect, until she appeared; she was the bride of the Spirit, the promised seed that was to bruise the serpent's head, the woman described in the twelfth chapter of the Revelation of St. John, who was to be clothed with the sun, and to have the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. From this time she poured out her ravings upon the world in a long series of pamphlets, some of which profess to have been taken down from her dictation, and all of which must have been obtained in that manner; for, notwithstanding the story of the manuscript prophecies in the sealed papers, it seems certain that she could not write: what she gave out as her written predictions were only certain scrawlings which could not be read, either by anybody else or even by herself, until after the events by which it was pretended they were fulfilled. To many of her books are subscribed the names of two of her female assistants, Ann Underwood and Jane Townley—the former as reporter or scribe, the latter as witness. Much of the matter is usually in verse, or what is intended for verse, and is for the most part a still drearier waste of unintelligible verbiage than the prose. Many of the pamphlets are controversial; it was life to Joanna and her supporters to find any one that would attack her and them; one of their incessant complaints was that the bishops would not condescend to notice the new religion, and that even very few of the clergy of the established church could be prevailed upon to write or preach either for them or against them. They managed, nevertheless, to get up several paper wars: sometimes they quarrelled among themselves: besides their wrangling with the Reverend Mr. Pomeroy, for instance, there was an Elias Carpenter, who had for a time gone still farther than Pomeroy in countenancing the pretensions of the prophetess, but who afterwards drew back, and drew six others along with him: against this Carpenter and his six friends, Joanna emitted a series of five printed letters in the latter part of the year 1805. "I am sorry to acquaint the public," she begins in the first of these diatribes, "that the conduct of Mr. Carpenter, of Neckinger House, Bermondsey, has obliged me to make known to the world the truth between him and me. It may appear marvellous to the public how Mr. Carpenter, being chosen as one of the twelve, should now turn an enemy to me, or I to him. To this I answer, I never was an enemy to Mr. Carpenter, but always wished to conceal his frailties from the brethren; though I always saw in him a spirit of opposition and contention against them. . . . Heaven is my witness, and my friends likewise, that I have done all in my power to keep peace between him and them, as much as in me lay, which will appear hereafter in the volume of the book; but vain and fruitless have been all my attempts; the more I tried to keep

* Letters from England, by Don M. A. Espriella (written by the late Dr. Southey): 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1806.

† See ante, vol. iii. pp. 588-591.

peace, the more Mr. Carpenter was kindling strife, as he has been led on by the teaching of others, and not by mine; and who was united with six brethren against my friends, until at last he is broke out against me, by a different teaching from Henry Prescott, whom they call Joseph. This affair brought me into a situation to be compelled and commanded to put the whole in print, for the world to judge between him and me. This command at first wounded me to the heart, to think I, that had been all the days of my life the most tender of people's characters, and have myself suffered wrongs and injuries in my own character, because I would not make public the ill-conduct of my enemies. This I did in the cause of Mr. Wills and of Sanderson; the same also by Mr. Smith's servants, and many others." This may serve as a sufficient sample of Joanna's temper and style, at least in her calmer mood. For the most part, however, she soon falls into mere raving —becoming furious, or utterly incomprehensible, or both together. One of her books is an account of a dispute, or scolding match, which she asserts she maintained in a solitary house for seven days with the prince of darkness. "The conference," says a writer we have already quoted, "terminated like most theological disputes. Both parties grew warm. Apollyon interfered, and endeavoured to accommodate matters, but without effect, and Joanna talked Satan out of all patience. She gave him, as he truly complained, ten words for one, and allowed him no time to speak. All men, he said, were tired of her tongue already, and now she had tired the devil. This was not unreasonable; but he proceeded to abuse the whole sex, which would have been ungracious in any one, and in him was ungrateful. He said no man could tame a woman's tongue—the sands of an hour-glass did not run faster—it was better to dispute with a thousand men than with one woman. After this dispute she fasted forty days; but this fast, which is regarded by her believers as so miraculous, was merely a Catholic lent, in which she abstained from fish as well as flesh." * Another trade which Joanna carried on, besides that of book-making, was the manufacture of what were called seals, being papers signed with her name, and sealed with red wax, which were given to her disciples, or those who were to inherit the millennium she came to announce and bring about. In a publication of Sharp's, dated December 25, 1803, he states that this sealing had then begun, and perhaps might end about the 12th of January, 1804.† The sealing, however, went on, we believe, to the end of Joanna's life; and it is said that the number of persons sealed at last exceeded 14,000. According to Sharp, the English nation was to be the first redeemed. At last, in 1814, when she was in her sixty-fifth year, Joanna announced that she was pregnant. This notion seems to have been taken up from its being declared of the woman in the Revelation that she "cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered," and that "she brought forth a man child, who was to rule the nations with a rod of iron." The news threw her followers into a state of the greatest excitement. One of them, a lady of fortune, immediately bespoke a cradle for the coming baby, made of the most expensive and magnificent materials, which was exhibited for some days at the warehouse of the cabinet-maker, in Aldersgate-street, and which crowds went thither to see; and other persons sent in store of all other necessaries for the interesting occasion.* But what is most extraordinary of all is that there was actually found a regular London physician, a Dr. Richard Reece, a member of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, who, having on the 7th of August, 1814, visited Mrs. Southcott, "to ascertain the probability of her being in a state of pregnancy, as then given out," declared his opinion to be that she was perfectly right in the view she had taken of her situation, and, according to his own admission in a four shilling pamphlet, entitled, 'A Correct Statement of the Circumstances,' &c., which he afterwards published, was by subsequent visits only confirmed in his belief of the fact! No wonder that after this the Reverend Mr. Foley, who had headed a deputation that waited upon the doctor to obtain an authentic declaration of the conclusion to which he had come after his first visit, and the whole body of the believers, were frantic with exultation and confidence; and that even a portion of the hitherto incredulous public began to have their misgivings, and not to know very well what to think of the matter. When Dr. Reece first saw the prophetess she expected to lie in in a few weeks; months, however, passed away without bringing the looked-for event; and, at last, on the 29th of December, after having been confined to her bed for above ten weeks, she died. All this time the doctor seems to have attended her, or at least to have visited her occasionally; and it appears by his own account not to have been till within about a fortnight of the catastrophe that he even expressed any doubts of her pregnancy. Before this, poor Joanna herself, the state of mental exaltation in which she had lived giving way under bodily weakness, had manifested some tendency to awaken from her long dream, which might possibly have led her to the recovery of her senses if her

* Southey, in Espriella's Letters.

† Introduction to 'Divine and Spiritual Communications written by Joanna Southcott,' 8vo., London, 1809.

* In her will, Joanna, whose mission had all along been not unprofitable, and had enabled her for many years to live comfortably and to accumulate some property, left a few trifling legacies to some of her relations, and all the rest of what she had to bequeath, *in case of the failure of issue male*, to her friends Jane Townley and Ann Underwood. Attached to the will was a list of the presents which had been made her in the prospect of her giving birth to a child: and it was directed that these articles should all be restored to the donors, in the event of the child not being forthcoming. "Every possible want and accommodation," says the account before us, "seems to have been anticipated with scrupulous attention. There are cradles, robes, mantles (some of white satin), bows, caps, and napkins out of number, several articles of plate, money from six guineas to a 'pretty sixpence' (so denominated), 'three nutmegs' by one contributor, and 'a pin' by another."—*Annual Register* for 1815, p. 31.

friends and disciples, now more enthusiastic than their teacher, had not striven with their eager expostulations to quench the rising light. A scene in the chamber of the dying woman, which Dr. Reece relates that he witnessed on the 19th of November, is not unaffecting:—Five or six of the believers, who had been waiting, having been admitted, "she desired them," says the doctor, "to be seated round her bed; when, spending a few minutes in adjusting the bed-clothes with seeming attention, and placing before her a white handkerchief, she thus addressed them, as nearly as I can recollect, in the following words:—'My friends, some of you have known me nearly twenty-five years, and all of you not less than twenty. When you have heard me speak of my prophecies, you have sometimes heard me say that I doubted my inspiration. But, at the same time, you would never let me despair. When I have been alone it has often appeared delusion; but when the communications were made to me I did not in the least doubt. Feeling, as I now do feel, that my dissolution is drawing near, and that a day or two may terminate my life, it all appears delusion.' She was by this exertion quite exhausted, and wept bitterly. On reviving in a little time she observed that it was very extraordinary that, after spending all her life in investigating the Bible, it should please the Lord to inflict that heavy burthen on her." She then, the doctor proceeds to inform us, after some further discourse about her death and funeral, wept again, and some of those present also shed tears; but, after a little while, one of them, a Mr. Howe, spoke up and said, "Mother, your feelings are human. We know that you are a favoured woman of God, and that you will produce the promised child; and whatever you may say to the contrary will not diminish our faith." This assurance, we are told, revived her, and from crying she fell to laughing. According to her own directions, her dead body was kept warm for four days, in the hope that the child might still make its appearance. It was afterwards dissected by Dr. Reece; and then the doctor admitted that clearly there had been no pregnancy in the case. Neither the death nor the dissection of the prophetess, however, sufficed to extinguish the faith of the great body of the believers. They continued to look confidently for her re-appearance for years after she had been taken from them. Under date of January, 1817, the Annual Register quotes the following notice of their proceedings from a Lincoln newspaper of the day:—"An interdict arrived at Newark, on Sunday, the 19th instant, from a disciple of the conclave at Leeds, inhibiting those of the faith, amongst other things, from attending to their ordinary business during the ensuing eight or nine days; and a manufacturer's shop at that place is at this time entirely deserted, and the business of many small dealers suspended, in consequence." This would seem to imply that Joannianism had diffused itself somewhat extensively over the popular mind in those parts. Leeds, we believe, had been all along a chief stronghold of the faith; several of the founder's publications are dated from that place. Two years after this, in January, 1819, the London disciples, who do not appear to have been so numerous, or a part of them, made a remarkable outbreak: one morning, having assembled somewhere in the west end of the metropolis, they made their way to Temple-bar, entering which they set forward in procession through the City, each decorated with a white cockade, and wearing a small star of yellow riband on the left breast; in this guise, led by one of their number, carrying a brazen trumpet ornamented with light blue ribands, while two boys marching by his side bore each a small flag of blue silk, they proceeded along Fleet-street, up Ludgate-hill, and thence through St. Paul's Churchyard to Budge-row, followed by the rabble in great force. Here, having reached what they considered to be the middle of the great city, they halted; and then their leader sounded his trumpet, and roared out that the Shiloh, the Prince of Peace, was come again to the earth; to which a woman, who was with him, said to be his wife, responded with another wild cry of "Wo! wo! to the inhabitants of the earth, because of the coming of the Shiloh." This terrific vociferation was several times repeated and joined in by the rest of the party. But at last the mob, which now completely blocked up the street, from laughing and shouting, proceeded to pelting the rampant devotees with mud and other harder missiles; they struggled to make their escape, or to beat off their assailants; this led to a general fight; the flags were torn down; and the affair ended by the trumpeter and his wife, five other men, and two boys of the party, after having been all rolled in the mire, being with considerable difficulty rescued from the fury of the multitude by the peace-officers, and conveyed to the Compter. When they were brought up the next day before the alderman at Guildhall, they maintained that they were only obeying the commands of God in acting as they had done; their spokesman, the trumpeter, who turned out to be one Sibley, one of the city watchmen, and who appeared to exercise great authority over the others, said that he had proclaimed the second coming of the Shiloh in the same manner and with the same authority as John the Baptist had proclaimed his first coming; and his wife asserted that she had had the Shiloh in her arms four times. In the end they were all sent back to prison, to be detained till they could find security for their peaceable demeanour in future. This, as we have seen, was more than four years after it would seem that the delusion ought to have received its *coup de grace*, if reason or facts had had any power over it. There may very possibly be some believers in Joanna Southcott, her prophecies, and her pregnancy, amongst us even at the present day.

# CHAPTER III.

## HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

WE will arrange the subjects of the present Chapter in the order which was adopted in the preceding Book.

I. CONSTITUTIONAL LEGISLATION.—There is a branch of constitutional law which has not yet received from us the degree of notice demanded by its vast importance—we mean that which relates to the creation and election of that constituent part or limb of the sovereign power which emanates from the people, and is called the Commons' House of Parliament. Several important statutes passed during the present period, relating to the election of members to serve in parliament, render this a fit occasion to take up the subject.

It was originally necessary that the parliamentary representative should come from the body of the persons represented. The statute 1 Hen. V., c. 1, was passed to enforce this practice, without, however, producing much effect; and in 1774, a committee reported, upon this statute, in substance as follows:—"The first act of parliament which required an attentive and particular consideration, was an act passed in the first year of the reign of Henry V. This law has been decided not necessary to be observed, and a constant usage has long prevailed against it. The acts 8 Hen. VI., c. 7, 10 Hen. VI., c. 2, and 23 Hen. VI., c. 15, proceeding upon the same principle with the abovementioned statute, fall under the same observation. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that so much of these statutes (reciting those just above cited) as relates to the residence of persons to be elected members to serve in parliament, or of the persons by whom they are to be chosen, are not in use, and ought to be repealed."* Upon this resolution a bill was ordered to be brought in, which passed into a law (14 Geo. III., c. 58), by which it was enacted, "That the Act made in the first year of the reign of his majesty King Henry the Fifth, and every part thereof, and so much of the said several acts made in the eighth, the tenth, and the twenty-second years of the reign of his majesty King Henry the Sixth, as relates to the residence of persons to be elected members to serve in parliament, or of the persons by whom they are chosen, shall be, and the same are hereby, repealed."

The disqualifications for sitting in parliament are now, therefore, reducible to two heads:—

1st. Personal disability.

2nd. Want of qualification in estate or property.

1. In giving an account of the more important of the legislative enactments which immediately followed the Revolution,* we mentioned the introduction of the system, soon after the Revolution, of exclusion from sitting in parliament on account of employment, at least *paid* employment, under the crown. To what was then said on the head of personal disability we shall now add, that by the Act of Union with Ireland (39 & 40 Geo. III., c. 67) it is declared that any person holding any peerage of Ireland then subsisting, or thereafter to be created, shall not thereby be disqualified from being elected to serve for any county, city, or borough of Great Britain, unless he shall previously have been elected to sit as one of the twenty-eight representative peers in the House of Lords of the United Kingdom. By the statute 41 Geo. III., c. 52, all persons disabled from sitting in British parliaments are disabled from sitting in the united parliament as members for Great Britain; and all persons disabled from sitting in Irish parliaments are disabled from sitting in the united parliament for Ireland. It is further declared that persons disabled by British statutes shall not by this act be enabled to sit for Ireland, nor *e contrà*; and that persons holding certain places in Ireland, of which an enumeration is given, shall be disabled from sitting in any future parliament of the United Kingdom.

The discussions and proceedings that arose out of the return of the Rev. John Horne Tooke to the House of Commons as member for the borough of Old Sarum, have been narrated in the preceding chapter.† The eligibility of the clergy to be members of parliament was at an early period denied both in England and Scotland.‡ The statute 41 Geo. III., c. 63, intituled "An Act to remove doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House of Commons," declares and enacts, "That no person ordained a priest or deacon, or being a minister of the church of Scotland, shall be capable of being elected, and, if elected, such election shall be void; or if,

* Rogers, Law and Practice of Elections and Election Committees, 46 (6th edit.).

* Pict. Hist. of England, vol. iv., p. 673.

† See ante, pp. 593, *et seq.*

‡ Rogers, Law and Prac ice of Elections and Election Committees, 50 (6th edit.).

being elected, he shall afterwards be ordained or become a minister of the church of Scotland, his seat shall immediately become vacant." By the fourth section of this statute, proof of celebration of divine service shall be taken to be *primâ facie* evidence of the fact of such person having been ordained to the office of a priest or deacon, or of his being a minister of the church of Scotland, within the meaning of the act.

Neither aliens nor denizens by letters patent (that is, persons aliens born, who have obtained the king's letters patent to make them English subjects), are eligible to parliament or the privy council. The statute 1 Geo. I., st. 2, c. 4, s. 2, enacts that no bill of naturalization shall be received, unless it contain a clause preventing the person to be naturalized from becoming a member of the privy council, or from sitting in either house of parliament. The usual practice now is, when any foreigner, distinguished by eminence of rank or services, is to be naturalized, first to pass an act for the repeal of these statutes in his favour, and then to pass an act of naturalization without the exception.*

Among the grounds of personal disability, one of the most prominent is that of being guilty of bribery or treating at an election.

As this is a constitutional question of great importance, as we have not before adverted to it at any length, and as in the present period there was passed an important legislative enactment concerning it, we shall here take a rapid survey of its history. What is called corruption at the election of members of parliament is a thing which, however conformable to the *practice*, is, it seems, totally unwarranted by, and directly contrary to, the *theory*, of our constitution. To bribe a vote is said to be not only an infringement of parliamentary privilege and of statute law, but a high misdemeanour and breach of the common law.†

Although a case is reported of one Thomas Long, who, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, gave the mayor of Westbury four pounds to be elected burgess, for which the mayor was fined and imprisoned and Long removed,‡ it was not until the end of the reign of Charles II. that corruption at elections became generally prevalent. In the year 1669 a bill "To prevent abuses and extravagances in electing members to serve in parliament, and for regulating elections," was thrown out. In 1677 the Treating Resolution passed, and in the year following was made a standing order of the House. In 1680 a bill to prevent the offences of bribery and debauchery connected with election proceedings was thrown out. And in 1689 (the year after the Revolution) a bill to prevent abuses occasioned by excessive expenses at elections of members to serve in parliament, after having been read once, was also thrown out. Mr. Rogers, after citing a number of cases in each of which bribery was proved against the sitting member or members, and the elections were voided, makes the following observations: "How general had become the system of corruption, and how insufficient the existing laws and resolutions to arrest its progress, is fully proved by the glaring examples just cited, following each other in such rapid succession. Those who had opposed the bills of 1669, of 1680, and of 1689 now found themselves called upon to adopt a different line of conduct. The opinions of the wisest and most honest statesmen, embodied in the resolutions and standing orders of the House, had been set at defiance; and the first and best principle of the constitution, the freedom of election, was daily and unblushingly violated. Taking, therefore, the Treating Resolution of 1677 for its basis, the House, in 1696, passed the 7 Will. III., c. 4, now generally known by the name of the Tr ating Act."*

Since the Treating Act treating and bribery have usually been considered as separate charges, and distinct grounds of petitioning.

The Treating Act, 7 Will. III. c. 4, enacts and declares that "no person hereafter to be elected, &c. after the teste of the writ of summons to parliament, or after the teste, or issuing out, or ordering of the writ or writs of election upon the calling or summoning of any parliament hereafter, or after any such place becomes vacant, &c., shall, or do hereafter, by himself or themselves, or by any other ways and means on his or their behalf, or at his or their charge before his or their election, directly or indirectly, give, present, or allow to any person or persons having voice or vote at such election, any money, meat, drink, entertainment, or provision, or make any present, gift, reward, or entertainment, or shall at any time hereafter make any promise, agreement, obligation, or engagement to give or allow any money, meat, drink, provision, present, reward, or entertainment, to or for any such person or persons in particular, or to any such county, city, town, borough, port, or place in general, or to or for the use, benefit, employment, profit, or preferment of any such person or persons, place or places, in order to be elected, or for being elected, to serve in parliament for such county," &c.; and by sect. 2, it is declared that "Every person so giving, &c., shall be disabled and incapacitated, upon such election, to serve in parliament for such county, &c., and shall be deemed and taken to be no member of parliament, and shall not sit, act," or vote, or have any place in parliament, but shall be, to all intents and purposes, as if he had never been returned or elected member for the parliament."

Although the Court of King's Bench declared, in R. *v.* Pitt,† "that bribery at elections of mem-

* Rogers's Law and Practice of Elections, 47.

† Rogers, ibid. 246 (6th edit.). He cites *Bletchingley*, Glanv. 41.

‡ 4 Inst. 23. "For this corrupt dealing," Coke truly says, "was to poison the very fountain itself."

* Rogers's Law and Practice of Elections, 246. Mr. Rogers adds in a note: "It would seem that up to this time corruption at elections had chiefly been carried on by giving meat and drink, and that it was not till after such proceedings had been declared to be illegal that the procuring votes by giving money existed to any extent.—3 Burnet, Hist. of his Own Times, 286, 369, 178."

† Burr. 1838, 1 W. Bl. 382, cited 2 Douglas (Lord Glenbervie), on

bers of parliament must always have been a crime at common law, and punishable by indictment or information," there are no traces of any prosecution for bribery at elections till after the legislature inflicted particular penalties upon it by the statute 2 Geo. II., c. 24.* By that statute, called the Bribery Act, a candidate or other person is said to be guilty of bribery, "if by himself or any other person employed by him he doth or shall by any gift or reward, or by any promise or agreement, or security for any gift or reward, corrupt or procure any person to give his vote, or to forbear to give his vote, in any such election."† This statute, though it did not create the offence, armed courts of law with new powers to check it by attaching a penalty of 500*l.* on every conviction, and by disqualifying the offender from ever again voting in any election for members to parliament.

The statute 49 Geo. III. c. 118, after reciting that the giving, or procuring or promising to be given, any money, &c., or any office or place, &c., in order to procure the return of a member, if not given to a *voter* or *returning officer*, is not bribery within the meaning of 2 Geo. II. c. 24, but that such gifts or promises are contrary to the ancient usage, right, and freedom of election, and contrary to the *laws and constitution* of this realm, declares and enacts that, if any person, either by himself or by other persons in his behalf, shall give, or cause to be given, directly or indirectly, or promise or agree to give, any sum of money, &c., to any person upon any engagement, &c., that such person to whom or to whose use, &c., such gift or promise shall be made, shall by himself or by others procure, or *endeavour* to procure, the return of any person to serve in parliament, every person so having given or promised to give, *if not returned himself*, shall for every such gift or promise forfeit 500*l.*; and every person so returned, and so having given or promised to give, or *knowing of and consenting to* such gifts and promises, upon any such engagement, &c., shall be and is hereby declared to be disabled and incapacitated to serve in that parliament for such place, and shall be deemed and taken to be no member of parliament. The 3rd section enacts, that, if any person shall by himself or others give, procure, or promise any office or place, upon an *express* contract that the person to whom the promise, &c., was made would procure or endeavour to procure the return of any person, such person so returned, and giving or promising, or knowing of and consenting to the giving, &c., shall be deemed to be disabled, &c., as before. Section 2 directs that the act shall not extend to legal expenses.

"This statute therefore," observes Mr. Rogers,* "distinctly provides, not only that, if a person gives or promises any money or office, but if he knows of and consents to the giving or the promising, if returned, his return is void; if not returned, he forfeits 500*l.*; and in either case the party receiving forfeits 500*l.*; and if the party conferring any place within s. 3 hold office under his majesty the penalty is 1000*l.* This act was aimed at the abuse of official patronage. It is worthy of observation, that, if 'knowledge of and consent to' an act done by others are sufficient to make a candidate liable for all the consequences, it is not necessary that a party should direct an act to be done, that is, be the moving party in doing it, or ratify it when done; if he knows of its being done, and sanctions it by his silence and non-intervention, and reaps the benefit of it afterwards, it seems that it would be a knowing of and consenting to within the statute. *Vide* also Bayntum *v.* Cattle, 1 M. & R. 265."

The cases upon which questions of bribery have arisen are reduced by Mr. Rogers† to the following heads:—

1. Money, or tickets for money or food, given previous to an election.
2. Money given after, there being no previous promise.
3. Offer of a bribe by a candidate which is not accepted.
4. Payments for travelling expenses and loss of time, or for admission of freemen.
5. Wager between two voters, or with one voter, on the issue of an election.

2. So much for personal disability to a seat in parliament. We must now say a few words in regard to disability from want of qualification in point of estate or property.

A qualification by estate in land was first required in England by the statute 9th of Anne, c. 5, which provided that no person should be capable of being elected for any county in England or Wales, unless he had an estate, freehold or copyhold, for his own life, or for some greater estate in law or equity, in lands, tenements, &c., to the amount of 600*l.* per annum, clear above incumbrances; and for every other place, to the clear amount of 300*l.* per annum. Although this act passed after the union with Scotland, a landed estate in that country is not within the act; the reason of the omission probably being that a qualification by estate was not then, nor ever has been, required for a seat for a Scottish county or burgh.‡ By the act of union with Ireland it was made sufficient if the estate be in Ireland; and by the 59 Geo. III. c. 57, estates in Scotland were in like manner comprised. The law has been again altered by the 2 and 3 Vict. c. 48, s. 1, which

Elections, 400, and Rogers's Law and Practice of Elections, 245, 6th edit.

* Douglas, ibid. "If we look," adds Lord Glenbervie, "into Lord Coke, Hawkins, or the other writers on the pleas of the crown, we find that their definitions extend only to the corruption of men in judicial offices."

† The following is Lord Glenbervie's definition of bribery: "Whenever a person is bound by law to act without any view to his own private emolument, and another, by a corrupt contract, engages such person, on condition of the payment or promise of money, or other lucrative consideration, to act in a manner which he shall prescribe, both parties are, by such contract, guilty of bribery."—2 Doug. Elect., 400.

* Law and Practice of Elections and Election Committees, 249.

† Ibid.

‡ Rogers, 80, and note (a).

enacts that the qualification for counties shall be 600*l.* per annum of real or personal property; for other places 300*l.* per annum, of real or personal property, over and above all incumbrances affecting the same. It is also sufficient if the candidate possess property of the several kinds which shall be jointly of sufficient value, though each be separately of insufficient value. The situation of the property in all cases must be within Great Britain or Ireland. The exceptions contained in the former statute, in favour of the eldest sons or heirs apparent of peers, of the eldest sons or heirs apparent of persons qualified to serve as knights of the shire, and in favour of candidates for the universities of England and for the university of Trinity College, Dublin, are continued.

II. Legislation relating to Property, Real and Personal.—Under the head of real property there is a subject, that of the inclosure of commons, which we have not before noticed, but which the General Inclosure Act, passed in the 41st year of the reign of George III. renders it necessary that we should now devote some attention to.

Anciently the uninclosed or waste land within the compass of a manor belonged in general to the lord of the manor. But the tenants of the manor, or those to whom the lord had granted out portions of his manor to hold of him,—in the words of the statute of Merton,* "the knights and their freeholders whom the great lords had infeoffed of small tenements in their great manors,"—had a right of common upon this waste. And here it will be necessary to advert to a leading distinction in English law.

By the English law the subjects of real, as distinguished from personal, property are commonly included under the words "lands and tenements." The word tenement is more comprehensive than land, as it includes not only land, but, in its primary signification, in which it is appropriated to the subjects of feudal tenure, likewise every modification of right issuing out of land, as a right of common, a franchise, &c. These latter subjects of property are called in the language of English law incorporeal tenements or hereditaments. "The word *hereditament*," says Sir Edward Coke,† "is by much the largest and most comprehensive expression, for it includes not only lands and tenements, but whatever may be *inherited*, be it corporeal or incorporeal, real, personal, or mixed." But it is to be remarked that, though the term hereditament is more comprehensive or larger than tenement in one direction, it is smaller or less comprehensive in another. For, while hereditament includes things which cannot be holden, it does not include such tenements as are not estates of inheritance, estates for life for example.

Hereditaments and tenements, then, being of two kinds, corporeal and incorporeal, it is sufficient to say here that right of common belongs to the latter. Right of common is, to quote the definition given by Blackstone, "a profit which a man has in the land of another; as to feed his beasts, to catch fish, to dig turf, to cut wood, or the like: and hence common is chiefly of four sorts—common of pasture, of piscary, of turbary, and of estovers."*

The right of common which most frequently occurs is common of pasture, which may be either *appendant*, *appurtenant*, or *in gross*. *Common appendant* is a right belonging to every tenant of a manor to depasture his cattle, which are either beasts of the plough or such as manure the ground (viz. horses, kine, and sheep, which are thence called commonable beasts) upon the lord's waste.† *Common appurtenant* is that which is annexed to land by grant from the owner of the other land in which it is to be exercised; or by title of prescription, which supposes a forgotten grant. This often extends to other beasts, besides commonable beasts, as swine, goats, and geese. It is most frequently measured by the number of animals which the land to which it is annexed can maintain by its produce through the winter, or season during which they are excluded from the benefit of the common, though it may be subject to the more exact measure of a certain number of animals. *Common in gross*, or at large, is entirely distinct and separate from any property in the land, and may be vested in one who is not a tenant of the manor.‡

The remedy of the commoner against the lord or other proprietor of the soil for excluding him or overstocking the pasture is now only by *action on the case*, his other remedy by *assize* having been abolished by the recent statute 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 27. Actions on the case are among those actions which, by the statute 21 Jac. I. c. 16, s. 3, must be brought within six years after the cause of action has arisen; and, if the owner of the soil, or a stranger, contrive by inclosure or other means to exclude the commoner for twenty years, his right of entry is lost:§ formerly he might then have recourse to his assize for ten years more, but that is taken away as mentioned above.

The rights of the commoner may also be extinguished by inclosure. By the statute of Merton (20 Hen. III.) c. 4, lords of manors are empowered to approve (improve or inclose) against their tenants, and by the statute of Westminster 2 (13 Edw. I.) c. 46, against their neighbours. Upon an assize brought by any person claiming common of pasture appendant or appurtenant, unless by special grant, the jury is directed to inquire into the sufficiency of the land still left open to the commoners, and accordingly to decide upon the propriety of the inclosure; and the erection of windmills, sheep-cotes, &c., is authorised indepen-

* 20 Hen. III. c. 4. † Co. Litt. 6 a.

* 2 Comm. 32.

† *Common by reason of vicinage*, which takes place where the tenants of two adjoining manors have suffered their cattle to range indiscriminately over both wastes, seems to be only a modification of *common appendant*, and it seems that either lord may put an end to it by erecting a fence. Burton's Law of Real Property, 376.

‡ Burton's Law of Real Property, 375, 376. 2 Bl. Comm. 33, 34.

§ Burton's Law of Real Property, 379.

dently of such sufficiency. By statute 29 Geo. II. c. 36, amended by statute 31 Geo. II. c. 41, further provisions are made for the inclosure of parts of commons for the purpose of planting and preserving trees fit for timber or underwood. And by the statute 13 Geo. III. c. 81, such a majority as therein described may make temporary regulations as to the times of turning on and removing their cattle. But the most important acts upon this subject are those of a local nature, which in many instances have abolished the right of common altogether; and the General Inclosure Act of 41 Geo. III. c. 109, which forms the groundwork of all the particular acts subsequently passed for this purpose.

This statute begins by prescribing an oath to be taken by all commissioners under future inclosure acts, and disables them for five years from purchasing lands within the parish where they are to act. By section 6 all claimants of common or other right in any of the lands to be inclosed are directed, on pain of forfeiture, to present their claims in writing, with distinct specifications of their interests; but by section 7 the commissioners are to assign the several allotments to the persons in actual possession of the tenements in lieu or in right of which such allotments are to be made, without pretending to determine any question of title to those tenements. By section 14 the several shares when allotted, it is declared, "shall be in full satisfaction of all previous rights; and immediately after the making of the allotments, and the execution of the award, or from some other time to be ascertained by a notice fixed on the church door, all rights of common, &c. shall be extinguished. The award here mentioned is directed by s. 35 to be drawn up by the commissioners, as soon as conveniently may be after the allotment shall be finished; it is to express the quantities, situations, and descriptions of the parcels allotted, with the roads, fences, and other circumstances prescribed, and the orders and regulations made by the commissioners; it is to be written on parchment, and read and executed by the commissioners at a meeting of the proprietors called for that purpose; and the execution of it is to be proclaimed on the next Sunday in the parish church; from the time of which proclamation only, and not before, such award shall be considered as complete; and it is to be enrolled in one of the courts of record at Westminster, or with the clerk of the peace for the county, that recourse may be had to it for inspection; and a copy of this award, or of any part of it, signed by the proper officer, shall be admitted as legal evidence; and the award itself shall be binding and conclusive, unless where it is otherwise enacted; and, if the commissioners think fit to annex any maps or plans to the award, they are to be enrolled with and considered as part of it."* By section 1? it is enacted that persons neglecting or refusing to accept their allotments within two calendar months from the execution of the award, shall be totally excluded from all interest in the lands. By section 44 it is provided that the statute shall take effect only where the local acts are silent.

By the statute 43 Geo. III., c. 75, the *committees* of lunatics (that is, the persons to whose care they and their estates may have been committed by the lord chancellor) are empowered to grant leases on behalf of the lunatic, and to raise money for the payment of his debts or performance of his engagements, by sale or mortgage, as the chancellor may direct: and by statute 59 Geo. III., c. 80, s. 2, the same power is extended to customary estates, that is, those to which the title is altogether constituted by custom.

During this period some acts relating to the subject of charities were passed, which it will be sufficient merely to enumerate, viz.:—52 Geo. III., c. 101, to provide a summary remedy in cases of abuses of trusts created for charitable purposes; 52 Geo. III., c. 102, for the registering and securing charitable donations; 58 Geo. III., c. 91 (amended by 59 Geo. III., c. 81), for appointing commissioners to inquire concerning charities in England for the education of the poor; and 59 Geo. III., c. 91, for giving additional facilities in applications to courts of equity regarding the management of estates or funds belonging to charities.

The number of statutes passed during this period relating to the subjects of trade, navigation, ship-owners, mariners, and fisheries, was very great, implying a very great amount of legislative activity in that direction. The whole number of statutes on the above specified subjects, from the reign of Edward III. (the commencement of them) to the end of the reign of George III., as given in Sir William Evans's 'Collection of the Statutes,' is 79. Of these there were but 13 in existence at the commencement of George III.'s reign, and only 22 at the beginning of the present century, indeed before 1803; so that during the present period, *i. e.* from 1802 to 1820, there were passed about three times as many statutes on these subjects as during the whole preceding history of our legislature or existence of our monarchy. To attempt to give anything of an account or analysis of these statutes, or even to transcribe the titles of them, would evidently, in a work of this nature, be futile, and would serve no other purpose than to take up room which could be much better occupied.

By the statute 52 Geo. III., c. 32, intituled "An Act for the relief of infant suitors in courts of equity, entitled to stock or annuities in any of the public or other funds, transferable at the Bank of England," the courts of chancery and exchequer are empowered to order the dividends on any stocks, funds, or annuities, belonging to any infant suitors in such courts, transferable at the Bank of England, standing in the names of such infants, to be paid to the guardians of such infants for the maintenance and education, or otherwise for the use and

* Burton's Law of Real Property, pp. 380-382.

benefit, of such infants. And soon after another act (52 Geo. III., c. 158) was passed to extend the provisions of the preceding act, and likewise of the statute 36 Geo. III., c. 90, to all other transferable stocks and funds.

In the preceding Book we observed * that the last General Stamp Act did not fall within that period, but it falls within the present. This act, the 55 Geo. III., c. 184, contains important provisions relating to bankers, bankers' drafts, bills of exchange, promissory notes, probate duties, &c., which are arranged under their appropriate heads in the schedule annexed to the act. This schedule consists of three parts. The first part contains the duties on admissions to offices, &c.; on instruments of conveyance, contract, obligation, and security for money; on deeds in general, and on other instruments, matters, and things not falling under either of the following heads. The second part contains the duties on law proceedings, or proceedings in the admiralty and ecclesiastical courts, and in the several courts of law and equity at Westminster, and other courts in Great Britain, and in the offices belonging thereto, and before the lord high chancellor or the lord keeper or commissioners for the custody of the great seal, in matters of bankruptcy and lunacy. The third part contains the duties on probates of wills and letters of administration; on confirmations of testaments, testamentary and dative; on inventories to be exhibited in the commissary courts of Scotland; on legacies out of real or personal, heritable or moveable estate; and on successions to personal or moveable estates upon intestacy. By the second section of this act it is enacted that there shall be raised, levied, and paid unto and for the use of his majesty, his heirs and successors, in and throughout the whole of Great Britain, for and in respect of the several instruments, matters, and things mentioned and described in the schedule hereunto annexed (except those standing under the head of exemptions), or for or in respect of the vellum, parchment, or paper, upon which such instruments, matters, and things, or any of them, shall be written or printed, the several duties or sums of money set down in figures against the same respectively, or otherwise specified and set forth in the same schedule; and that the yearly per centage duty on insurances from loss by fire therein mentioned, shall commence and take place from and after the 28th day of September, 1815; and that all the other duties therein mentioned shall commence and take place from and after the 31st day of August, 1815; and that the said schedule and all the provisions, regulations, and directions therein contained, with respect to the said duties, and the instruments, matters, and things, charged therewith, shall be deemed and taken to be part of this act, and shall be read and construed as if the same had been inserted herein at this place, and shall be applied, observed, and put in execution accordingly. The seventh section declares that, "if any person shall forge or counterfeit, or cause or procure to be forged or counterfeited, any stamp or die, or any part of any stamp or die, which shall have been provided, made, or used in pursuance of this act, or in pursuance of any former act or acts relating to any stamp duty or duties, or shall forge, counterfeit, or resemble, or cause or procure to be forged, counterfeited, or resembled, the impression, or any part of the impression, of any such stamp or die as aforesaid, upon any vellum, parchment, or paper, or shall stamp, or mark, or cause or procure to be stamped or marked, any vellum, parchment, or paper, with any such forged or counterfeit stamp or die, or part of any stamp or die, as aforesaid, with intent to defraud his majesty, his heirs, or successors, of any of the duties hereby granted, or any part thereof; or, if any person shall utter, or sell, or expose to sale, any vellum, parchment, or paper, having thereupon the impression of any such forged or counterfeit stamp or die, or part of any stamp or die, or any such forged, counterfeited, or resembled impression, or part of impression, as aforesaid, knowing the same respectively to be forged, counterfeited, or resembled; or, if any person shall privately and secretly use any stamp or die which shall have been so provided, made, or used, as aforesaid, with intent to defraud his majesty, his heirs or successors, of any of the said duties, or any part thereof; or, if any person shall fraudulently cut, tear, or get off, or cause or procure to be cut, torn, or got off, the impression of any stamp or die, which shall have been provided, made, or used, in pursuance of this or any former act, for expressing or denoting any duty or duties under the care and management of the commissioners of stamps, or any part of such duty or duties, from any vellum, parchment, or paper whatsoever, with intent to use the same for or upon any other vellum, parchment, or paper, or any instrument or writing, charged or chargeable with any of the duties hereby granted, then and in every such case every person so offending, and every person knowingly and wilfully aiding, abetting, or assisting any person or persons in committing any such offence as aforesaid, and being thereof lawfully convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy." By the eighth section the powers and provisions of former acts are to extend to this act: and by the tenth section it is declared that all instruments for or upon which any stamp or stamps shall have been used of an improper denomination or rate of duty, but of equal or greater value in the whole with or than the stamp or stamps which ought regularly to have been used thereon, shall nevertheless be deemed valid and effectual in the law, except in cases where the stamp or stamps used on such instruments shall have been specially appropriated to any other instrument, by having its name on the face thereof.* [6]

We have already brought down the history of

* Vol. iii., p. 607, note.

* Collins on the Stamp Law, pp. 10-13.

the law of Copyright and of Libel to the date at which our work terminates;* but there is a question, of considerable importance in the present day, having a certain affinity to the subject of literary property, of which we have not yet treated. The question is, in what cases actions for libel may be maintained against reviewers, &c. for criticisms of works. It was laid down by Lord Wynford (*Best*, C. J.) in Levi *v.* Milne,† that the declaratory statute 32 Geo. III. c. 60 does not apply to civil actions; that it only applies to criminal cases, and that there is nothing in it which in any way touches civil actions; and that the jury, with respect to them, stand in the same situation as they have always done. However, in that branch of civil actions for libel which arises out of criticisms of books, the decisions of the judges have given to the jury the same power in substance which the statute has given to them expressly in cases of indictment or criminal information, the power, namely, of judging both of the law and the fact. In the case of *Carr* v. *Hood*,‡ where an action of libel was brought against the defendant, who had criticised a certain work of the plaintiff's, the declaration, after setting forth that the plaintiff had acquired great gains by the sale of the copyright of divers books of his, stated that the defendant, intending to expose him to and to bring upon him great contempt, laughter, and ridicule, falsely and maliciously published a certain false, scandalous, malicious, and defamatory libel in the form of a book, of and concerning, &c., which same libel was entitled "My Pocket Book, or Hints for a Ryghte Merrie and Conceited Tour, in quarto, to be called The Stranger in Ireland in 1805, by a Knight Errant;" and which same libel contained a certain false, &c. print of the said Sir John, in the form of a man of ludicrous and ridiculous appearance, &c. Plea, Not Guilty. Lord Ellenborough, C. J., said, "Here the supposed libel has only attacked those works of which Sir John Carr is the avowed author; and one writer, in exposing the follies and errors of another, may make use of ridicule, however poignant. Ridicule is often the fittest weapon which can be employed for such a purpose. If the reputation or pecuniary interest of such a person suffer, it is *damnum absque injuriâ*. Where is the liberty of the press if an action can be maintained on such principles? Perhaps the plaintiff's *Tour* is now unsaleable; but is he to be indemnified by receiving a compensation in damages from the person who may have opened the eyes of the public to the bad taste and inanity of his compositions? Who would have bought the works of Sir Robert Filmer after he had been refuted by Mr. Locke? But shall it be said that he might have maintained an action for defamation against that great philosopher, who was labouring to enlighten and ameliorate mankind? We really must not cramp observations upon authors and their works. They should be liable to criticism, to exposure, and even to ridicule, if their compositions be ridiculous; otherwise the first who writes a book on any subject will maintain a monopoly of sentiment and opinion respecting it. This would tend to the perpetuity of error. Reflection on personal character is another thing. Show me an attack on the moral character of this plaintiff, or any attack on his character unconnected with his authorship, and I shall be as ready as any judge who ever sat here to protect him; but I cannot hear of malice on account of turning his works into ridicule. Every man who publishes a book commits himself to the judgment of the public, and any one may comment on his performance. If the commentator does not step aside from the work, or introduce fiction for the purpose of condemnation, he exercises a fair and legitimate right. The critic does a great service to the public who writes down any vapid or useless publication, such as ought never to have appeared. He checks the dissemination of bad taste, and prevents people from wasting both their time and money upon trash. I speak of fair and candid criticism; and this every one has a right to publish, although the author may suffer a loss from it. Such a loss the law does not consider as an injury, because it is a loss which the party ought to sustain. It is, in short, the loss of fame and profits to which he was never entitled. Nothing can be conceived more threatening to the liberty of the press than the species of action before the court. We ought to resist an attempt against fair and liberal criticism at the threshold." The chief justice concluded by directing the jury, that, if the writer of the publication complained of had not travelled out of the work he criticised, for the purpose of slander, the action would not lie; but, if they could discern in it anything personally slanderous against the plaintiff, unconnected with the works he had given to the public, in that case he had a good cause of action. Thus the jury were here left to determine not only the fact of publishing, but also whether the matter published was libellous or not, for by the direction of the court they were to determine whether or not the writer had travelled out of the work he criticised for the purpose of slander. Doctrine similar to the above has been held in later cases. In a case* where the plaintiff was a bookseller, and the declaration stated that the defendant intending, &c. to cause it to be believed that he (the plaintiff) published and vended books of an absurd, immoral, and improper tendency, composed and printed the libel in question, Lord Ellenborough held that evidence was receivable to show the general nature of the plaintiff's publications to which the libel alluded, though it was certainly actionable gravely to impute to a bookseller having published a poem which he had not published. But, if a writer, he added, under the pretence of criticising a literary work, introduce facts not

* See ante, vol. i., pp. 530-539; and vol. iii., pp. 613-621.
† 4 Bingham's Rep. 195.
‡ 1 Camp. 355, note.

* Tabbart *v.* Tipper, 1 Camp. 350.

stated in the work, accompanied with injurious comments upon them, such writer is liable to an action for libel.*

As regards that class of cases where the book criticised is of such a character that the publication of it is contrary to law, it is almost unnecessary to say that the author of such a book can maintain no action at law: and, in the case of Walcot *v.* Walker,† Lord Eldon said: "It is not the business of this court to decree either an injunction or an account of the profits of works of such a nature that the author can maintain no action at law for the invasion of that which he calls his property, but which the policy of the law will not permit him to consider his property. It is no answer that the defendants are as criminal. It is the duty of the court to know whether an action at law would lie; for, if not, the court ought not to give an account of the unhallowed profits of libellous publications."

In consequence of the proceedings arising out of the late case of Stockdale *v.* Hansard‡ the statute 3 Vict. c. 9 was passed, which enacts that all proceedings, criminal or civil, against persons for publication of papers printed by order of parliament, shall be stayed upon the defendant bringing before the court (after twenty-four hours' notice to the prosecutor or plaintiff of his intention so to do) a certificate under the hand of the lord high chancellor, or speaker of the House of Commons, to the effect that such publication is by order of either House of Parliament. The second section enacts that proceedings shall be stayed when commenced in respect of the publication of a copy of such a report, &c., on production and verification of the original. By the third section, in proceedings for printing any extract or abstract of a paper, it may be shown that such extract or abstract was published *bonâ fide* and without malice; and, if such shall be the opinion of the jury, verdict of Not Guilty shall be entered for the defendant or defendants.

III. Criminal Legislation.—In the preceding Book we entered so fully into the examination of the statutes relating to riots, unlawful assemblies, and combinations, and other similar offences against the state,§ that it will not be necessary to return particularly to that subject here. We shall, however, notice one or two statutes connected with the subject of treason, which were passed during the present period, and are characteristic of it.

We mentioned in the last book that the statute 30 Geo. III. c. 48 had abolished the punishment of burning women for high or petit treason, and substituted hanging in its stead; and now in the present period a further amelioration was made in the criminal code relating to the punishment for high treason: for by the statute 54 Geo. III. c. 146, after a recital that in certain cases of high treason, as the law then stood, the sentence required by law to be pronounced against persons convicted of the said crime was that they should be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there be hanged by the neck, but not until they were dead; that they should be taken down again, and that when they were yet alive their bowels should be taken out and burnt before their faces, and that afterwards their heads should be severed from their bodies, and their bodies be divided into four quarters, and their heads and quarters be at the king's disposal;—it is enacted that in all cases of high treason in which, as the law then stood, the sentence was as aforesaid, the sentence to be pronounced, from the passing of the act, against any person convicted shall be, that such person shall be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and be there hanged by the neck until he or she be dead, and that afterwards the head shall be severed from the body of such person, and the body, divided into four quarters, shall be disposed of as his majesty and his successors shall think fit. And by section 2nd it is further declared, that after sentence his majesty may, by warrant under the sign manual, countersigned by a principal secretary of state, direct that such person as aforesaid shall not be drawn, but shall be taken in such manner as in the said warrant is expressed, to the place of execution, and not there hanged, but beheaded alive; and in such warrant may direct in what manner the body, head, and quarters of such person shall be disposed of.

The statute 52 Geo. III. c. 156, after reciting that many prisoners of war confined and on parole in different parts of his majesty's dominions have of late escaped by the aid of many of his majesty's subjects and others, enacts that every person who shall, from and after the passing of this act, knowingly and wilfully aid or assist any alien enemy of his majesty, being a prisoner of war in his majesty's dominions, whether such prisoner shall be confined as a prisoner of war in any prison or other place of confinement, or shall be suffered to be at large in his majesty's dominions or any part thereof on his parole, to escape from such prison or other place of confinement, or from his majesty's dominions, if at large upon parole, shall upon being convicted thereof be adjudged guilty of felony, and be liable to be transported as a felon for life, or for such term of fourteen or seven years, as the court before whom such person shall be convicted shall adjudge. By the 3rd section it is enacted, that, if any person or persons owing allegiance to his majesty, after any such prisoner as aforesaid hath quitted the coast of any part of his majesty's dominions in such his escape as aforesaid, shall knowingly and wilfully, upon the high seas, aid or assist such prisoner in his escape to or towards any other dominions or place, such person shall also be adjudged guilty of felony,

* Selw. N. P. 1049. Nightingale *v.* Stockdale, London sittings after H. T. 49 Geo. III. Ellenborough, C. J.
† 7 Vesey Jun. 1.
‡ 9 Adol. and El. 1.
§ See ante, Vol. iii. pp. 609, 610.

and be liable to be transported as aforesaid; and such offences committed upon the high seas, and not within the body of any county, shall and may be inquired of, tried, heard, determined, and adjudged in any county within the realm, in like manner as if such offences had been committed within such county.

By the statute 59 Geo. III. c. 69, it is made a misdemeanour, punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both, for any natural-born subject of his majesty, without licence under the sign manual or signified by order in council, or by proclamation, to enter or agree to enter into the service or under or in aid of any foreign prince or people, or person exercising or assuming to exercise the powers of government in any foreign state, province, or part thereof, as an officer, soldier, sailor, or in any warlike capacity whatsoever, or even to go abroad with that intent; or for any person whatever, in any part of his majesty's dominions, even to attempt to enlist any person for any of these purposes. The 6th section imposes a forfeit of 50*l.* on the master of any ship for every such person whom he shall knowingly take on board, and on the owner for every such person whom he shall knowingly even agree to take on board; the ship to be detained till the penalty be paid, or bail found for the payment. The 7th and 8th sections provide against the equipment or arming, wholly or partially, of any ship, with intent to employ her as a ship of war, transport, or store-ship, in the service of any foreign state or persons exercising any powers of government.

By the statute 52 Geo. III. c. 143, the important statute now in force on the subject of violations of the revenue laws, all the offences against the revenue laws, which by the laws then in force were felony without benefit of clergy, are made felony with benefit of clergy, except certain offences, which the act enumerates. These consist of certain offences against the post-office; of forging certain government certificates and stamps; of assisting with arms in illegal exportation, running, relanding, rescuing, &c., when committed by three or more persons armed with fire-arms or other offensive weapons; of maliciously shooting at or upon any vessel or boat of his majesty's navy, or in the service of the customs or excise, within certain specified limits, or within the same limits maliciously shooting at, maiming, or dangerously wounding any officer of his majesty's military or naval forces, or of the customs or excise, or any person aiding him in the due execution of his duty under any revenue act, or act for the prevention of smuggling.

By the statute 56 Geo. III. c. 138, intituled "An Act to abolish the punishment of the pillory, except in certain cases," it is enacted, that "from and after the passing of this act judgment shall not be given and awarded against any person or persons convicted of any offence, that such person or persons do stand in or upon the pillory, except for the offences hereinafter mentioned, any law, statute, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding: provided that all laws now in force whereby any person is subject to punishment for the taking any false oath, or for committing any manner of wilful and corrupt perjury, or for the procuring or suborning any other person so to do, or for wilfully, falsely, and corruptly affirming or declaring, or procuring or suborning any other person so to affirm and declare, in any matter or thing, which if the same had been deposed in the usual form would have amounted to wilful and corrupt perjury, shall continue and be in full force and effect; and that all persons guilty of any of the said several offences shall incur and suffer the same punishment, penalties, and forfeitures as such persons were subject to by the laws and statutes of this realm, or any of them, before the passing of this act, and as if this act had not been made." And section 2 substitutes fine or imprisonment, or both, in lieu of the sentence of pillory. This punishment has since, however ("perhaps," observes Mr. Justice Coleridge,* "through inadvertency"), been inflicted by the 57 Geo. III. c. 12.

There is a subject which, though in one point of view it belongs to the head of Real Property, yet, as the statutes relating to it which were passed during this period view it rather under the head of Criminal Legislation, may be now noticed under that head. Formerly, by the English law, both *villeins regardant* and *villeins in gross* were considered as real property. Consequently all the incidents of real property attached to them; so that some passages of the old books seem to our modern ideas not a little strange. Take, for instance, this passage from Perkins:—"If a man be seized of a villein in gross in fee, and the lord of the villein hath issue a son, which son marrieth a wife, and the father dieth, and the son dieth before any seizure of the villein, yet his wife shall be endowed of the villein."† Thus, also, as there may be waste in houses, gardens, parks, fish-ponds,

* 2 Coleridge's Blackstone's Com. 123, note (6).

† Sect. 372. The title of Perkins's work (which is one of great authority in old law) is 'A profitable booke of Master John Perkins, fellow of the Inner Temple, treating of the laws of England. London, 1593.' It may perhaps be necessary here to remind the reader that dower in English law is an estate for life, which the law gives to the wife, after the decease of her husband, in the third part of the lands and tenements of which the husband was seized, in deed or in law, at any time during the marriage, for a legal estate of inheritance in possession. The following observations in a note to 2 Bl. Comm. 134 will be found not uninteresting, if for no other reason than that they explain the meaning of an expression seldom understood by those who use it. "When special endowments were made *ad ostium ecclesiæ*, the husband, after affiance made and troth plighted, used to declare with what specific lands he meant to endow his wife (*quod dotam eam de tali maverio cum pertinentiis*, &c., Bract. l. ii. c. 39, s. 6.), and therefore in the old York ritual (Seld. *Ux. Hebr.*, l. ii. c. 27) there is at this part of the matrimonial service, the following rubric: "*Sacerdos interroget dotem mulieris: et, si terra ei in dotem detur, tunc dicatur psalmus iste*," &c. When the wife was endowed generally (*ubi quis uxorem suam dotaverit in generali, de omnibus terris et tenementis*; Bract. *ib.*), the husband seems to have said, "With all my lands and tenements I thee endow;" and then they all became liable to her dower. When he endowed her with personalty only, he used to say, "With all my worldly goods (or, as the Salisbury ritual has it, *with all my worldly chattel*) I thee endow;" which entitled the wife to her thirds, or *pars rationabilis*, of his personal estate, which is provided for by Magna Charta, cap. 18, though the retaining this last expression in our modern liturgy, if of any meaning at all, can now refer only to the right of maintenance, which she acquires during coverture, out of her husband's personalty."—See also the argument of Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, in Banks *v.* Sutton (2 Eq. Ab. 382, note; 2 P. W. 634, and the observations thereon in Park on the law of dower, 131, *et seq.*

timber, &c., formerly there might be waste in villeins. Some of the distinctions taken in the old books are curious as to what acts might and what might not amount to legal waste in regard to villeins. Thus:—"If tenant in dower of a manor to which villeins are regardant manumits the villeins, this is not any waste, because it is not any manumission but against herself; for he in reversion may seize them after her death. (2 Hen. VI. 11, *Curia.*) But if she had beat the villeins, or constrained them to do other services which they did not before, by which they go out of the seigniory, it is waste. (2 Hen. VI. 11.)"*

We here see a time when men were considered as a species of real property by the laws of England. But, though as regards *general* law that time has long passed away, according to certain *local* laws a similar state of things existed till very recently in some of the dependencies of the British empire, governed by the English laws. During the period of which we now write, there were British statutes recognizing a local state of slavery in certain British colonies—recognizing too a trade in slaves. The slave trade was abolished, as far as regarded British participation in it, by the statute 47 Geo. III., sess. 1, c. 36; amended and rendered more effectual by stat. 51 Geo. III. c. 23, by which carrying on the slave trade, or being in any way engaged therein, is declared to be felony. These statutes were further amended by the 58 Geo. III. c. 49 and the 59 Geo. III. c. 120. But they were all repealed and the whole law on the subject consolidated by the 5 Geo. IV. c. 113. The act for establishing a registry of colonial slaves in Great Britain (stat. 59 Geo. III. c. 120) has in its principal provisions been fully recited and confirmed by stat. 5 Geo. IV. c. 113, s. 37. It prohibits all sales, mortgages, and charges of slaves, made within the United Kingdom, unless the slaves be previously registered at the office, according to the returns from the colony; and enacts, that after 1st January, 1820, "no deed or instrument, made or executed within this United Kingdom, whereby any slave or slaves in any of the said colonies shall be intended to be mortgaged, sold, charged, or in any manner transferred or conveyed, or any estate or interest therein created or raised, shall be good or valid in law, to pass or convey, charge or affect any such slave or slaves, unless the registered name and description, or names and descriptions of such slave or slaves shall be duly set forth in such deed or instrument, or in some schedule thereupon endorsed or thereto annexed, according to the then latest registration, or corrected registration, of such slave or slaves in the said office of the registrar of slaves." This is followed by several provisos; that instruments shall not be vitiated by the mistakes of clerks; that mortgages or charges, made before the act (12th July, 1819), may be transferred as formerly; that wills, probates, letters of administration, and conveyances and assignments made under the authority of a commission of bankrupt, or of any court of justice, &c., shall not be affected; and that the issue of registered slaves, born since the last return, shall be considered as registered.*

The statutes 45 Geo. III. c. 10, and 46 Geo. III. c. 98, are the laws now in force for the regulation of quarantine. The substance of their provisions is thus stated by Mr. Justice Coleridge in one of his notes to his edition of Blackstone's Commentaries: — "Many offences described in these statutes are punished by pecuniary penalties and imprisonment; but it is felony, without benefit of clergy, for any master knowingly to omit disclosing that he has touched at any infected place, or has any infected person on board, or wilfully to omit, under such circumstances, the hoisting the yellow flag; it is also a capital offence for persons liable to perform quarantine to refuse to repair to the appointed place for performing it, or to escape from it; and for any officer of quarantine knowingly to permit any person, ship, or goods to depart or be conveyed from such place without permission of his majesty, or to give a false certificate of the due performance of quarantine. Persons uninfected who once enter a lazaret are laid under the same restrictions, and exposed to the same punishments, as those performing quarantine there. It is also a capital offence to convey clandestinely, or conceal for such purpose, any letters or goods from a ship in quarantine. By the common law, it is a nuisance to expose persons infected with contagious disorders in streets or places of public resort, and, therefore, though it is not unlawful to inoculate with the small-pox, yet it must be done under such guards, and the patients afterwards so managed, as not to endanger the public health by the communication of the disease. R. *v.* Vantandillo, 4 M. and S. 73, and R. *v.* Burnett, 4 M. and S. 272."†

By the statute 43 Geo. III. c. 58, commonly called Lord Ellenborough's Act, attempts to murder by certain means are made capital felonies. This statute, to quote the summary given by Mr. Justice Coleridge, "punishes with death in principals, counsellors, aiders, and abettors, the maliciously shooting at any of his majesty's subjects; the presenting, pointing, or levelling any kind of loaded fire-arms at any one; the attempting in any way to discharge the same at any one; stabbing or cutting any one, with intent in so doing any of these things to murder, rob, maim, disfigure, disable, or do any other grievous bodily harm to such person, or with intent to obstruct or resist the lawful apprehension or detainer of the person so stabbing or cutting, or of any accomplice, for any offence for which he or they may be liable by law to be apprehended, and the maliciously administering any deadly poison or other noxious thing, with intent to murder, or cause the miscarriage of, any woman then quick with child. The

* Cited 22 Vin. Abr. 437.

* It may be almost unnecessary to add that, by the statute 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 73, slavery is abolished throughout the British colonies.

† 4 Coleridge's Bl. Comm., 162, note (1).

same statute provides, however, that, if the shooting at, levelling, or attempting to discharge the loaded fire-arms, or the stabbing or cutting, were done under such circumstances as that, if death had ensued, the same would not in law have amounted to murder, then the party charged shall be acquitted."* This statute also, says the same writer in a subsequent note to his edition of Blackstone, "makes it a capital felony wilfully and maliciously to set fire to any house, barn, granary, hop-oast, outhouse, mill, warehouse, or shop, whether the same shall then be in the party's own possession or not, if it be done with intent to injure or defraud his majesty, any of his subjects, or any body corporate. The principal object of this enactment was to comprise the cases of persons burning houses, mills, &c., of which they are tenants or owners, to the injury of their landlords, or to defraud the insurers. But it is not necessary to prove any distinct malice or intent to defraud beyond that which the law necessarily implies from the act of deliberate arson."†

The statute 52 Geo. III. c. 130, makes it a capital felony maliciously to burn or set fire to any buildings, erections, or engines used in the carrying on any trade or manufactory, or in which any goods, wares, or merchandise are deposited.

The statute 43 Geo. III. c. 113, repeals the provisions of 4 Geo. I. c. 12 (by which captains and mariners belonging to ships, and destroying the same, to the prejudice of the owners and insurers, are made guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy), and makes it a capital felony, triable within a county, if committed there, and according to 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15, if on the high seas, wilfully to cast away, burn, or otherwise destroy any vessel, or to counsel the same to be done, if it be done accordingly, with intent maliciously to prejudice any owner of such vessel, or of any goods loaded on board, or any person or body corporate who shall have insured the ship, freight, or goods.

The statute 57 Geo. III. c. 127, s. 4, consolidates the various statutes on the subject of forging and counterfeiting letters of attorney and writings of various kinds, and of personating the characters of officers, seamen, or other persons, for purposes of fraud, in order to receive their wages; and embraces all the cases of personation and forgery, to obtain wages, pay, prize-money, bounty-money, pension-money, or other allowances of money, of any naval or marine officer, seaman, marine, or other person entitled to such wages, &c., and makes the offence felony, without benefit of clergy, and punishable with death.

The present period is distinguished by the humane exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly and others to soften the severity of the English penal code. That code wanted amendment in two opposite directions, having, as the new statutes which we have just been giving an imperfect abstract of sufficiently show, allowed some heavy offences to escape with a very slight punishment, while it punished other offences, comparatively light, with disproportioned and inhuman severity. On the 18th of May, 1808, Sir Samuel Romilly introduced a bill to repeal the statute of 8 Eliz. c. 4, by which the punishment of death was inflicted for the offence of privately stealing from the person. This bill, with some amendments, passed into a law, and became the statute 48 Geo. III. c. 129. By this statute (sect. 2) it is enacted that "every person who shall at any time, or in any place whatever, feloniously steal, take, and carry away any money, goods, or chattels, from the person of any other, whether privily without his knowledge or not, but without such force or putting in fear as is sufficient to constitute the crime of robbery, or who shall be present, aiding and abetting therein, shall be liable to be transported beyond the seas for life, or for such term, not less than seven years, as the judge or court before whom any such person shall be convicted shall adjudge, or shall be liable, in case the said judge or court shall think fit, to be imprisoned only, or to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour in the common gaol, house of correction, or penitentiary house, for any term not exceeding three years."

In the session of 1810 Sir Samuel Romilly introduced three bills, to repeal the statutes 10 and 11 Will. III., 12 Anne, and 24 Geo. II., making the privately stealing in a shop goods of the value of five shillings, or in a dwelling-house, or on board a vessel in a navigable river, property of the value of forty shillings, capital felonies. All these bills were lost, the first in the Lords, and the second in the Commons, the third being withdrawn; but in the following year Sir Samuel carried through a bill to abolish the punishment of death for stealing from bleaching-grounds, which became the statute 51 Geo. III. c. 41; and in 1812 he procured a repeal of the act of Elizabeth, which made it capital in soldiers and mariners to be found wandering about the realm without a pass. It would be unfair not to add here that, though at the time the opposition offered to the measures he proposed by those who took a different view of criminal law reform from Sir Samuel Romilly (among the most powerful of whom Lord Ellenborough was conspicuous) was successful, yet very shortly after his death several of those alterations in the law which he so zealously promoted were carried into effect. The statute of William III., inflicting the punishment of death for the offence of privately stealing in a shop to the value of five shillings, was repealed at the commencement of the reign of George IV., and transportation or imprisonment substituted.* The statute of George II., making it capital to steal goods to the value of forty shillings on board a vessel in a navigable river, was also repealed about the same time, and transportation or imprisonment substituted.† The value of the goods stolen in a dwelling-house, ne-

* Note to 4 Bl. Comm. 196.
† Note to 4 Bl. Comm. 221.

* 1 Geo. IV. c. 117. 4 Geo. IV. c. 53. 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 29, § 15.
† 4 Geo. IV. c. 53.

cessary to render the offence capital, was also a few years after raised from forty shillings to five pounds.*

During this period several statutes relating to bankrupts were passed, but as they, together with all the other former enactments respecting bankrupts, were repealed by the statute 6 Geo. IV. c. 16, it is unnecessary to say anything about them.

Lord Eldon.

Among the lawyers of this period the most prominent both for station and legal learning was the Lord Chancellor Eldon. Lord Brougham, in sketching the peculiarities of Lord Eldon's professional life, says: "That he had all the natural qualities and all the acquired accomplishments which go to form the greatest legal character, is undeniable. To extraordinary acuteness and quickness of apprehension he added a degree of patient industry which no labour could weary, a love of investigation which no harshness in the most uninteresting subject could repulse. His ingenuity was nimble in a singular degree, and it was inexhaustible; subtlety was at all times the most distinguishing feature of his understanding; and, after all other men's resources had been spent, he would at once discover matters which, though often too far refined for use, yet seemed so natural to the ground which his predecessors had laboured and left apparently bare, that no one could deem them exotic and far-fetched, or even forced. When, with such powers of apprehending and of inventing, he possessed a memory almost unparalleled, and alike capable of storing up and readily producing both the most general principles and the most minute details, it is needless to add that he became one of the most thoroughly learned lawyers who ever appeared in Westminster Hall, if not the most learned; for, when it is recollected that the science has been more than doubled in bulk, and in variety of subjects has been increased fourfold, since the time of Lord Coke, it is hardly possible to question his superiority to the great light of English jurisprudence, the only man in our legal history with whom this comparison can be instituted."†

* 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 29, § 12.

† Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the Time of George III. By Henry Lord Brougham. Second series, p. 64.

In general intellectual superiority, however, Lord Eldon will scarcely be placed by any one above Lord Hardwicke, who, while he had perhaps no superior in learning, had, we should be inclined to say, no equal in power of mind even among the distinguished men who have successively occupied the same seat with himself. We must add, however, in power of mind exercised in the judicial functions, for no one can doubt that, exercised in another direction, Lord Bacon displayed powers of mind superior to his. It is worth remarking that Lord Eldon and Lord Hardwicke sat as chancellors about the same length of time, both having previously presided with great ability in a common law court. But the precedence in point of time, independently of other considerations, has made Lord Hardwicke's judgments form a far larger proportion of that body of jurisprudence which receives the name of equity than those of Lord Eldon.

In reference to Lord Eldon's slowness in coming to a determination as a judge, Lord Brougham says: "It would be far more correct to say that he had great reluctance to pronounce the decision he had long ago, without any hesitation, come to. The bad habit into which he fell, of not attending to the arguments while they were delivering before him, made him often postpone the forming of his opinion, but it was because he postponed giving his attention to the case. As soon as he brought his mind to bear upon it, he, with great ease and quickness, came to a judgment regarding it; and, having a great and most just confidence in the soundness of that judgment, he scarcely ever after altered it in any material respect. Indeed, the hesitation with which he pronounced it, the slowness with which he gave it at all, and, when he gave it, the numberless arguments on both sides which he produced, and the endless difficulties which he raised in the way of the course he was manifestly all the while taking, gave him every appearance of hesitation and uncertainty, and made the person who knew him not fear that he was a vacillating judge, who had hardly formed any opinion at all upon the case, and might be overset by the casting of dust in the balance to make each side almost indifferently preponderate."* And it is afterwards added, "It would be no exaggeration at all to assert that Lord Eldon's judgments were more quickly formed, and more obstinately adhered to, than those of any other judge who ever dealt with such various, difficult, and complicated questions as he had to dispose of." But how is this to be reconciled with such evidence as the following? In *Whitmore* v. *Trelawny*,† Lord Chancellor Eldon is reported as expressing himself in these terms:—"It is impossible in the construction of such a will as this to be quite sure I am right in the opinion I have formed; and yet I confess an inclination of opinion, rising almost to confidence, that the claims,"

* Historical Sketches of Statesmen, &c., p. 68.

† 6 Ves. 129.

&c. Again, in *ex-parte* Knott,* he made the following remark:—"Upon some parts of this case I have *not doubt enough* to induce me to postpone the judgment." His lordship speaks of doubt and postpoining judgment almost as if they were things to be sought, not avoided. But on one occasion he surpassed himself, beginning a decision by saying, "Having had doubts upon this will for twenty years," &c.† After this we must be allowed to doubt if it can be correctly asserted that Lord Eldon's judgments were in any sense or degree "quickly formed." Lord Brougham indeed adds, "But the apparent hesitation and the certain delay were of the very worst consequence to his usefulness on the bench." Whether the hesitation was apparent or real, the delay was indeed certain, and must have been attended with disastrous consequences to the suitors interested in a will upon which his lordship had indulged in his luxury of doubting for twenty years, his hesitation having been, if we may believe himself, not merely apparent but real.

LORD STOWELL.

The name of Lord Eldon suggests that of his brother, Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell), whose eminence in his department equalled, if it did not exceed, that of his better-known brother in his. We cannot do better than give Lord Brougham's account of this eminent civilian's peculiar judicial characteristics. "There has seldom," says his lordship, "if ever, appeared in the profession of the law any one so peculiarly endowed with all the learning and capacity which can accomplish, as well as all the graces which can embellish, the judicial character, as this eminent person. Confining himself to the comparatively narrow and sequestered walks of the consistorial tribunals, he had early been withdrawn from the contentions of the forum, had lost the readiness with which his great natural acuteness must have furnished him, and had never acquired the habits which forensic strife is found to form—the preternatural power of suddenly producing all the mind's resources at the call of the moment, and shifting their application nimbly from point to point, as that exigency varies in its purpose or its direction. But so had he also escaped the hardness, not to say the coarseness, which is inseparable from such rough and constant use of the faculties, and which, while it sharpens their edge and their point, not seldom contaminates the taste, and withdraws the mind from all pure, and generous, and classical intercourse, to matters of a vulgar and a technical order. His judgment was of the highest cast; calm, firm, enlarged, penetrating, profound. His powers of reasoning were in proportion great, and still more refined than extensive, though singularly free from anything like versatility, and liable to be easily disturbed in their application to every-day use. If the retired and almost solitary habits of the comparatively secluded walk in which he moved had given him little relish for the strenuous and vehement warfare of rapid argumentation and the logic of unprepared debate, his vast superiority was apparent when, as from an eminence, he was called to survey the whole field of dispute, and to marshal the variegated facts, disentangle the intricate mazes, and array the conflicting reasons which were calculated to distract or suspend men's judgment. If ever the praise of being luminous could be justly bestowed upon human compositions, it was upon his judgments, and it was the approbation constantly, and as it were peculiarly, appropriated to those wonderful exhibitions of judicial capacity.

"It would be easy, but it would be endless, to enumerate the causes in which his great powers, both of legal investigation, of accurate reasoning, and of lucid statement, were displayed to the admiration, not only of the profession, but of the less learned reader of his judgments. They who deal with such causes as occupied the attention of this great judge have this advantage, that the subjects are of a nature connecting them with general principles, and the matter at stake is most frequently of considerable importance, not seldom of the greatest interest. The masses of property of which the consistorial courts have to dispose are often very great; the matrimonial rights on which they have to decide are of an interest not to be measured by money at all; but the questions which arise in administering the law of nations comprehend within their scope the highest national rights, involve the existence of peace itself, define the duties of neutrality, set limits to the prerogatives of war. Accordingly, the volume which records Sir W. Scott's judgments is not, like the reports of common law cases, a book only unsealed to the members of the legal profession; it may well be in the hands of the general student, and form part of any classical library of English eloquence, or even of national history. If among his whole performances it were required to select one which most excited admiration, all eyes would point to the judgment in the celebrated case of Dalrymple *v.* Dalrymple, where the question for his determination was the state of the Scottish law upon the fundamental point of what constitutes a marriage. The evidence given upon this question

* 11 Ves. 617. † 1 Madd. Chanc. preface 9.

of fact (as it was before him, a foreign judge) consisted of the depositions of Scottish lawyers, the most eminent of their age, and who differed widely in their opinions, as well as the text-books referred to in their evidence. Through this labyrinth the learned civilian steered his way with an acuteness, a wariness and circumspection, a penetrating sagacity, and a firmness of decision, only to be matched by the singularly felicitous arrangement of the whole mass of matter, and the exquisite diction, at once beautifully elegant and severely chaste, in which his judgment was clothed. It is well known that this great performance, though proceeding from a foreign authority, forms at the present day, and will indeed always form, the manual of Scottish lawyers upon its important subject." *

Sir W. Grant.

* During a part of the time that Lord Eldon sat in the court of chancery, the judge's seat of the second equity court, that of the master of the Rolls, was filled by Sir William Grant, one of the most eminent judges, and one of the clearest and most powerful-minded reasoners, of his own or any age. There are some points in Sir William Grant's history that render his career different from the ordinary one of successful lawyers. It will frequently be found that the more successful class of lawyers are little known in parliament, that many indeed do not enter parliament till they are made conspicuous by their official rank of attorney or solicitor general. It was not so with Sir William Grant. With little distinction and a very moderate share of practice at the bar for many years, his public character rested entirely upon the success of his parliamentary exertions, until he was raised to the bench. Of his merits as a speaker in parliament, the following short anecdote, related by Lord Brougham, will convey some idea, at least when accompanied by the remarks which introduce it. "His style was peculiar; it was that of the closest and severest reasoning ever heard in any popular assembly; reasoning which would have been reckoned close in the argumentation of the bar or the dialectics of the schools. It was, from the first to the last, throughout, pure reason and the triumph of pure reason. All was sterling, all perfectly plain; there was no point in the diction, no illustration in the topics, no ornament of fancy in the accompaniments. The language was choice, perfectly clear, abundantly correct, quite concise, admirably suited to the matter which the words clothed and conveyed. In so far it was felicitous, no further; nor did it ever leave behind it any impression of the diction, but only of the things said; the words were forgotten, for they had never drawn off the attention for a moment from the things; those things were alone remembered. No speaker was more easily listened to; none so difficult to answer. Once, Mr. Fox, when he was hearing him with a view to making that attempt, was irritated in a way very unwonted to his sweet temper by the conversation of some near him, even to the show of some crossness, and (after an exclamation) sharply said, 'Do you think it so very pleasant a thing to have to answer a speech like THAT?' "*

Lord Brougham's description of Sir William Grant's deportment in the Rolls court is one of the finest pictures in his work:—

"The court in those days presented a spectacle which afforded true delight to every person of sound judgment and pure taste. After a long and silent hearing—a hearing of all that could be urged by the counsel of every party—unbroken by a single word, and when the spectator of Sir William Grant (for he was not heard) might suppose that his mind had been absent from a scene in which he took no apparent share, the debate was closed—the advocates' hour was passed—the parties were in silent expectation of the event—the hall no longer resounded with any voice—it seemed as if the affair of the day, for the present, was over, and the court was to adjourn or to call for another cause. No! the judge's time had now arrived, and another artist was to fill the scene. The great magistrate began to pronounce his judgment, and every eye and every ear was at length fixed upon the bench. Forth came a strain of clear unbroken fluency, disposing alike, in most luminous order, of all the facts and of all the arguments in the cause, reducing into clear and simple arrangement the most entangled masses of broken and conflicting statement; weighing each matter, and disposing of each in succession; settling one doubt by a parenthetical remark; passing over another difficulty by a reason only more decisive that it was condensed; and giving out the whole impression of the case, in every material view, upon the judge's mind, with argument enough to show why he so thought, and to prove him right, and without so much reasoning as to make you forget that it was a judgment you were hearing, by over-stepping the bounds which distinguish a judgment from a speech. This is the perfection of judicial eloquence; not avoiding argument; but confining it to such reasoning as beseems him who has rather to explain the grounds of his own conviction than to labour at convincing others; not rejecting refer-

* Statesmen, second series, pp. 73–75.

* Statesmen, first series, p. 138.

ence to authority, but never betokening a disposition to seek shelter behind other men's names, for what he might fear to pronounce in his own person; not disdaining even ornaments, but those of the more chastened graces that accord with the severe standard of a judge's oratory. This perfection of judicial eloquence Sir William Grant attained, and its effect upon all listeners was as certain and as powerful as its merits were incontestable and exalted."*

Sir William Grant was a man of simple habits, marked somewhat by taciturnity and reserve. Jeremy Bentham, on one occasion, being much pleased with some remarks on colonies in a speech of Sir William Grant's, sent the master of the Rolls a pamphlet he had written on the same subject through a friend, a chancery barrister of some eminence, who practised in the Rolls court; and who said to Bentham some time afterwards, "I have given the master of the Rolls your pamphlet, but he is a silent and reserved man, and what he thinks of it neither you nor I will probably ever know."

In his time the Rolls court sat in the evening from six to ten; and Sir William dined after the court rose; his servant, it is said, when he went to bed leaving two bottles of wine on the table, which he always found empty in the morning. Sir William Grant lived in the Rolls House, occupying two or three rooms on the ground-floor; and, when showing them to his successor in the Rolls, he said, "Here are two or three good rooms; this is my dining-room; my library and bedroom are beyond; and I am told," he added, "there are some good rooms up-stairs; but I never was there."

It would be a difficult matter to overrate Sir William Grant's judicial merits, yet we do not know of any one judgment of his that, as a whole, is equal to Lord Hardwicke's judgment in the case of Garth *v.* Cotton,† the most able judgment and the finest piece of reasoning that we know in the English language; or even to the judgments of Sir Thomas Plumer, his successor in the Rolls, in the important cases of Cholmondeley *v.* Clinton,‡ and of Purdew *v.* Jackson.§ Sir William Grant's reputation is certainly much higher than Sir Thomas Plumer's; and the important conclusions which Sir Thomas Plumer established in those cases, in the former of which he reversed Sir William Grant's judgment, and in the latter altered the law,—at least, by great exertion of learning and reasoning, showed what the law really was on a very important point,—may have been owing rather to greater legal learning than to greater judicial excellence. We have, however, thought it right to say what we have said, the rather that Sir Thomas Plumer does not seem to have justice done him in some quarters. He is spoken of rather slightingly by Sir Samuel Romilly in his 'Memoirs,' lately published; and from his excellence being purely judicial, and his having filled his judicial office but a comparatively short time, his general reputation (for he is fully appreciated by those who are competent to appreciate such judgments as those specified above) is very disproportionate to his deserts.

SIR S. ROMILLY.

We have already had occasion to mention the exertions of Sir Samuel Romilly for the reform of our criminal law. It has sometimes been regretted that, considering his exalted station at the bar, and his great authority with the bench, Sir Samuel Romilly did not rather apply himself to the correction of those abuses which had so long cast a discredit upon the court (of chancery) in which he practised. And to this it has been answered that that portion of the community which is affected by our civil polity are never without the means of making their complaints heard; but the poor, the destitute, the uninformed, and the misled, the objects upon whom our criminal jurisprudence operates, have no voice to protest against the severities which the legislature may inflict on them.* The latter half of the statement is correct, but we think the former is not so. The truth of the proposition that those, for instance, who are affected by the proceedings of the court of chancery are never without the means of making their complaints *effectually* heard cannot be admitted, without very large modifications, by any one who knows anything of the court of chancery either as a suitor or as a practitioner therein. The word "poor" is a word of comparative import—and, for every purpose of preventing his being robbed and oppressed, every man who has not a sum of money from 200*l.* upwards to pay for it is just as much without the power of protecting his rights, or of redressing his wrongs, for the protection of which rights and the redress of which wrongs the court of chancery professes to exist, as the "poor and destitute" spoken of above are without the power

* Statesmen, first series, p. 137.

† We refer to the report in Dickens, from Lord Hardwicke's own MS. notes. The reports of the same case in 3 Atk. 751, and in 1 Ves. sen. 546, will furnish no idea of what we allude to.

‡ 2 Jac. and Walk. 1. § 1 Russ. 1.

* Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, by Henry Roscoe, Esq., barrister at-law, in 'Eminent British Lawyers,' Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, p. 397.

of effectually redressing their grievances. Hard was the case undoubtedly of many of those belonging to the class of persons in whose behalf Sir Samuel Romilly so ably and humanely exerted himself. Nor do we forget that Sir Samuel also attended to the interests of other classes in the introduction of a bill, which, though then lost, has, in substance, since become law,* for making freehold estates assets for the payment of simple contract debts. But is it not a strange hardship in a country called free and civilized, that a man entitled to 500*l.* cannot obtain the interference of the court of chancery, which is requisite to enable him to get possession of his property, without paying half of it to the said court and its ministers for the use of its machinery? And is it not a strange hardship that the executors or administrators of a person deceased cannot pay 500*l.*, being the residue of such person's estate, over to his representatives without first passing it through the court of chancery, in which process half of it will stick by the way, unless they choose to run the risk of having to pay it twice over, in case it should afterwards turn out that the deceased had left unsatisfied debts to that amount? The whole magic of the process of the court of chancery results in the master inserting an advertisement in the Gazette in his name to the creditors, if any, to come with their claims within a specified time. Could not the creditors be conjured up by an advertisement from the executors or administrators which would cost a few shillings, as well as by one from a master in chancery, which may cost a few hundred pounds? Or, if a master's interference be deemed on the whole eligible, might it not be had for a reasonable consideration?

In these remarks we would not be misunderstood. It is not the general principles of the system of what is termed equity jurisprudence at present existing in England that we are now impugning. That system is undoubtedly complicated; but it is so, because the many and ever varying wants and relations of a wealthy and civilized community are complicated. But the manner in which it applies the principles of equity, of equality, that is, of IMPARTIALITY,† as between man and man, to those complicated circumstances, however much it may fall short of the perfectibility schemes of closet jurists, does not depart so much from the path either of practical common sense or substantial justice as some of its ignorant detractors would lead their dupes to imagine. The adoption in America of our equity system as a distinct system from the common law, when there was no *à priori* reason in favour of it, where, on the contrary, there was a prejudice against imitating England after the rupture of the connexion between the countries, seems certainly a somewhat strong argument in favour of the separation of the two systems as a matter of convenience, at least in countries under the common, and not the civil or Roman law.* "But it would be unfair," to quote a few words of what we have said on this subject in another place, "not to apprise the reader that the general conclusion drawn from considering these principles, without reference to the machinery by which, in England at least, they are put in operation, would be more favourable to the system than the actual state of facts warrants. Such, notwithstanding some recent attempts at reform, and notwithstanding the high character of the English equity judges, is the cumbrous and inefficient nature of that machinery, that the working of it is attended with a degree of expense that renders it totally unavailable, unless the amount of property in question is very considerable, and with a degree of delay that, whatever be the amount of property, is unavoidably productive of the greatest inconvenience, vexation, and anxiety, to the parties interested." †

In his sketch of Sir Samuel Romilly,‡ Lord Brougham, after dwelling on the talents and virtues of that eminent lawyer, adds—"If defects are required to be thrown into such a sketch, and are deemed as necessary as the shades in a picture, or, at least, as the more subdued tones of some parts for giving relief to others, this portraiture of Romilly must be content to remain imperfect.

* 3 and 4 Will. 4, c. 104.

† We quote the following remarks on this term which we had occasion to make on another occasion:—"In its most general, and indeed in its etymological sense, equity means equality,[a] impartiality. The latter term seems to us to convey a clearer idea than can be obtained from any turning and twisting of the words *jus*, or *justice*, or any talk about 'giving to every man his own.' For, after all, the question will still recur, what is a man's own? So that the definition of justice to be '*constans et perpetua voluntas jus suum cuique tribuendi*,'[b] seems but a begging of the question; for it assumes the main *desideratum* as a known quantity. But *impartiality* conveys one clear and distinct idea, pointing toward the path which may at last conduct us to the wished-for goal; for if the claims of the respective contending parties or claimants be weighed impartially and carefully, that is, with due deliberation and pains-taking, and without fear or favour, we may reasonably hope that the true value or character of each will at last be correctly ascertained, and then, but not till then, shall every man have his own."—*British and Foreign Review*, vol. xiv. p. 154; article, 'Story's Equity Jurisprudence.'

[a] Bracton thus defines equity: "Equitas autem est rerum convenientia, quæ in paribus causis paria desiderat jura, et omnia bene coæquiparat; et dicitur æquitas, quasi æqualitas."—*Bracton*, lib. i. c. 4, § 5, p. 3.

[b] Dig. lib. i. tit. 1, l. 10, 11.

* See Mr. Justice Story's Commentaries on Equity Jurisprudence as administered in England and America, vol. i. pp. 49-52. "Equity jurisprudence," says Mr. Justice Story (i. 49, *note*), "scarcely had an existence, in any large and appropriate sense of the term, in any part of New England, during its colonial state (1 Dane, abridg. ch. i., art. 7, § 51; 7 Dane, abridg. ch. ccxxv., art. 1, 2). In Massachusetts and Rhode Island it still has but a very limited extent. In Maine and New Hampshire more general equity powers have been, within a few years, given to their highest courts of law. In Vermont and Connecticut it had an earlier establishment; in the former state, since the Revolution, and in the latter a short time before the Revolution (2 Swift, Dig. p. 15, edit. 1823). In Virginia there does not seem to have been any court, having chancery powers, earlier than the Act of 1700, ch. iv. (3 Tucker's Black App. 7). In New York the first court of chancery was established in 1701, but it was so unpopular, from its powers being vested in the governor and council, that it had very little business until it was re-organised in 1778 (1 John, Ch. Rep. Preface; Camp. and Camb. American Chancery Digest, Preface, 6; Blake's Chan. Introduct. VIII.). In New Jersey it was established in 1795 (1 Foub. Eq. by Laussat, edit. 1834, p. 14, *note*). Mr. Laussat, in his Essay on Equity in Pennsylvania (1826), has given an account of its origin and progress, and present state, in that Commonwealth (p. 16 to 31). From this account we learn that the permanent establishment of a court of equity was successfully resisted by the people during the whole of its colonial existence, and that the year 1790 is the true point at which we must fix the establishment of equity in the jurisprudence of Pennsylvania. It has since been greatly expanded by some legislative enactments (see als 7 Dane, abridg. ch. ccxxv., art. 1, 2)."

† British and Foreign Review, vol. xiv. p. 190, art. 'Story's Equity Jurisprudence.'

‡ Statesmen, first series, p. 295.

For what is there on which to dwell for blame, if it be not a proneness to prejudice in favour of opinions resembling his own, a blindness to the defects of those who held them, and a prepossession against those who held them not?" We have certainly heard one other defect, that of being somewhat harsh and overbearing in his demeanour towards his juniors at the bar, attributed to Sir Samuel Romilly, we hope without sufficient foundation; for we should be sorry that this defect, "the sin that doth most easily beset" successful barristers, should have in any, the slightest, degree the countenance of such a man as Sir Samuel Romilly. And certainly it is a quality most commonly found, not in humane and gentle natures such as his is described to have been, but in natures whose innate brutality has never been humanized either by a liberal education or polished society.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH.

The most eminent common-law judge in this period was Lord Ellenborough, lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench. We have already seen Lord Ellenborough distinguish himself as Mr. Law, the leading counsel for Mr. Hastings in his famous trial. He soon after rose to the lead of the northern circuit, to which by birth he belonged, his father being Bishop of Carlisle. In Westminster Hall, though successful, he never rose, Lord Brougham says,* "into the first lead, having, indeed, to contend with most able rivals, and among them with Erskine, the greatest advocate of all." Of his judicial qualifications Lord Brougham, who must have had opportunities of knowing them minutely, thus speaks:—"When his powerful mind was brought to bear upon any question that came before him, whether sitting alone at nisi prius, or with his brethren in banc, the impression which he made upon it was immediate, sure, and deep. Sometimes it required the modification of the whole court revising what he had done alone; sometimes the interposition of his fellows sitting with him; but its value was always great, and no man doubted the energy or could avoid feeling the weight of his blows.'

"The books are perhaps not the only quarters whither we should resort to find the memorials of a chief judge's learning or talents for transacting judicial business. All that relates to sittings and circuits—that is, nearly two-thirds of his judicial labours, and by far the most important portion of them—leaves no trace whatever in these valuable repertories of legal learning. Yet the term reports bear ample testimony to the vigour of this eminent individual's capacity during the eighteen years that he filled the first place among the English common-law judges." *

But we must now look at the other side of the picture. "The chief defect of Lord Ellenborough's judicial character, not unconnected with the hastiness of his temper, also bore some relation to the vigour of his understanding, which made him somewhat contemptuous of weaker men, and somewhat overweening in reliance upon himself. He was not sufficiently patient and passive, as a judge ought habitually to be. He was apt to overlook suggestions, which, though valuable, might be more feebly urged than suited his palate. He was fond of taking the case prematurely into his own hands. He dispatched business with great celerity, and, for the most part, with success. But causes were not sifted before him with that closeness of scrutiny, and parties were not suffered to bring forward all they had to state with that fulness and freedom, which alone can prevent misdecision and ensure the due administration of justice. There was a common saying in his time, which contrasts the court of chancery under Lord Eldon, with the King's Bench under Lord Ellenborough,—'the two sides of Westminster Hall,' as the equity and law departments are technically called. The one was said to hear everything and decide nothing, the other to decide everything and hear nothing. But in banc, where full time has been given for preparation, where the court never can be taken by surprise, where, moreover, the assistance of three puisne judges is ever at hand to remedy the chief's defects and control his impatience, this hasty disposition and warm temperament were comparatively harmless, and seldom produced mischievous effects to the suitor. At *nisi prius* it is far otherwise; for there a false step is easily made, and it may not be easily retraced. If the judge's power has prevented a moderately experienced practitioner from taking an objection in due time, or from urging it with sufficient distinctness, his client may often be told that he is too late, when he seeks to be restored against the consequences of this mishap. So when a verdict has been obtained against the justice of the case, and the judge, through the impatience of his nature, has not disapproved it, the injury is remediless, because a new trial will in most instances be refused, or, if granted, can only be obtained by the payment of all costs. There can be no manner of doubt, I apprehend, that, taking into the account the defect now mentioned, Lord Tenterden was, upon the whole, a better judge than his abler and

* Statesmen, third series, p. 199.

* Statesmen, third series, p. 203.

more vigorous predecessor. But it is also clear that he did not as vigorously dispatch the business of the sittings before him." *

Lord Brougham, who was one of the counsel engaged in the cause, defends Lord Ellenborough against the charge of having allowed his political feelings to bias him in the discharge of his judicial office on the trial of Lord Cochrane's case. "I have the best reason to know," observes his lordship, "that all who assisted at this trial were in truth convinced of the purity with which the judicial duties were discharged, and the equality with which justice was administered. Lord Ellenborough was not of those judges who, in directing the jury, merely read over their notes, and let them guess at the opinions they have formed; leaving them without any help or recommendation to form their own judgments. Upon each case that came before him he had an opinion; and, while he left the decision with the jury, he intimated how he thought himself. This manner of performing the office of judge is now generally followed, and most commonly approved. It was the course taken by this great judge in trying Lord Cochrane and his alleged associates; but, if any of those who attacked him for it had been present at the trial of the case which stood immediately before it or after it in the paper, he would have found Lord Ellenborough trying that case in the selfsame way, it being an action upon a bill of exchange or for goods sold and delivered." †

In reference to the observation that Lord Ellenborough's sarcasms derived adventitious force from his Cumberland dialect, Lord Brougham says that, except in the pronouncing of a few words, his solecisms were not perceivable, though his manner and voice were eminently characteristic; and his lordship adds the following very curious particulars on the subject of pronunciation:—"It was a great mistake to suppose that such pronunciations as 'Marchant,' 'Hartford,' were provincial; they are old English, and came from a time when the spelling was as we have now written the words. He was of those, too, who said 'Lunnun' and 'Brummagem;' but this, too, is the good old English dialect, and was always used by Mr. Perceval, who never crossed the Trent except twice a year going the midland circuit. Mr. Fox, a lover of the Saxon dialect, in like manner, always so spoke; and preferred 'Cales,' and 'Sheer,' and 'Groyne,' to 'Cadiz,' 'Shire,' and 'Corunna.'" ‡

The history of the Revenue of the British empire during the present period exhibits a series of financial operations far transcending in magnitude anything else of the same kind which the records of the world have to show. Never before in any country were such stupendous pecuniary means supplied by the people, or wielded by a government, as those with which her contest with Napoleon was carried on by England from its recommencement in 1803 till its triumphant termination in 1815. That space of about a dozen years deserves to be styled the era of poetry and enchantment in the history of finance.

If at all practicable without access to official registers, it would at any rate be a tedious and difficult task to recount in order all the taxes that were imposed and collected during the present period. One only was of any novelty or peculiarity. Pitt's 1798 war tax of 10 per cent. upon all incomes above 200*l.*, and of a lower rate upon all from that amount down to 60*l.*, was repealed, or given up, by his successor, Addington, after the peace of Amiens in 1802; but in lieu of part of it additional duties were at the same time laid on beer, malt, and hops, the assessed taxes were increased, and so was the tax upon ships, according to their tonnage, for every voyage to or from a foreign port, which was called the convoy tax, and was also a war tax, having been, as well as the income tax, first imposed in 1798. In 1803, when the war broke out again, the income tax was re-imposed at lower rates, and under the new name of a property tax; and in 1806 it was raised by All the Talents to its original amount of 10 per cent. The other new taxes were chiefly augmentations of the former customs, excise, and assessed taxes; very few, if any, were imposed upon new articles, for, in truth, hardly anything taxable now remained untaxed; Pitt had already laid his hands upon nearly everything out of which money could be wrung for the public service by the utmost skill of financial chemistry; all that could be done was to carry some of his processes somewhat farther; it was impossible to skin the flint stones, but the sheep might be shorn a little closer; and, accordingly, scarcely a year passed in which this was not done. The entire annual produce of the new taxes enacted in each year of the war down to the first overthrow of Bonaparte was calculated as follows at the times when they were proposed:—4,000,000*l.* in 1802; 12,500,000*l.* in 1803; 1,000,000*l.* in 1804; 1,560,000*l.* in 1805; 6,000,000*l.* in 1806; 200,000*l.* in 1808; 1,617,600*l.* in 1811; 1,495,000*l.* in 1812; 980,000*l.* in 1813.* Down to this last date no taxes, or none of any significance, had been repealed; so that, according to this account, the entire taxation of 1813 must have exceeded that of 1801 by more than 30,000,000*l.* sterling. And so it actually did; for it appears that, while the entire produce of taxation paid into the exchequer in 1801 was 34,113,146*l.*, it was 36.368,149*l.* in 1802, 38,609,392*l.* in 1803, 46,176,492*l.* in 1804, 50,897,706*l.* in 1805, 55,796,086*l.* in 1806, 59,339,321*l.* in 1807, 62,998,191*l.* in 1808, 63,719,400*l.* in 1809, 67,144,542*l.* in 1810, 65,173,545*l.* in 1811,

* Statesmen, third series, pp. 210, 211.
† Ibid., p. 220. ‡ Ibid., p. 202.

* We take these sums from a table in Mr. Porter's valuable work entitled 'The Progress of the Nation,' vol. iii., p. 305. They are stated by Mr. Porter to be derived from the budget speeches of the chancellors of the exchequer; but we apprehend that, in some instances at least, the Irish budgets, which were as yet distinct from the English, have been overlooked.

65,037,850*l.* in 1812, and 68,748,363*l.* in 1813.* In 1814 customs duties to the estimated amount of 932,827*l.* were repealed, while the new taxes imposed (all likewise in the department of the customs) were estimated to yield only 288,685*l.*; and in 1815 there was a further reduction of customs duties to the extent of 222,749*l.*, and an augmentation of others to that of 176,772*l.* Nevertheless there appears to have been no falling off, but a large increase, in the entire produce of the national taxation for these two years; it is stated to have been 71,134,503*l.* in 1814, and 72,210,512*l.* in 1815. In 1816 new taxes, partly in the customs, partly in the excise, were laid on to the estimated amount of 375,058*l.*; but both a portion of the malt duty and other duties of excise and customs, yielding in all nearly 3,000,000*l.*, and the income tax, yielding above 14,500,000*l.*, were repealed. These reductions, however, did not take full effect till the next year: the entire amount of taxation paid into the exchequer is stated to have been 62,264,546*l.* in 1816, and 52,055,913*l.* in 1817. The only considerable alteration made after this was in 1819, when an additional duty was imposed on malt calculated to yield 1,400,000*l.*, and also other new taxes on foreign wool, British spirits, tobacco, and two or three other articles, from which and from some improved arrangements in the collection of the revenue a sum of about 1,800,000*l.* was expected; other taxes, however, were at the same time given up to the amount of about 270,000*l.* The result of these changes was, that, while the entire revenue arising from taxation was 53,747,795*l.* in 1818, and 52,648,847*l.* in 1819, it was raised in 1820 to 54,282,958*l.*†

But in addition to these amounts the following sums were also raised by loans and exchequer bills, beyond the amount of the national debt redeemed, in each of the fifteen years from 1802 to 1816 inclusive:—14,638,254*l.* (making the total revenue 51,006,403*l.*) in 1802; 8,752,761*l.* (making in all 47,362,153*l.*) in 1803; 14,570,763*l.* (in all 60,747,255*l.*) in 1804; 16,849,801*l.* (in all 67,747,507*l.*) in 1805; 13,035,344*l.* (in all 71,831,430*l.*) in 1806; 10,432,934*l.* (in all 69,772,255*l.*) in 1807; 12,095,044*l.* (in all 75,093,235*l.*) in 1808; 12,298,379*l.* (in all 76,017,779*l.*) in 1809; 7,792,444*l.* (in all 74,936,986*l.*) in 1810; 19,143,953*l.* (in all 84,317,498*l.*) in 1811; 24,790,697*l.* (in all 89,818,547*l.*) in 1812; 39,649,282*l.* (in all 108,397,645*l.*) in 1813; 34,563,603*l.* (in all 105,698,106*l.*) in 1814; 20,241,807*l.* (in all 92,452,319*l.*) in 1815; and 514,059*l.* (making in all 62,778,605*l.*) in 1816. In the remaining four years of the period the sums applied to the redemption of the debt exceeded the amounts raised by loans and exchequer bills; in 1817 by 1,826,814*l.*; in 1818 by 1,624,606*l.*; in 1819 by 3,163,130*l.*; and in 1820 by 1,918,919*l.*

Throughout the whole of this period, also, large sums continued to be raised, according to the system which had been in operation ever since the establishment of the first sinking fund in 1716,* only for the reduction, or redemption, as it was expressed, of the debt which the raising of these very sums created. The curious process, however, of borrowing with the one hand in order to pay with the other was, in the vain hope of making it profitable, more than once subjected to certain modifications, which it will be proper to explain before exhibiting the results of the combined action of the two forces that were thus kept moving in opposite directions upon the mass of the public debt.

At the commencement of the present century the redemption of the debt, in so far as even the form of any such operation was preserved, was conducted by means of the machinery of Mr. Pitt's two sinking funds, established, the one in 1786 the other in 1792.† In 1802 these two funds were united for the discharge of the debts then existing; and at the same time the practice was revived of applying one per cent. on the capital of every new loan to form a sinking fund for its extinction, which was the principle of the sinking fund of 1792, but had ceased to be adhered to since 1798. But in truth no real sinking fund of any kind could properly be said to have been in existence since 1792: large payments indeed continued to be made by the commissioners for the redemption of the debt; but from that date no actual diminution of the debt was thereby effected: the purchases of stock by the commissioners were made with money which was borrowed for that very purpose; in other words a portion of the old debt was paid off merely by an equivalent amount of new debt being contracted. And this was all that was done down to 1817.

In 1807, while All the Talents were in power, a new plan of finance was propounded by their chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Henry Petty (the present Marquess of Lansdowne), by which the public imagination was flattered with the assurance that the then war expenditure, estimated at 11,000,000*l.* per annum beyond the produce of the taxes, might, if necessary, be kept up for ever, mainly by a system of borrowing, and with scarcely any aid from further taxation. The project was founded upon the principle that any loan might be extinguished in fourteen years by setting aside, for that purpose, an annual sum equal to the tenth part of the amount of the loan: the half of the sum so allotted, or five per cent. upon the amount of the loan, it was calculated, would suffice to discharge the interest and the cost of management, while the other five per cent. would form a sinking fund to pay off the principal. The existing war taxes at this time produced

* Porter's Progress of the Nation, ii. 290. See another account, calculated apparently upon different principles, in Hamilton's Inquiry concerning the National Debt, 3rd edit. pp. 203, 204.

† Porter, iii. 290, 303, 306.

* See Pictorial Hist. of Eng. iv. 686.

† See ante, vol. iii. pp. 624, 625.

21,000,000*l.* per annum, and it was proposed that the 10 per cent. upon the amount of each loan should be drawn from that source; the phraseology employed was, that so much of the produce of the war taxes should be *mortgaged* every year as should provide the requisite 10 per cent. But in truth it did not matter from what particular fund this money was obtained, whether it was taken from the war taxes or from any of the other taxes, or from the loan itself; it would in any case equally form a deduction from the revenue of the year. In the explanation, however, it may be most convenient to suppose, as was done at the time, that the extinction of the successive loans, and the payment of the interest upon them, were to be effected by mortgaging, for these purposes, successive portions of the annual revenue of 21,000,000*l.*, produced by the property tax and the other war taxes. It was proposed then that in the first year there should be raised by loan the sum of 12,000,000*l.*, being 1,000,000*l.* more than was required (as above explained) for the expenditure of the year. For this the portion of the war taxes to be mortgaged would, therefore, be only 200,000*l.*, that and the superfluous 1,000,000*l.* together making the 1,200,000*l.* required. The 200,000*l.*, however, though thus affected to be, as it were, given up by the war revenue, could not, of course, be actually spared from the expenditure of the year; and an equivalent sum was accordingly to be raised by what was called a supplementary loan. It is quite evident that this was the same thing, in so far as regarded the real burthen or liability imposed upon the country, as if the whole sum borrowed in the year, 1,200,000*l.*, had been raised by one operation. By the plan, however, the supplementary loans were to be treated differently from what, for distinction's sake, we may call the original loans of each year; their ultimate extinction was to be provided for by a sinking fund (as in the system of 1792) of 1 per cent. upon their nominal amount, or, supposing them to be funded in the 3 per cents. at 60, of 1-60th of the sum borrowed. How then were this 1-60th and the interest upon the supplementary loans to be obtained? A supplementary loan to the supplementary loans, and a third supplementary loan to that, might have been devised; and so on the project might have been carried through an infinite series of such operations, just as wisely and profitably as through the first term of the series; but here the supplementary borrowing stopped, and it was proposed that the provision for the interest and extinction of the supplementary loan should be made by laying on new taxes. "To this complexion must we come at last," it ought, indeed, to have been obvious enough, in any scheme of borrowing whatever that recognised the principle of repayment, or even that of paying the interest upon a continually augmenting succession of loans. From the moderate amount of the supplementary loan for the first year, however, it may be thought that these supplementary loans never could rise to any considerable sum. Let us see. The scheme for the original loans (upon which all the rest depended) in every year of the fourteen was, that in the second and third years the sum annually borrowed should, as in the first year, be 12,000,000*l.*, that in the fourth year it should be 14,000,000*l.*, and that in each of the succeeding ten years it should be 16,000,000*l.* Here were 210,000,000*l.* to be borrowed in all, the ten per cent. upon which would absorb the entire war revenue of 21,000,000*l.* "But," it was argued, "the debt contracted the first year being now paid off by the sinking fund appropriated to it, the portion of the war taxes mortgaged for it would be set free, and be applicable to the loan of the following year; and, another portion being set free the following and each succeeding year, these loans might be continued on this system without limitation of time." * All true, if we look only to the original loans—if these "might be the be all and the end all" of the scheme; but the original loans, as we have seen, could only be provided for out of the war taxes, in the manner proposed, by the produce of these taxes, thus carried away and lost to the income and necessary expenditure of the country, being supplied by additional loans, which additional or supplementary loans must themselves be provided for by new taxes. It is easy for any one to make the calculation upon the data we have given, or the whole may be seen set out in clear and indisputable tabular deductions in Dr. Hamilton's work, where it appears that the sum to be raised by supplementary loan having been, as already stated, 200,000*l.* the first year, it would the second year be 1,400,000*l.*, and would go on increasing till it became 16,000,000*l.* the fourteenth year, and 20,000,000*l.* the fifteenth. Afterwards it would never exceed the 20,000,000*l.*, nor fall below the 16,000,000*l.* The stern impartiality of Dr. Hamilton, whig as he was, has pronounced on this financial scheme of All the Talents the condemnation of being simply the worst, and by a great deal the worst, and most wasteful that ever was proposed by any ministry. He shows that at the end of fourteen years, if Lord Henry Petty's system had been persevered in, it would have occasioned a loss to the public of 19,448,136*l.*, and at the end of twenty years a loss of 43,412,538*l.* above the plan of raising an equivalent revenue without any sinking fund at all. By the system of a sinking fund of one-sixtieth, the loss would have been only 14,970,583*l.*; and by that of a sinking fund of one-hundredth (or one per cent.) it would have been only 8,782,350*l.* in that space of time. "We have heard it maintained," he observes, "that a system may be so constructed, that, although it does harm in the first years of its operation, the result, after a long continuance, will be beneficial. From its effects after a few years we may judge with certainty of its ultimate tendency. Suppose, after a trial of ten years, it has

* Hamilton's Inquiry concerning the National Debt, p. 145.

rendered the state of our national finance so many millions worse than it would have been under a different system, but after that period it takes a beneficial turn. Were this possible, it would be better to follow the measures of that other system for these ten years, and then commence, upon a better basis, the measures of the former. But the supposition of a change of tendency is absurd. If it do harm in the beginning, it will do more harm the longer it is persevered in." He goes on to show that the real loss by Lord Henry Petty's system in the twenty years might be justly estimated at a sum considerably higher than he has taken it at. The 43,412,538*l.*, he says, "is the sum which the public must pay to the national creditors, or remain under the burden of, in addition to the sums raised by loan and applied to the national service. It arises from the operation of compound interest against the public, and is incurred for the sake of postponing the payment of interest, which should commence when the debt is contracted, to a distant time. But, besides this, another loss is incurred by the system of borrowing larger sums than are wanted, in order to maintain a sinking fund; and a further loss is incurred by borrowing in a three per cent. fund during war, when the price is low, to be repaid during peace, when the price is high.....These two sources of loss, indeed, attach to other systems, where similar measures are followed, as well as to Lord Henry Petty's; but they take place in his system to a greater degree, because the measures from which they arise are carried there to a greater extent."*

This plan, however, was thrown overboard with the ministry which had produced it; and no further change was made or attempted till, in 1813, the then chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, brought forward another scheme, which was adopted by parliament, for remedying certain defects and inconveniences in the working of the system established in 1802, and restoring the existing sinking fund more nearly to what it was when first instituted by Pitt in 1786. Up to this time, it is to be observed, the original limitation of the sinking fund to an annual amount of 4,000,000*l.* having been repealed in 1802, the interest upon the portion of the debt which was redeemed had continued to be provided every year, and to be applied to the further reduction of the debt; so that, although a sum equal to the whole debt of 1786 had now been in fact purchased by the commissioners, or, in other words, discharged, the country had as yet derived no relief in the form of a diminution of taxation from that operation. It was now arranged that the debt vested in the hands of the commissioners should be declared to be discharged, and that the sums hitherto appropriated for the interest and sinking fund of the same should be appropriated, so soon as required, to bear the charge of future loans. In this way it was calculated that the loans that would be necessary at the present rate of expenditure for the current year 1813, and also those of 1814, 1815, 1816, and part of that of 1817, would all be provided for, in so far as regarded the interest upon them and the sinking funds for their gradual liquidation, without the imposition of any additional taxes. At the same time the sinking fund of one per cent. was restored to the portion of the debt, amounting to 86,796,375*l.*, which had, in 1802, been charged on the consolidated fund without any such provision for its discharge; a sinking fund also of one per cent. was provided for the amount of exchequer bills then in circulation, which was about 26,000,000*l.*; and for these purposes taxes to the amount of 1,127,963*l.* were imposed the first year, and it was determined that, in like manner, a sinking fund of one per cent. should be annually provided for any addition to the amount of exchequer bills in circulation not redeemed within the year. Further, it was arranged that, in future, instead of each separate loan having its own sinking fund of one per cent., all those funds should be united, and that, as soon as in this way a sum equal to the first loan that had been contracted since 1792 should be redeemed, that loan should be declared to be discharged, and the charge on the same considered as released for the public service; and so with regard to each successive loan, till the whole debt should be redeemed. The more effectually to secure the redemption of each future loan within forty-five years from the time of its being contracted, there were also provided a sinking fund for the excess of the loan above the sum applicable in the same year to the reduction of the public debt, equal to one-half of the interest, and another of one per cent. on the nominal capital of the remainder. Then, with regard to future taxation under this system, it was appointed that, if no loan, according to the scheme, fell in or was discharged within the year, new taxes should be imposed equal to the whole interest and sinking fund upon whatever sum should be borrowed; but, if any loans fell in, the interest on these loans, being released, should be appropriated to the charge of the new loan or loans of the year, and taxes imposed only for the surplus. If the interest on the loans released should exceed the interest on the loans contracted, of course no new taxes were to be imposed that year; and the surplus of interest released was to be reserved and applied in aid of the charge of the loan of the subsequent year.

In reference to the objection made to this plan as trenching on the sinking funds formerly established and thereby diminishing the security of the public creditor, Dr. Hamilton, after showing that the allegation on which the objection rests is unfounded, observes that, "after all, the security of the public creditors is not so much affected by any regulations adopted in the management of our finance as by the magnitude and increase of the national debt." "If," he justly says, "the amount of the loans be greater than what the capitalists

* Inquiry, 3rd edit., 1818, p. 219: see also pp. 143-146, 208-219, and 334, 335.

can easily supply, the consequence is a depression of the funds; and this, at the same time that it occasions the loans to be contracted on unfavourable terms, induces a loss upon those stockholders who are obliged to sell. The largeness of the loans, and the high amount of funded capital, are the real causes of the depression of the funds; and no security ever was or could be given to the public creditors, at the contraction of any loan, that could limit the contraction of such debts in future as the exigencies of the times might require; and, if the amount of debt seem to approach to its utmost limit, while the public expense is still increasing, the dread of a national bankruptcy will depress the funds in a still higher degree. A private creditor attends to the amount of the debts, and the comparative state of the income and the expenses, of his debtor. If he finds his debts increasing beyond the measure of his estate, his alarms will be excited, and they will not be much relieved by any detail of the arrangement of his affairs which the steward may communicate to him."*

As for the part of the plan declaring the debt of 1786 to be cancelled, and allocating the sinking fund provided for it to bear the charge of the new loans, this, Dr. Hamilton remarks, is merely a point of official regulation, and is attended with no injury to the national creditor. Whether it deserves to be regarded as a beneficial measure for the public is another question. It will appear by calculation that, supposing 28,000,000*l.* to have been borrowed annually at 5 per cent., upon a term of eight years, the new system, as compared with the old, would have saved 44,972,624*l.* in taxes, but would have made a greater addition to the debt by 53,630,941*l.*; in other words, would have upon the whole entailed a loss of 8,661,317*l.*; and that upon a term of sixteen years, while the saving in taxes would have been 132,606,864*l.*, the addition to the debt would have been greater by 185,472,138*l.*, and the loss upon the whole 52,865,274*l.* This is only another confirmation of the principle, which Hamilton lays down, "that, whenever a nation does not tax to the amount of its expenditure, an increase of debt, to a higher amount than the sum saved in taxes, is inevitable; and, in the comparison of different systems, those which impose the lightest taxes must always bring on an increase of debt in a still higher degree."† The point to be determined then is, whether the present relief from taxes promised by the new system was worth the cost at which it was thus to be purchased, which, depending upon general considerations of a miscellaneous nature, is not a matter of arithmetical calculation.

But the system of paying old debts by contracting new ones was not destined to last much longer in any form. In the same year, 1813, in which the new plan of finance which we have been describing was proposed to parliament by Mr. Vansittart, and further explained and advocated in an official pamphlet entitled 'Outlines of a Plan of Finance,' appeared the first edition of Dr. Hamilton's admirable work, in which the following among other truths were demonstrated: "The excess of revenue above expenditure is the only real sinking fund by which the public debt can be discharged; the increase of the revenue, or the diminution of expense, are the only means by which this sinking fund can be enlarged, and its operations rendered more effectual; and all schemes for discharging the national debt, by sinking funds operating at compound interest, or in any other manner, unless so far as they are founded upon this principle, are illusory."* And it was also shown that, when a sinking fund is kept up connected with an increasing debt, as in every loan the contractors have a profit at the expense of the public, the public, besides the expense of management, sustains a loss equal to the *bonus* attending the additional loans;† that a further loss is incurred by borrowing money during war, when the price of stock is low, to be repaid during peace when the price is high; and, lastly, that there is also at least a considerable risk of loss in the practice which has been almost uniformly followed of increasing the nominal capital of the debt in the case of each loan by a larger sum than that actually borrowed.‡ Dr. Hamilton's statements and expositions, now, it may be said, universally assented to, and admitted to be unassailable, made immediately a considerable impression upon the public mind, notwithstanding the opposing prejudices of a century, prejudices and habits of thinking in which all parties had equally concurred; it was a few years longer before the new views penetrated the thicker air of parliamentary use and wont; but at length, in 1819, their truth was at least tacitly admitted by the adoption by the House of Commons of the following resolution:—"That, to provide for the exigencies of the public service, to make such progressive reduction of the national debt as may adequately support public credit, and to afford the country a prospect of future relief from a part of its present burthen, it is absolutely necessary that there should be a clear surplus of the income of the country beyond the expenditure of not less than 5,000,000*l.*; and that, with a view to the attainment of this important object, it is expedient now to increase the income of the country by the imposition of taxes to the amount of 3,000,000*l.* per annum." It was not, however, till ten years later that the sinking fund was actually put an end to by the 10 Geo. IV. c. 27, which enacted that the sum applicable in future to the reduction of the national debt should be the surplus, if any, of the total revenue beyond the total expenditure of the kingdom, and that all stock and annuities for

* 'Inquiry,' p. 222. † Id. p. 225.

* An Inquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and Present State, and the Management of the National Debt of Great Britain and Ireland; by Robert Hamilton, LL.D., F.R.S.E., Professor of Mathematics in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. 3rd edition, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1818, p. 45.

† Id. p. 195.

‡ Id. pp. 237, *et seq.*

years standing in the names of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt on the 5th of July, 1829, should be cancelled, and the dividends cease to be issued out of the Consolidated Fund.*

We will now enumerate in their order the entire succession of the vast financial operations by which the amount of the national debt was augmented in the course of the wars arising out of the French Revolution.

At the commencement of the first war with France in 1793 the unredeemed funded debt amounted to 227,989,148*l.*, imposing an annual burthen upon the country, for interest, terminable annuities, and management (besides the charge of maintaining the sinking fund) of 8,934,571*l.* In 1793 there was raised by loan the sum of 4,500,000*l.*, creating a new debt, or capital, as it is termed, of 6,250,000*l.*, and an additional annual charge for interest and management of 190,312*l.* In 1794 the sum raised by loan was 11,000,000*l.*; the new capital created 13,750,000*l*; the additional annual charge 509,687*l.* The same year navy and victualling bills were funded to the amount of 1,907,451*l.* creating a stock of 1,926,526*l.*, and a further annual charge of 97,193*l.* In 1795 two loans were raised; the first, of 18,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 24,000,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 877,262*l.*; the second also of 18,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 26,095,800*l*, with an annual charge of 853,775*l.* A loan of 4,600,000*l.* was also raised on the guarantee of the British government for the Emperor of Germany, creating a capital of 3,833,333*l.*, and an annual charge of 349,312*l.* And the same year navy and victualling bills were funded to the amount of 1,490,647*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 1,609,898*l.*, with an annual charge of 81,219*l.* In 1796 two loans were again raised; the first, of 7,500,000*l.*, creating a stock of 10,793,825*l.*, with an annual charge of 349,486*l.*; the second, called the Loyalty Loan, of 18,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 20,124,843*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,015,299*l.* And the same year navy and victualling bills were funded to the amount of 4,226,727*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 4,414.074*l.*, with an annual charge of 222,689*l.*; and subsequently navy and exchequer bills were also funded to the amount of 13,029,399*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 21,612,826*l.*, with an annual charge of 712,911*l.* In 1797 the sum raised by loan was 14,500,000*l.*, and the new stock thereby created 28,275,000*l.*, with an additional annual charge of 933,963*l.* And there was, besides, another loan of 1,620,000*l.* raised for the emperor, creating stock to the amount of 3,669,300*l.*, with an annual charge of 111,730*l.* In 1798 there were two loans, one of 17,000,000*l.*, creating capital to the amount of, 34,000,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,077,561*l.*; the other, of 3,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 5,624,250*l.*, with an annual charge of 171,257*l.* In 1799 a loan was raised of 15,500,000*l.*, creating a capital of 27,125,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 825,955*l.* In 1800 there was raised by loan a sum of 20,500,000*l.*, creating a capital of 32,185,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 980,033*l.* In 1801 there was raised by loan 28,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 49,210,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,498,444*l.* In 1802 there was raised by loan 25,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 32,990,625*l.*, with an annual charge of 951,562*l.*; and exchequer bills were funded to the amount of 8,910,450*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 11,138,063*l.*, with an annual charge of 436,142*l.* The entire amount of the funded debt at the peace of Amiens in 1802, or rather as it was found to be, after the accounts of the year were made up, on the 1st of February, 1803, was 499,753,063, bearing an interest of 18,027,104*l.* (of which 1,604,915*l.* consisted of annuities for years or lives): and there was also an unfunded debt of 20,554,038*l.*, bearing an interest of 616,621*l.*; making altogether an amount of 520,207,101*l.*, with an annual charge of 18,643,725*l.*, exclusive of the expense of management.

In 1803, after the recommencement of the war, a loan was raised of 12,000,000*l.*, creating new capital to the amount of 19,200,000*l.*, with an additional annual charge of 621,355*l.* In 1804 the sum of 14,500,000*l.* was raised by loan, adding 26,390,000*l.* to the capital of the debt, and 800,673*l.* to the annual charge. In 1805 two loans were raised; one of 22,500,000*l.*, creating a capital of 38,700,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,174,158*l.*; the other (for Ireland only) of 1,500,000*l.*, which being mostly raised on long annuities, added only 360,000*l.* to the principal of the debt, but 93,760*l.* (including expenses of management) to the interest. In 1806 the sum raised by loan was 20,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 33,200,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,007,288*l.* In 1807 two loans were raised; one of 14,200,000*l.*, creating a capital of 21,385,200*l.*, with an annual charge of 678,931*l.*; the other (for Ireland only), of 1,500,000*l.*, creating a capital of 2,409,625*l.*, with an annual charge of 73,108*l.* In 1808 the sum of 10,500,000*l.* was raised by loan, creating a capital of 12,408,375*l.*, with an annual charge of 500,553*l.*; and exchequer bills were funded to the amount of 4,000,000*l.*, creating a further capital of 4,239,254*l.*, with an annual charge of 48,041*l.* This year also part of the loan of 1802, in conformity with the terms upon which it was contracted, came to bear additional interest to the amount of 48,041*l.* In 1809, a loan was raised of 14,600,000*l.* (including 600,000*l.* for the service of Portugal), creating a capital of 17,520,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 684,188*l.*; and exchequer bills were funded to the amount of 7,932,100*l.*, creating an additional capital of 8,253,644*l.*, with an annual charge of 411,685*l.* In 1810 two loans were raised; one of 12.000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 16,845,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 511,077*l.*; the other (for Ireland) of 1,400,000*l.*, creating a

* It is somewhat remarkable that Dr. Hamilton just lived to see this public recognition and adoption of his views: the act for the abolition of the sinking fund was passed on the 1st of June, 1829, and he died at a venerable age on the 14th of July thereafter.

capital of 1,965,250*l.*, with an annual charge of 59,624*l.*; and exchequer bills were funded to the amount of 8,311,000*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 8,581,108*l.*, with an annual charge of 431,972*l.* In 1811 two loans were raised; one of 4,981,300*l.*, creating a capital of 5,166,319*l.*, with an annual charge of 259,866*l.*; the other of 12,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 16,800,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 574,892*l.*; and exchequer bills were funded to the amount of 7,018,700*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 7,278,392*l.*, with an annual charge of 366,304*l.* In 1812 there was raised by loan the sum of 22,500,000*l.*, creating a capital of 39,600,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,199,997*l.*: and exchequer bills were funded, first to the amount of 5,431,700*l.*, creating a capital of 5,866,236*l.*, with an annual charge of 295,072*l.*; and again (including a small loan in supplement) to the amount of 6,789,625*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 7,332,795*l.*, with an annual charge of 368,839*l.* In 1813 a loan was raised of 27,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 45,900,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,506,380*l.*; and exchequer bills were twice funded, first to the amount of 12,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 13,860,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 697,158*l.*; and again to the amount of 3,755,700*l.*, creating stock to the amount of 5,220,423*l.*, with an annual charge of 210,383*l.* For the service of 1814 two loans were raised; one (in November, 1813) of 22,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 38,940,000*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,179,882*l.*; the other of 24,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 32,037,330*l.*, with an annual charge of 1,114,720*l.*: and 7400*l.* of debentures, issued in 1813, were also funded this year, creating stock to the amount of 11,100*l.*, with an annual charge of 333*l.* At the conclusion of the war in 1814, or rather on the 1st of February, 1815, when the accounts of the year were made up, the amount of the unredeemed funded debt was found to be 674,034,548*l.*, bearing an annual charge (including annuities for years and lives) of 24,639,061*l.*; and there was, besides, an unfunded debt of 68,580,524*l.*, bearing an interest of 2,017,415*l.*; making the entire unredeemed debt 742,615,072*l.*, and the entire annual charge (exclusive of cost of management) 26,647,476*l.*

During the third short war of 1815, a loan was raised of 36,000,000*l.*, creating a capital of 66,240,000*l.* with an annual charge of 2,043,072*l.*; and exchequer bills were also funded in that year, first to the amount of 10,313,000*l.*, creating a capital of 12,066,210*l.*, with an annual charge of 606,930*l.*; and again (including a loan of 7,008,089*l.*, funded for 8,189,227*l.*) to the amount of 7,822,589*l.*, creating a capital of 9,142,192*l.*, with an annual charge of 459,851*l.* On the 1st of February, 1816, the amount of the unredeemed funded debt was 724,470,572*l.*, bearing an interest (including annuities for years or lives) of 26,666,346*l.*; besides an unfunded debt of 48,725,359*l.*, bearing an interest of 1,461,761*l.*; making the entire unredeemed debt 773,195,931*l.*, and the entire annual charge (exclusive of cost of management) 28,128,107*l.**

In 1816 the amount of the debt was reduced by the sum of 14,549,277*l.* (by part of the loans of the former year being applied to the service of the present); so that on the 1st of February, 1817, the funded debt was 708,599,566*l.*, and the unfunded 50,047,088*l.*, making a total of 758,646,654*l.*, with an annual charge of 27,652,012*l.* And in the following years of the period it was further reduced by the following amounts:—by 1,826,814*l.* in 1817; by 1,624,606*l.* in 1818; by 3,163,130*l.* in 1819; and by 1,918,019*l.* in 1820.

By the articles of the union with Ireland the then existing debts of the two countries were to continue as separate charges on the revenues of each; and such future expenses as were for the special service of either country were to be charged on the revenue of the same; the general expenses of the army, navy, and other common departments of government or defence, being appointed to be charged in the proportion of 15-17ths to Britain, and 2-17ths to Ireland. Accordingly each country continued to have its own exchequer until nearly the close of the present period. But this arrangement was put an end to in 1816 by the act 56 Geo. III. c. 98, by which the entire revenues of the two countries were consolidated and applied to the service of the United Kingdom, and it was declared that from the 5th of January, 1817, the whole of the national debts of both kingdoms, and the interest and sinking funds, should compose one consolidated national debt, interest, and sinking fund. At this date the total of the Irish unredeemed funded debt, all contracted since 1773, and for the most part funded in Britain, and consequently included in the above account, was 83,944,904*l.*, occasioning an annual charge (in addition to the sinking fund) of 4,008,701*l.*; the entire net revenue of Ireland being only 4,561,353*l.*

The payment to the Bank of England for the management of the national debt, which before 1786 was at the rate of 562*l.* 10*s.* per million of nominal capital, and which was that year reduced to 450*l.* per million, was in 1808 further reduced to 340*l.* per million upon all of the debt above 400,000,000*l.*, and to 300*l.* per million upon all of it above 600,000,000*l.* This continued to be the rate till 1833, when, by the act 3 and 4 Will. IV., c. 98, for the renewal of the charter, it was directed that a sum of 120,000*l.* should be deducted from such annual allowance.

* Abstracted from Hamilton's Inquiry, 3rd edit. pp. 104-128.

# CHAPTER IV.

## HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

AFTER the ample details which were given in the last Book relating to every branch of our foreign trade,* the commercial history of the present period may be much more briefly sketched. We will first present the general course of events, and the succession of the leading facts, in the form of a chronological review, beginning, for the sake of connexion and completeness of statement, with the first year of the century, although that year belongs, according to our division, to the preceding period.

A.D. 1801.—The rise in the prices of provisions, and of European produce generally, which had commenced in 1799 with the unfavourable prospects of the harvest of that year, and had been continued and increased by the still worse harvest of 1800 throughout that and the earlier part of the following year, was at last checked, and made to give place to an opposite state of things, by at least a moderately abundant harvest in 1801. The king's speech at the opening of parliament, in the end of October, warmly expressed the comfort and gratification the royal mind derived from the relief which the bounty of Providence had in this way afforded to the people; and, "in contemplating the situation of the country," his majesty added, "at this important conjuncture, it is impossible for me to refrain from expressing the deep sense I entertain of the temper and fortitude which have been manifested by all descriptions of my faithful subjects, under the various and complicated difficulties with which they have had to contend." The severe pressure upon subsistence had driven the starving population, in some parts of the country, into acts of rioting and outrage upon property; but their excesses were in no proportion to their protracted privations and sufferings. The greatest elevation of prices had been reached in March 1801; after that a marked change, as Mr. Tooke has observed, began to take place "in the aspect of things, both as to the influence of the seasons and the state of politics." "The winter," he goes on to explain, "had been less rigorous than the two preceding. The seed-time, both for wheat and spring corn, had been favourable, and an increased breadth of cultivation was in progress. The spring of 1801 was genial, and the crops were forward and promising. The death of the Emperor Paul of Russia, and the peace with Denmark, which followed the battle of Copenhagen, had reopened the navigation of the Baltic to British shipping, thus removing the obstruction which had been apprehended to supplies from thence; and the bounty, therefore, with the high prices, ensured a large importation of corn. Under these improved prospects of future supply the markets gave way rapidly." * The importations of grain in 1801 amounted to 1,424,766 quarters of wheat, 113,966 quarters of barley, and 583,043 quarters of oats, being the greatest quantity that had ever been imported up to that time; and the effect was to reduce the average price, between the 30th of July and the end of the year, from 129*s.* 8*d.* to 75*s.* 6*d.* for wheat, from 69*s.* 7*d.* to 44*s.* for barley, and from 37*s.* 2*d.* to 23*s.* 4*d.* for oats. Finally came the peace with France, the preliminaries of which were signed on the 1st of October; but of this great change in the circumstances of the nation and of the world the effects on trade were principally experienced in the next year. The official value of the imports in 1801 is stated to have been 31,786,262*l.*; of the exports 35,264,650*l.*†

1802.—This, the year of peace, was also one of great commercial activity and prosperity. The harvest this year was again a fair one, and the prices of corn continued to decline, till, at the close of the year, the average price was for wheat 57*s.* 1*d.*, for barley 25*s.* 7*d.*, for oats 20*s.* The official value of the imports in 1802 was 29,826,210*l.*, and that of the exports 38,309,980*l.*

1803.—The immediate renewal of the war with France may be said to have been certain from the commencement of this year. On the 8th of March a message from the king informed parliament that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, his majesty had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions; and this was followed by a declaration of war on the 18th of May. "The first effects of hostilities," says Chalmers, "which were commenced by the people with alacrity, was to reduce the value of the cargoes exported from 41,411,966*l.*,

* See vol. iii. pp. 628–664.

* History of Prices, i. 237.

† These, we find, are the figures given by Mr. Porter, in his Progress of the Nation, ii. 98, as well as in the article 'Great Britain,' in the Penny Cyclopædia, xi. 417. We shall in like manner take the amounts for future years from Mr. Porter's work. But for some remarks on the diversity of statements to be found as to this matter see *ante*, vol. iii. p. 663.

in 1802, to 31,438,495*l.*, in 1803. The next effect was to introduce into our carrying trade 112,819 tons of foreign shipping. The third effect was to lessen the British shipping which were employed in our carrying trade 173,900 tons; many of which, however, may have been taken into the service of the public when they ceased to be employed by private individuals."* The table in Mr. Porter's work makes the official value of the exports in 1803 to have been only 28,500,174*l.*; and that of the imports 26,622,696*l.* The tonnage of ships built and registered in the United Kingdom, according to another of Mr. Porter's tables, was 122,593 tons in 1801; 137,508 in 1802; 135,692 in 1803:† the entire mercantile marine belonging to the empire in 1803 is stated to have measured 2,167,863 tons, and to have consisted of 20,893 vessels, including 2,825 belonging to the colonies.‡ Chalmers justly remarks, that in every war Great Britain has employed many foreign ships, which have been immediately discharged on the return of peace. It appears that, whereas in 1801, the last year of the former war, there were 84.56 tons of foreign shipping employed for every 100 tons British, that proportion was reduced in 1802, the year of the peace, to 36.02 tons, and in 1803, the first year of renewed hostilities, was only increased again to 57.19. §

1804.—The decline of the prices of agricultural produce continued throughout the spring of 1804, the averages in March of that year having been for wheat 49*s.* 6*d.*, for barley 22*s.* 9*d.*, for oats 19*s.* 6*d.* "This fall and low range of prices," Mr. Tooke remarks, "is the more observable, because the cost of production had been considerably increased. The wages of labour had risen considerably in consequence of a recurrence of periods of great dearth; and all the implements of husbandry had experienced a very great advance in price. The rate of interest, too, was much higher, in consequence of the absorption by the government expenditure of a large part of the savings of individuals. Moreover some, although perhaps an inconsiderable proportion, of the progressive taxation attached to agricultural production; and, while the cost in labour, in capital, and taxation, applicable to native production was thus raised, the cost of a foreign supply, of which we were then supposed to stand habitually in need, was also raised by the increased charges of freight and insurance incidental to the state of war."‖ From these considerations it is inferred that the real fall of price was still greater than the apparent one. A cry of agricultural distress now arose; petitions were presented to the House of Commons, for additional protection to native produce; and an act was passed imposing a duty upon foreign wheat of 24*s.* 3*d.* per quarter when the price in the home market should be under 63*s.*; of 2*s.* 6*d.* when the home price should be at or above that rate and under 66*s.*; and of 6*d.* when it should be above 66*s.* This measure, however, never became operative. Meanwhile a committee of the House of Commons, to which the petitions of the agriculturists had been referred, had accounted as follows, in their report, for the fluctuations of prices during the bygone twelve or thirteen years:—"The price of corn from 1791 to the harvest of 1803 has been very irregular; but, upon an average, increased in a great degree by the years of scarcity, has in general yielded a fair profit to the grower. The casual high prices, however, have had the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land, which, combined with the two last productive seasons, and other causes, have occasioned such a depression in the value of grain as, it is feared, will greatly tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless maintained by the support of parliament." It appears that from 1795 to 1804 inclusive the number of inclosure bills passed by parliament was 782, or on an average 78 a year; of which number 80 were passed in 1801, 122 in 1802, 96 in 1803, and 104 in 1824. The harvest of 1804, however, turned out to be very deficient; it was calculated that, although there was an average produce in Scotland, the deficiency throughout England and Wales (occasioned by blight and mildew) was not less than from a fourth to a third.* The consequence was, that by the end of the year the average prices rose to be for wheat 86*s.* 2*d.*, for barley 43*s.* 10*d.*, for oats 26*s.* 11*d.* The foreign trade of the country had already begun to recover from the depression produced by the war; the official value of the imports this year being 27,819,552*l.*, that of the exports 32,626,050*l.*

1805.—The prospect of the harvest this year was for some time so unfavourable that the average price of wheat, after having somewhat declined from the rate of the preceding December, rose in August to the height of 98*s.* 4*d.* The crop was well got in, and the deficiency proved less than had been apprehended, so that by the close of the year the price of wheat had fallen to about 78*s.*; but still there was no such abundance as to compensate for the failure of the crops of 1804. Of the scarcity produced by that failure Mr. Tooke observes, that "it was calculated to maintain an elevation of the average price thrown over a series of years, and was the specific occasion of renewed demands by the working classes for advanced wages; claims which were rendered the more effectual by the resource which the increasing employment in the army and navy held out to the workmen who engaged in the numerous strikes of that time." And he adds that the harvests of the following years, combined with the state of politics, were not of a nature to counteract these effects. Our foreign trade, as indicated by the amount of exports and imports, continued at least to maintain itself at the point to which it had risen in the preceding year; the official value of imports for 1805 is stated to have been 28,561,270*l.*, that of exports 31,020,061*l.*

* Historical View, p. 451.
† Progress of the Nation, ii. 172.
‡ Id. 171. § Id. p. 168.
‖ History of Prices, i. 256.

* Tooke i. 262.

Of the latter sum the British and Irish produce and manufactures amounted to 23,376,941*l.*; but their declared or real value was 38,077,144*l.*; or, according to another statement also given by Mr. Porter, to 36,069,147*l.** The value of 13,625,676*l.* is stated to have been sent to foreign Europe, that of 11,011,409*l.* to the United States of America, that of 7,771,418*l.* to the rest of America, that of 2,904,584*l.* to Asia, and that of 756,060*l.* to Africa.

1806.—By the spring of this year the average price of wheat had declined to 74*s.* 5*d.* But apprehensions began again to be entertained respecting the coming crop, the appearance of which was unpromising; and in March came the proclamation of the Prussian government, under the dictation of France, prohibiting the entrance of British ships into any of its ports or rivers, which threatened to cut off our supplies of corn from the Baltic. Under these influences the price of wheat rose till, in June, it had attained to 84*s.* After the harvest, however, which turned out an average one, prices somewhat declined. On the 21st of November Bonaparte issued from the newly captured city of Berlin his famous decree declaring the whole of the British Islands in a state of blockade, but this paper blockade (a contradiction and absurdity in terms), whatever mischief it might have been qualified to operate in course of time, could have had no effect upon the foreign trade of this country in the present year. The official value of the imports for 1806 is stated to have been 26,899,658*l.*; but this falling off was more than compensated by the increase of the exports, the official value of which rose to 33,579,434*l.*; the real value of that portion of them which consisted of British and Irish produce and manufactures being, according to the first of the two accounts to which we have already referred, 40,874,983*l.*, according to the other 38,732,730*l.* To the United States there was this year sent of such goods to the value of 12,389,488*l.*, to the rest of America to that of 10,877,968*l.*; and there was also a considerable increase on the exports to Africa; but those to the rest of Europe are stated to have declined to 11,363,635*l.* This falling off, and that in the imports generally, are no doubt to be attributed to the interruption, since the early part of the year, of intercourse with the Prussian dominions.

1807.—Invalid, however, as the Berlin blockade was according to the recognised law of nations, which, to constitute a good blockade, demands as an essential element the presence of an armed force sufficient to maintain it, it is certain that the attempt to enforce it was for some time actually made by the French emperor, and that in the first three or four months after its promulgation many vessels of neutral powers were seized for infringing it, and brought into the ports of France and condemned. Whether this course would have been long persisted in, in the face of the opposition which it might seem likely to encounter from all neutral powers, may be a question; almost the only neutral power that could have offered it any effectual opposition was the American republic, and that free government had never shown much of a disposition to resist either injuries or insults proceeding from the despot of France and of the European continent; besides, it was afterwards avowed, and urged by the Americans themselves as a sufficient reason for their declining to move in the matter, that they had obtained an assurance from Bonaparte, though not in an official form, that the Berlin decree would not be put in force against their vessels. Upon this condition, or understanding, they were perfectly willing, it would appear, that it should be applied to the interruption of the commerce of all other neutrals; and doubtless this would have been for them a sufficiently convenient and profitable arrangement, not only leaving them to pursue the trade that fairly belonged to them undisturbed, but clearing the seas of all their rivals, and throwing into their hands a monopoly of the carrying trade between Britain and all the other countries of Europe. Possibly, in the circumstances, this might have been a state of things not disadvantageous to England either; in the condition to which the world was reduced, with so many of the old channels of our commerce shut against us, this outlet for our produce and manufactures through the vessels of the United States ought perhaps to have satisfied us, and made us feel as grateful to that power as the Americans themselves seemed to feel to Bonaparte for the permission, or half-permission, he had given them to afford us such an accommodation. The Whig ministry, however, which was then in power, did not think it proper or becoming to acquiesce in silence in the novel and extraordinary pretensions put forth by France; and on the 7th of January in this year, 1807, they issued an order in council directing the seizure of all neutral vessels trading from one hostile port in Europe to another with property belonging to an enemy. And, when this measure was found to have little effect, and to be extensively evaded, while in the latter part of the year new efforts began to be made with considerable success to enforce the Berlin decree, Mr. Perceval, on the 11th and 21st of November, issued further orders in council, by which France and all the countries subject to it were declared to be in a state of blockade, and all vessels were made liable to seizure which should attempt to trade with those parts of the world. Soon after the publication of the Berlin decree Bonaparte by another decree had ordered, after the example of the Directory in 1796, that all neutral vessels should carry attestations, called letters or certificates of origin, from the French consuls of the ports from which they had set out, that no part of their cargo was British, and should be seized if found without such protections: the British government now announced that all vessels of neutrals should be seized on board of which letters of origin were discovered. No neutral vessels, it was also intimated, would be allowed to trade with France, or any other hostile country, which had not touched first at some British port, and, after pay-

* Progress of the Nation, ii. 98 and 102.

ing custom-dues there, been permitted, according to certain regulations which were set down, to pursue their voyage. These orders, therefore, were an adoption, on the principle of retaliation, of all the principles of the Berlin decree, and even an extension of some of the boldest innovations in that attack upon the rights of neutrals. But the object obviously was to force the neutral powers to resist the hitherto unheard of, or at least entirely unadmitted, pretensions which had thus been put forth by France. Meanwhile, between the French and the English decrees, in so far as they were enforced, the neutral trade was brought to a stand-still, or was annihilated: neutral vessels could not comply with either decree without rendering themselves subject to capture or confiscation under the other. In these circumstances Bonaparte, on the 17th of December, issued another decree from Milan, extending his so-called blockade to the British dominions in all quarters of the world. And on the 22nd of the same month the government of the United States, which had been aware for some weeks of the British orders in council promulgated here in November, laid an embargo upon all American vessels in their ports, thus preventing for the present any resort by its subjects for trade to the dominions of either of the two belligerent powers. But these measures could not, of course, have any effect upon the commerce of the present year. The official value of the imports in 1807 is stated to have been 26,734,425*l.*, or nearly the same as in the preceding year; that of the exports, however, had declined to 31,015,526*l.*, and that of the British and Irish produce and manufactures to 23,391,214*l.* The declared value of the British and Irish manufactures exported was, according to one of the two accounts, 37,245,877*l.*, according to the other 35,412,867*l.* The value of those sent to the United States was very little less than in the preceding year; but that of those sent to the rest of Europe was now only 9,002,237*l.* This falling off was, probably, in great part occasioned by the closing of the passage of the Sound by Denmark after our bombardment of Copenhagen in the autumn, an act which was also followed on the part of Russia by an embargo on British shipping. The harvest in England, though scarcely an average one, was well got in, and by November the price of wheat had declined to 66*s.*

1808.—From the very commencement of this year the price of grain began to recover. "The scantiness of the preceding crop," says Mr. Tooke, "was beginning to be felt, and, at the same time, the apprehensions which had been entertained of the exclusion of the British flag from trade in the Baltic were realised. Thus we were threatened with an almost total cutting off of a foreign supply, if we should have occasion for it, as it was thought inevitable that we should; it being considered as a settled point that this country did not produce corn enough for its own consumption."* In these circumstances, after a cold spring and a rainy and stormy summer, came a harvest which proved to be still more deficient than that of the preceding year. Accordingly, prices continued to rise after the new crop was got in; the average price of wheat, which by the month of July had reached 81*s.* 4*d.*, attained to the height of 92*s.* in November, and vibrated about that point for the rest of the year. The prices also of nearly all other articles which we were accustomed to receive either wholly or in part from foreign countries underwent a great advance. "The close of the year 1807," Mr. Tooke observes, "found us, by the events of the war, excluded from direct commercial intercourse with every country in Europe, Sweden excepted; and there was consequently, besides in many instances a short actual supply, a *prospect* of scarcity of every article of European produce required as raw materials for our manufactures or as naval stores. . . . . The prospect of scarcity thus held out naturally excited a spirit of speculation; and in proportion as that prospect became realised was the speculative demand extended."* Thus hemp rose from 58*l.* per ton, which was its price in the summer of 1807, to 118*l.* in the course of 1808. Flax rose from 68*l.* to 142*l.* per ton. Memel timber, which during 1806 and 1807 had varied from 73*s.* to 170*s.* per load, now reached 340*s.*; and deals and other descriptions of wood rose in proportion. Baltic linseed rose from 43*s.* to 150*s.* per quarter; Russia tallow from 53*s.* to 112*s.* per cwt.† In consequence of the occupation of Spain by the French, great speculations were entered into in the wool of that country; and the price rose from 6*s.* 7*d.* and 6*s.* 9*d.* to 22*s.* and 26*s.* per lb. for the Leonessa, and from 2*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* to 13*s.* and 18*s.* for Seville wools. Silks, in like manner, for a supply of which article our principal dependence was then on Italy, advanced considerably:—Piedmont thrown silk from 30*s.* and 47*s.* to 96*s.* and 112*s.*; and, under the greater demand for other sorts thus created, China raw silk from 19*s.* and 22*s.* to 33*s.* and 45*s.*, and Bengal from 25*s.* and 33*s.* to 52*s.* and 85*s.* A similar increase took place in the prices of the produce of the territory of the United States, in the embarrassed and threatening state of our relations with that government: the cotton of Georgia rose from 9*d.* and 1*s.* to 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb., and the tobacco of Virginia from 4*d.* and 8*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* and 2*s.*‡ The only article which appears to have become cheaper was butchers' meat, the decline in which was probably connected with the prices of grain and other agricultural produce, which made feeding unprofitable. Even sugar, coffee, and other articles of colonial produce, which had fallen in price during the enhancement of articles of more immediate necessity, on the principle explained in our last Book,§ and had reached an extreme point of depression in 1801, had advanced from that date till 1805, and, although they had been again depressed during 1806 and 1807,

* History of Prices, ii. 268

* History of Prices, i. 274. † Ibid. ‡ Id. p. 275.

§ See vol. iii. p. 6.

had experienced a speculative improvement in price in this year, 1808, which they maintained for some time.* Then, coincidently with the advance in the prices of imported commodities, there was a new field of great extent opened for our exports. "The transfer," says Mr. Tooke, "of the seat of government from Portugal to the Brazils, and the virtual emancipation of the colonies of Spain from the control of the mother country, opened the trade of a great part of South America in 1808; and, as by the course of the war we possessed the entire dominion of the seas, it was, in fact, to this country, exclusively of the rest of Europe, that this opening was presented."† And then he quotes the following graphic description by Mr. MacCulloch of the shipments to South America by our merchants and manufacturers in the first fervour of the excitement and spirit of speculation thus called up: "The exportations consequent on the first opening of the trade to Buenos Ayres, Brazil, and the Caraccas were most extraordinary. Speculation was then carried beyond the boundaries within which even gambling is usually confined, and was pushed to an extent and into channels that could hardly have been deemed practicable. We are informed by Mr. Mawe, an intelligent traveller resident at Rio Janeiro at the period in question, that more Manchester goods were sent out in the course of a few weeks than had been consumed in the twenty years preceding; that the quantity of English goods of all sorts poured into the city was so very great, that warehouses could not be provided sufficient to contain them; and that the most valuable merchandise was actually exposed for weeks on the beach to the weather and to every sort of depredation. Elegant services of cut glass and china were offered to persons whose most splendid drinking-vessels consisted of a horn or the shell of a cocoa-nut; tools were sent out having a hammer on the one side and a hatchet on the other, as if the inhabitants had had nothing more to do than to break the first stone that they met with and then cut the gold and diamonds from it; and some speculators actually went so far as to send out *skates* to Rio Janeiro."‡ At home, also, throughout 1807 and 1808, speculation extended to many articles of general consumption, and numerous joint-stock companies were formed for the construction of canals and bridges (Waterloo-bridge and Vauxhall-bridge were projected and the subscriptions for them raised in 1808), and the establishment of fire and life insurance-offices, breweries, distilleries, wine and foreign spirit marts, vinegar-manufactories, &c. The entire official value of the imports and exports in 1808 was nearly the same as in the preceding year; that of the imports being 26,795,540*l.*, that of the exports 30,387,990*l.* The real or declared value of the British and Irish produce and manufactures exported was also much the same as in 1807; being 37,275,102*l.* according to one account, 35,007,591*l.* according to another. The value, however, exported to the United States was now only 5,241,739*l.*, while that exported to the rest of America had risen to 16,591,871*l.* Of the latter amount, no doubt, much found its way to the States.

1809.—The revolution which took place at Stockholm in March this year, involving the deposition of Gustavus IV., the establishment of a new constitution, and the arrangement of a peace with Russia by the cession of Finland, brought with it our immediate exclusion from the ports of Sweden, the only country in Europe that had remained open to our commerce, with the exception of Spain and Portugal, which were also both overrun and claimed as conquests by France. On the 4th of March also the American government followed up its embargo by an act of congress prohibiting all commercial intercourse on the part of the people of the United States with either France or England. In April, in consequence of an arrangement entered into by our minister at Washington, Mr. Erskine, the act was suspended in regard to this country by the authority of the president; but on the 10th of August the prohibition was renewed, on the disavowal of Mr. Erskine's negotiation by the British government; and the non-intercourse continued throughout the remainder of the year. Meanwhile at home, under the apprehension that the last crop might prove insufficient to meet the consumption, while there was apparently no possibility of obtaining supplies from abroad, the prices of agricultural produce continued to rise, till in March the average price of wheat reached 95*s.* As the harvest approached, a decline began to take place, and by July the averages had got down to 86*s.* 6*d.*; but heavy rains now set in and continued till the middle of October, in consequence of which the crops suffered greatly; so that prices began to rise again, till in December the average for wheat had reached 102*s.* 6*d.* Yet about 400,000 quarters of wheat were obtained from abroad in the latter part of the year. The entire value of the grain imported in this year exceeded 2,700,000*l.* At the same time most other commodities, whether raw materials or manufactured articles, experienced a great fall of price. "The great advance," says Mr. Tooke, "and the enormously high range, of prices in this country in 1808, while on the Continent they were low (by the operation of the same causes as made them high here), induced the merchants on both sides to make great efforts to overcome or elude the obstacles to importation, opposed by our own orders in council, as well as by the continental system. Accordingly, measures were taken, by means of licences from the government of this country, and of simulated papers, which were calculated to lull the vigilance or satisfy the scruples of those foreign governments which were the unwilling tools of the overbearing power of France at that period, for the purpose of importing, on a large scale, the commodities which had experienced so great a rise."* It appears that

* Tooke, i. 273. † Id. p. 276.
‡ Principles of Political Economy, 2nd ed. p. 329.

* History of Prices, i 301.

under these circumstances the imports into this country of cotton rose from 2,353,725 lbs. in 1808 to 6,845,933 in 1809; of raw silk, from 637,102 lbs. in 1808 to 698,189 lbs. in 1809; of thrown silk, from 139,312 lbs. in 1808 to 501,746 lbs. in 1809; of tallow, from 148,282 cwts. in 1808 to 353,177 cwts. in 1809; of hemp, from 259,687 cwts. in 1808 to 858,875 cwts. in 1809; of flax, from 257,722 cwts. in 1808 to 533,367 cwts. in 1809; of linseed, from 506,332 bushels in 1808 to 1,119,763 bushels in 1809; of cotton, from 43,605,982 lbs. in 1808 to 92,812,282 lbs. in 1809; of sugar, from 3,753,485 cwts. in 1808 to 4,001,198 cwts. in 1809; of coffee, from 417,642 cwts. in 1808 to 828,683 cwts. in 1810.* The fall of prices thus produced was, in many instances, such, Mr. Tooke states, as "left to the importer, after paying for the enormous charges of importation, nothing whatever for the prime cost."† The total official value of the imports in this year is stated to have risen to 31,750,557*l.*, and that of the exports to 46,292,632*l.* The real value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported was, according to one account, 47,371,393*l.*, according to another 44,794,452*l.*; of which there was sent to the United States to the amount of 7,258,500*l.*, to the rest of America to that of 18,014,219*l.*, and to other European countries to that of 15,849,449*l.*, instead of 9,016,033*l.*, which was the amount in 1808.

1810.—The damaged and deficient crop of the preceding year was followed, in 1810, by a cold and ungenial spring, and all the appearances of another unfavourable harvest, which continued up to the middle of August, and, notwithstanding large importations (to the extent of 1,500,000 quarters of wheat and 600,000 quarters of other grain and flour, the cost of which exceeded 7,000,000*l.*), raised the average price of wheat by that time to 116*s.* A great change, however, now took place in the weather, and the crops were secured in so good condition, and turned out so much better than had been expected, that by the end of the year the average price of wheat had declined to 94*s.* 7*d.* One consequence was, that many of the corndealers, who had speculated on the continuance of the bad weather, were ruined. While most imported commodities, too, were continuing to fall in price, "a total stop," says Mr. Tooke, "was put to our exports to the Baltic by the extensive confiscations which had occurred, in the summer of 1810, in the ports of Germany and Prussia. The returns, too, from South America were now coming round; and these left a ruinous loss to the exporters, many of whom had bought the goods on credits maintained by the circulation of accommodation paper. From the close, therefore, of 1809, through 1810, there was a complete exemplification of the circumstances which are conducive to a reduction of private paper, and to a diminution of transactions on credit, viz. stagnation and despondency, as succeeding to a state of speculation and overtrading. And, so many circumstances, on so large a scale, combining in the same direction, the fall of prices, the reduction of private paper, and the destruction of credit were greater and more rapid than were ever before, or have since been, known to have occurred within so short a space of time. A general dismay prevailed throughout nearly all branches of trade during the last six months of 1810, and the first few months of the following year, when the depressing causes had produced their greatest effect." * The operation of these causes was not materially counteracted by the re-opening of the trade with the United States, in consequence of an act passed by congress on the 1st of May in this year repealing the non-intercourse law for the present with regard both to this country and France. The first English failures that excited alarm appear to have occurred in July. The commercial report in the 'Monthly Magazine' for August, as quoted by Mr. Tooke, states that the failures of houses of the first respectability, both in London and the provinces, during the preceding month, had been of unexampled number and importance: a West India broker, who had long been considered the first in his line, had, by speculations in Spanish wool, an article which had fallen fifty per cent., occasioned the stoppage of a London banking-house, which brought down the several country banks connected with it, and from them the ruin spread to merchants, manufacturers, and their dependents: about the same time five Manchester houses in the city stopped payment, with liabilities to the amount of 2,000,000*l.*, under the pressure of the difficulties they had brought upon themselves by speculative exports to South America. "In consequence of these unexpected events," says the report, "public credit is at the present moment as low as ever it has been in the memory of man; the fluctuation of prices in the money market is unprecedented, and the depression so considerable, that omnium is fallen to two and a half per cent. discount. . . .The renewal of our intercourse with the United States of America has, in some sort, benefited the manufacturing interest, but this felicitous effect is almost swallowed up in the vortex of those calamities which it has been our painful duty to record." All trade between Great Britain and Holland, it is afterwards mentioned, was at this time completely put a stop to by the rigorous execution of the French emperor's anti-commercial decrees. In November the number of bankruptcies in England, which in the same month from 1804 to 1808 had ranged from 60 to 100, and in 1809 had been only 130, rose to 273, "besides stoppages and compositions," says the 'Commercial Report' for December, "equal in number to half the traders in the kingdom."....

"These failures throughout the kingdom," the report goes on, "have wonderfully affected the manufacture of every description of goods, and a general want of confidence exists between the

* History of Prices, i. 301. † Id. p. 308.

* History of Prices, i. 303.

manufacturer and the export merchant. The speculators at Liverpool have completely overstocked the different markets of South America, where at present English manufactured articles can be purchased at a loss of twenty per cent. to the exporter, with the exception of a few articles on which little or no credit could be obtained here." Throughout the following month of December the ruin continued to spread, and the destruction of credit became still more complete. "Confidence in the commercial world," says the next report, "seems nearly at an end. Discount, unless bills, &c. of a few of the first houses in the city, can only be done through the medium of bill-brokers, at an extra commission, exclusive of the regular interest. In Lancashire the cotton manufacturers appear, by the late gazettes, as well as by private information, to be greatly distressed, and business quite at a stand. In Manchester and other places houses stop not only every day, but every hour. Cotton wool is in no demand at any price, and no export of the manufactured goods, except a few sorts to Rio, &c. The trade of Birmingham, Sheffield, &c. quite at a stand, and no orders for execution there, except a few for our home consumption. At London, Liverpool, and Bristol the king's stores are full of all kinds of colonial produce, as coffee, sugar, rum, &c. for security of their duties, and the proprietors in the greatest possible distress, not being able to force sales of these articles." The entire number of commissions of bankruptcy taken out this year amounted to 2314, of which 26 were against bankers. It appears, too, that the commercial embarrassment and distress of this period were felt in nearly as great severity as in England, not only throughout the continent of Europe, but even in the United States of America. In how far the state of trade in these several parts of the world indicated only the same generally disordered system, or had been affected by the same causes, and what those causes in their whole extent really were, are questions as to which much difference of opinion was entertained at the time, nor has all the investigation the subject has since undergone made it perfectly clear. The pressure on the Continent and in America seems to have followed that felt in this country; and, looking to that fact, and to the position of England as the centre and heart of the commercial system of the world, we seem to be warranted in concluding that the mischief began here, and was hence propagated to other countries. The war, the French decrees and the British orders in council, the American embargo and Non-Intercourse Act, the deficient harvest of 1809, the over exportations to South America, and the over importations from the West Indies, may be safely held to have all had a share in producing the result, to whatever extent these various co-operating causes are to be considered as connected among themselves, or as separate and independent in their origin. And there is also another cause which has been assigned as having had a good deal to do in the immediate production of the commercial panic which suddenly broke out in England in the summer of this year, or at least in aggravating and spreading it after it had commenced—we mean, the appointment and subsequent proceedings of the famous Bullion Committee. This select committee was appointed by the House of Commons on the 1st of February, on the motion of Mr. Horner, who became its chairman, "to inquire into the cause of the high price of gold bullion, and to take into consideration the state of the circulating medium, and of the exchange between Great Britain and foreign parts:" it commenced the hearing of evidence on the 22nd of that month, and continued to examine witnesses till the 25th of May; the report, the work of the chairman, was ordered by the House to be printed on the 8th of June; and, although copies were not in the hands of members till about the middle of August (the number of tables in the appendix having delayed the printing), the substance of its reasoning and recommendations was circulated by the newspapers immediately after it was laid on the table of the House. Its main conclusions were:—that the circulating medium ought to be brought back, with as much speed as was compatible with a wise and necessary caution, to the original principle of cash payments at the option of the holder of bank paper; that no sufficient remedy for the present, or security for the future, could be pointed out except the repeal of the law which suspended the cash payments of the Bank of England; that the restriction on cash payments could not safely be removed at an earlier period than two years from the present time, but that early provision ought to be made by parliament for terminating by the end of that period the operation of the several statutes which had imposed and continued that restriction. The alarm which the publication of these propositions occasioned among the bankers, and the merchants who had been accustomed to look to the Bank for discounting their bills, is said in some of the accounts to have first produced the contraction of credit, under the pressure of which so many houses came down. And the Bullion Report may, in point of fact, have given the last shock, or touch, which brought about the catastrophe; but the causes undoubtedly were far more powerful, and more deeply seated, which had so weakened our commercial system as to make it liable to be thus overthrown by the first puff of air. The total official value of the imports of foreign and colonial merchandise in this year, 1810, rose to 39,301,612*l.*; that of the exports of all kinds was only 43,419,336*l.*; but the real or declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported was higher than in the last year, having been, according to one of the two accounts, 48,438,680*l.*, according to the other 45,761,121*l.* In regard to the quarters to which these goods were sent, the only material difference was, that the amount sent direct to the United States was, this year, 10,920,752*l.*, and that sent to the rest

of America only 15,640,166*l.* This change was a consequence of the restoration of direct intercourse with the United States; but it did not imply any change in the ultimate destination of the commodities exported, nearly the same proportion of which, doubtless, had found their way to the States, though by a more circuitous route, during the suspension of the intercourse as now.

1811.—The prices of agricultural produce, under the influence of the large importations of the preceding year, continued slowly to decline throughout the first seven months of 1811, till, in July, the average price of wheat had fallen to 87*s.* 2*d.* Meanwhile, on the 2nd of February, an act had been passed by the American Congress, prohibiting all importation into the United States of goods the manufactures or produce of Great Britain; this new prohibition was in execution of a threat held out in the late act renewing the commercial intercourse between the two countries, that, if the orders in council should not be revoked by a certain day, some such measure of retaliation should be adopted. In April, parliament, after the example of what had been done in 1793, interfered in aid of the distressed condition of the commercial and manufacturing interests by passing an act granting a sum, not to exceed 6,000,000*l.*, to be advanced by commissioners by way of loan to parties who should be able to give adequate security. Of the sum thus granted not more than 2,000,000*l.* were actually advanced; but that assistance was generally supposed to have contributed materially to the restoration of confidence and prosperity. "In that opinion," says Mr. Tooke, "I did not and do not participate. If the causes of abundance of commodities at home, and our exclusion from foreign ports had continued, there would have been no ground for a rise of prices; and, if prices had not risen, the parties who borrowed the exchequer-bills would have been injured instead of benefited by the facility of holding their goods so much longer; as they would thereby have incurred loss of interest, warehouse-rent, and other expenses, and must at last have submitted to the same if not to lower prices than they might originally have obtained."* This may be very true, and yet the temporary assistance offered by parliament may have been salvation to the parties who availed themselves of it, by enabling them to wait for the better prices. Mr. Tooke, however, further argues that there is reason to believe that the measure did not come into operation till circumstances had occurred favourable to a revival of the activity of trade. "Those circumstances," he observes, "were the complete expulsion of the French from Portugal, and the progress of the British army in Spain, which opened nearly the whole Peninsula to a commercial intercourse with this country. The glut of our exports to South America and the West Indies had been carried off by low prices, and a brisk demand had succeeded. The intention of Russia to resist the French was becoming manifest; and an anticipation was confidently entertained of a relaxation of the prohibition against imports into the Russian ports."* In May, this year, the questions raised by the Report of the Bullion Committee were brought before parliament, and set at rest for the present, in so far as that could be done, by the pronounced opinion of the House of Commons. The subject was introduced on the 6th, in a committee of the whole House, by Mr. Horner, who concluded a long speech by moving a series of sixteen resolutions embodying the principles of the Report. The first nine, however, were merely historical; the 10th asserted, in substance, that the actual value of Bank of England notes had been for a considerable time, and still was, considerably less than what the law declared to be a legal tender; the 11th, that the fall which had thus taken place in the value of Bank of England and country-bank paper had been occasioned by too abundant issues of paper currency, and that that excess had originated in the suspension of cash payments; the 12th, that the foreign exchanges had, for a considerable time, been unfavourable to this country in an extraordinary degree; the 13th, that this had been in a great measure occasioned by the depreciation of the currency of this country as compared with the money of foreign countries; the 14th, that during the continuance of the suspension it was the duty of the Bank directors to advert to the state of the foreign exchanges, as well as to the price of bullion, in regulating their issues; the 15th, that the only certain and adequate security against an excess of paper currency was the legal convertibility, upon demand, of all paper currency into lawful coin of the realm; the 16th and last, that, in order gradually to revert to this security, it was expedient to alter the time to which the suspension of cash payments was to continue, from six months after the conclusion of a peace, to that of two years from the present time. The debate upon these resolutions was continued by nightly adjournments till the 9th, and then the first upon which a division took place was negatived by 151 votes against 75, and the 16th, the only other upon which the committee divided, by the still larger majority of 180 to 45. This victory gained by the government was followed up on the 13th by Mr. Vansittart, the chancellor of the exchequer, moving, also in a committee of the whole House, a series of seventeen counter-resolutions, of the most material of which the import was as follows:—3. That the notes of the Bank of England "have hitherto been, and are at this time, held to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm, in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin is legally applicable." 4. That an unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges had occurred at various periods both before and since the suspension of cash payments, and usually "when expensive naval and military operations have been carried on abroad; and in times of public danger or alarm, or when large importations

* History of Prices, i. 317.

* History of Prices, i. 317

of grain from foreign parts have taken place." 6. That, of the seventy-five years ending with 1795, there were thirty-four years and five months during which the price of standard gold in bars had been at or under the Mint price, and thirty-nine years and seven months during which it had been above that price; thirty-one years and two months during which the price of foreign gold had been at or under 3*l.* 18*s.* per ounce, and forty-two years and ten months in which it was above that price; and three years and two months only in which the price of standard silver was at or under the Mint price. 7. That the price of bullion had frequently been highest, and the exchanges most unfavourable, at periods when the issue of bank-notes had been considerably diminished, and had been afterwards restored to their ordinary rates although those issues had been increased. 12. "That, although from the time of the invasion of Holland by the French in 1795 the trade of Great Britain with the Continent was, in part, circumscribed and interrupted, it was carried on freely with several of the most considerable ports, and commercial intercourse was maintained, at all times previous to the summer of 1807." 13. That since November, 1806, and especially since the summer of 1807, all trade and correspondence between Britain and the Continent of Europe had (with some occasional exceptions, chiefly in Sweden and in certain parts of Spain and Portugal) "been hazardous, precarious, and expensive, being loaded with excessive freights to foreign shipping and other unusual charges;" and that the trade with the United States of America had also been uncertain and interrupted; in addition to which the naval and military expenditure of the United Kingdom in foreign parts had, for three years past, been very great, the price of grain very high, and the imports thereof from abroad large.* 15. That the situation of the kingdom, in respect of its political and commercial relations with foreign countries, was sufficient, without any change in the internal value of its currency, to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchanges, and for the high price of bullion. 16. "That it is highly important that the restriction on the payments in cash of the Bank of England should be removed whenever the political and commercial relations of the country shall render it compatible with the public interest." And, 17. "That, under the circumstances affecting the political and commercial relations of this kingdom with foreign countries, it would be highly inexpedient and dangerous now to fix a definite period for the removal of the restriction of cash payments at the Bank of England prior to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace." After a further debate of two nights, these ministerial resolutions were all adopted by the House on the 15th; and thus whatever terror and additional embarrassment had been produced in the commercial world by the proposal of the bullionists to terminate the suspension of cash payments by the Bank at the end of two years, no matter what might then be the circumstances of the country—a proposal which appeared to imply so frantic a disregard and contempt for everything except abstract principles, that even on the side of the House where it originated there were found only forty-five members bold enough to vote for it,—was effectually dissipated. At the same time, as we have seen, the prospects of our foreign trade were fast brightening. "The expulsion of the French out of Portugal," says the commercial report in the 'Monthly Magazine,' under date of 1st June, "has once more opened a trade with that country, and, in consequence of it, vast quantities of goods of the manufacture of Great Britain are now shipping for Lisbon and Oporto, among which the manufactures of Manchester, &c. will not be the least in quantity. Linens, calicoes, and woollen cloths are in great demand in Portugal." It is added that the increasing briskness of the South American trade was confirmed by every mail from the Brazils. And the next month the same record says, "Since our last report the manufactories have revived in a great degree, chiefly owing to large orders for all kinds of woollen, linen, and cotton goods having arrived here for the markets of Portugal and of South America. The goods of Birmingham and of Sheffield are also in great demand at these markets. Credit and confidence, we are happy to say, revive, and the towns of Manchester, Nottingham, &c. feel vast benefit from the happy change that has taken place. The West India Islands are now in want of all kinds of British manufactured goods, as the stock in hand in these islands has been purchased up with avidity for the Spanish settlements. Irish linen, sheeting, &c. render a full profit of twenty per cent. more than the usual profit attached to such speculations."* The crop of 1811, however, proved a deficient one, and the prices of agricultural produce began to rise in August, and continued to advance to the end of the year; so that the average price of wheat had, by December, attained to 106*s.* 8*d.* And the improvement in trade, Mr. Tooke remarks, succeeding as it did so immediately to a period of great distress, "was not yet marked by such eagerness of speculative shipment as had distinguished 1808 and 1809." It appears that the total official value of our imports in 1811 was only 26,510,186*l.*; that the total official value of our exports was only 28,799,120*l.*; and the real value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported only 32,890,712*l.* according to one account, or 29,893,549*l.* according to another. Thus our foreign trade had never been so low as it was this year, in any of its branches, since the commencement of the century—the effect of the extravagant shipments of the preceding season. The real value of the exports to

* In the debate upon the Report of the Bullion Committee it was stated by Mr. Vansittart that, in the three years from 1808 to 1810 inclusive, the government expenditure abroad had amounted to 32,159,000*l.*, and the value of grain imported to 10,119,821*l.* Mr. George Rose stated that in the year 1810 alone not less than 5,500,000*l.* had been paid for foreign freights, from the impracticability of employing British shipping in the trade with the north of Europe.

* Quoted by Mr. Tooke, in History of Prices, i. 318.

the United States was now reduced to only 1,841,253*l.* (all, or nearly all, shipped in the first two months of the year), while that of those to the rest of America also fell to 11,939,680*l.*; that of those to the other countries of Europe having also declined to 12,834,680*l.*

1812.—Agricultural produce, under the notion that the stock in hand was deficient, and the apprehensions excited by a cold and wet summer, continued to advance in price till, in August this year, the average price of wheat reached 152*s.* 3*d.* Mr. Tooke states, indeed, that the average price of wheat in that month was 155*s.*, of barley 79*s.* 10*d.*, and of oats 56*s.* 2*d.*; that in Mark-lane the finest Dantzic wheat fetched 180*s.*, and that oats in one or two instances were sold at the enormous price of 84*s.*;* the corn-markets, he observes, had on no occasion since attained the same elevation. The price of butchers' meat also rose to an unusual height. When the harvest came, the deficiency proved less than had been apprehended; but still the crop was scarcely an average one, and prices maintained a high range throughout the rest of the year, the average price of wheat having by December only declined to 121*s.* A consequence of the high prices which agricultural produce had now maintained for five years, under a succession of crops more or less deficient, and the obstructions in the way of bringing supplies from abroad, must have been to bring large profits to farmers and to give an extraordinary impulse to speculations in the purchase of land. "Independently," says Mr. Tooke, "of the encouragement arising from these profits, continued through so great a length of time, there was now a confidence, which had not before existed, in the prospect of the continuance of them. The average produce of five seasons was supposed to represent what would be the utmost that any five succeeding seasons were likely to yield; and, as there was not, till the close of 1812, any appearance of a relaxation of the Continental system of exclusion directed against the trade of this country, a continued absence of foreign competition was fully anticipated. Under these circumstances, rents, upon the expiration of leases, were advanced in full proportion to the high range of the prices of produce; and, in several instances, they were raised threefold or upwards of what they had been in 1792. Every purchase of land previous to 1811, whether made with or without judgment, turned out favourably according to the then market-rates, and it was supposed, in consequence, that money could in no way be so profitably employed as in buying land. Speculations, therefore, in land, or, as it is termed, land-jobbing, became general, and credit came in aid of capital for that purpose. A striking, but not, I believe, a singular instance of that description of speculation was exhibited in the case of a petition presented to parliament some years after, representing that the petitioner had, in the years 1811 and 1812, laid out 150,000*l.*, partly his own and partly borrowed, in the purchase of land, which had since fallen so much in value that he was ruined by the loss; praying, therefore, to be relieved by what it has been the fashion to term an equitable adjustment of contracts, but which means, in reality, an indemnification for bad speculations."* At the same time, however, with this rise in the price of food, the rate of wages in most departments of industry and of remuneration for services of all kinds had been greatly increased. "The wages of agricultural labourers and artizans," as the writer we have just quoted afterwards remarks, "had been doubled, or nearly so. Salaries, from the lowest clerks up to the highest functionaries, as well as professional fees, had been considerably raised on the plea of the greatly increased expenses of living; the expense of living having been increased not only by the increased price of necessaries, but by a higher scale of general expenditure, or style of living, incidental to the progress of wealth and civilization."† Of the working-people in manufactories, however, Mr. Tooke states that considerable numbers had had no advance of wages, or, if they had, the advance had been more than compensated by reduced hours of work. Along, too, with the high prices of agricultural produce there had been experienced, from the summer of the preceding year, a considerable scarcity of many of the principal articles for our supplies of which we were mainly or entirely dependent upon foreign countries; the risks and heavy charges of importation deterring speculators, in the face of the low prices which such articles had realised in this country throughout 1810 and in the earlier part of 1811. Thus the imports of wool had declined from 10,936,224 lbs. in 1810 to 4,739,972 lbs. in 1811; of silk, from 1,792,206 lbs. in 1810 to 622,383 lbs. in 1811; of cotton, from 136,488,935 lbs. in 1810 to 91,662,344 lbs. in 1811; of tallow, from 479,440 cwt. in 1810 to 292,530 cwt. in 1811; of hemp, from 955,799 cwt. in 1810 to 458,547 cwt. in 1811; of flax, from 511,970 cwt. in 1810 to 243,899 cwt. in 1811; of linseed, from 1,645,998 bushels in 1810 to 594,016 bushels in 1811. These articles all, accordingly, experienced a considerable rise, although not, Mr. Tooke states, to quite the elevation which they had attained in 1808 and 1809. The stocks, he observes, became scanty towards the end of 1811; "and there were grounds," he adds, "at the same time, for apprehending a further scarcity. The preparations by the French for the invasion of Russia gave reason to fear that, however disastrous to the former it might eventually prove, the intermediate consequence would be a cutting off of the supplies of naval stores and of other produce from thence; and, as the French armies spread over Prussia, all shipments from that country became more difficult and hazardous. Our differences with America were then rapidly tending to an open rupture, and the produce of

* History of Prices, i. 323. The other statement is from the Table of Averages in vol. ii p. 390.

* History of Prices, i. 326. † Id. p. 330.

that country naturally participated in the causes of advance."* The United States declared war against Britain on the 18th of June, 1812, five days before our orders in council, which had mainly produced the quarrel between the two countries, were revoked by the British government. On the other hand, both Russia and Sweden had early in this year joined in the war against France; a treaty of alliance with that object having been signed between these two powers on the 24th of March, which was followed by treaties of peace between Great Britain and Sweden on the 6th of July, between Russia and Spain on the 20th of the same month, and between Great Britain and Russia on the 1st of August. The total official value of the imports in 1812 was still only 26,163,431*l.*; but that of the exports rose to 39,041,573*l.* Of the real value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported we have only one account for this year (the one of the two calculated upon the principle which gives the higher amount), and that makes it to have been 41,716,964*l.*

1813.—The fall in the prices of agricultural produce, which had begun after the autumn of 1812, and had gone on to the end of that year, proceeded, though at a slower rate, throughout the spring and summer of the present year; and then came a very abundant harvest, after which the movement was continued in the same direction with great rapidity. The average price of wheat, which had been 121*s.* in December, 1812, was 112*s.* 6*d.* in August, 1813, and sunk by December to 74*s.* 11*d.*, being lower than it had been in any month since May, 1808. At the same time, "the fall in the prices of commodities imported from the Continent of Europe," says Mr. Tooke, "was taking place in proportion as the opening of the ports from whence they were shipped diminished some of the expenses of importation; but the decline of prices was at first slow, because the continued hostility of Denmark and the war with the United States of America kept freights and insurances at a high rate." Prussia had risen and liberated herself in the beginning of this year, after the rout and destruction of the French army in Russia; on the 1st of March a new coalition of those two powers against France was arranged at Kalisch; and on the 1st of the following month France declared war against Prussia. Soon after Austria joined the confederation; an alliance between that power and Prussia and Russia being ratified at Toplitz on the 9th of September, and a preliminary treaty with Great Britain being signed at the same place on the 3rd of October. The victories of Wellington had also, before the end of this year, driven the French out of the Spanish Peninsula; while the battle of Leipsig, fought on the 18th of October, had set free all Germany, and the Dutch had also expelled their foreign masters and re-established their ancient government. But, while these great changes brought down the prices of all articles imported from the Continent, they at the same time raised the prices of all our articles of export, and especially of colonial and transatlantic produce. "The lowest point of depression of West India produce," says Mr. Tooke, "and of other commodities, including manufactures, calculated for the markets of the Continent of Europe and the United States, occurred at the close of 1811 and in the early part of 1812. All these articles experienced a moderate degree of improvement towards the close of 1812, with the exception of such descriptions as were exclusively or chiefly calculated for export to the United States, and these, of course, were much depressed by the war which then broke out. By the retreat of the French from Moscow, not only the ports of Russia were secured from the danger of being again shut against us, but daily tidings were received of other ports in the north of Europe being opened to a trade with this country; and sanguine expectations were beginning to be entertained that the ports of France itself would, at no remote period, be open to us."* This state of things gave rise to a speculative demand for many articles, and especially for the various descriptions of colonial produce, which prevailed to the close of this year, and was continued through the early part of the next, till the over-trading brought its natural consequences. We have no account of the total amount of imports and exports for 1813, the records having perished in the fire at the Custom-house.

1814.—The prices of agricultural produce continued low throughout this year. An unusually severe winter had been followed by a cold and ungenial spring, which excited fears for the harvest; and the crops did prove to be both very inferior to those of the preceding year in quantity, and to be considerably damaged by blight and mildew; but the large surplus from the last harvest, aided by an importation of foreign corn, amounting to 800,000 quarters of wheat, and about as much oats, together with the increased breadth of cultivation, kept down the markets, and the average price of wheat, which was 68*s.* 4*d.* in July, although it rose to 78*s.* 6*d.* in September, had declined again by December to 70*s.* 4*d.* The price of butchers' meat, however, had continued to rise, and was higher throughout 1814 than it ever had been before, except for a few months in 1800. The speculation in exportable commodities also reached its height in the spring of this year, and the prices of all such commodities rose, some to an unexampled height. Thus, comparing 1811 and the early part of 1812 with 1813 and the first months of 1814, it appears that Jamaica coffee had advanced in the interval between these two periods from 54*s.* and 73*s.* per cwt. to 118*s.* and 142*s.*; St. Domingo coffee, from 36*s.* and 42*s.* to 116*s.* and 126*s.*; sugar (general average), from 34*s.* 11*d.* to 97*s.* 2*d.*; white Havannah sugar, from 30*s.* and 46*s.* to 110*s.* and 134*s.*; bowed Georgia cotton, from 7*d.* and 9*d.* per lb. to 2*s.* 4*d.* and

* History of Prices, i. 340.

* History of Prices, i. 345.

2*s.* 6*d.*; cochineal, from 29*s.* and 31*s.* to 47*s.* and 52*s.*; indigo, from 8*s.* and 9*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.* and 16*s.*; black pepper, from 7*d.* and 7½*d.* to 20*d.* and 21*d.*; Virginia tobacco, from 2*d.* and 7*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* and 5*s.* 6*d.*; logwood, from 10*l.* or 11*l.* to 22*l.* or 23*l.* A great advance in like manner took place in various native productions in demand abroad, such as alum, lead, and tin, and also in many descriptions of manufactures, which had at last the effect of considerably elevating wages in that department of industry. But after a time the inevitable reverse came. It is thus described, and its progress traced, by Mr. Tooke:—"The shippers found to their cost, when it was too late, that the effective demand on the Continent for colonial produce and British manufactures had been greatly overrated; for, whatever might be the desire of the foreign consumers to possess articles so long out of their reach, they were limited in their means of purchase; and, accordingly, the bulk of the commodities exported brought very inadequate returns. The low prices, which alone the consumers abroad were able to pay, were still further reduced in value by the advance of our exchanges, which was accelerated by the very extent of those shipments." The loss upon many of the shipments to the Continent, Mr. Tooke states, was, as he has reason to believe, not less than 50 per cent. "In some few instances," he adds, "by rare good fortune, there might be a gain, but in as many there was a total loss. Cases of more aggravated loss occurred where the shippers, unwilling to incur so heavy a sacrifice as would be entailed by remittances, at an exchange becoming daily more unfavourable for them, were induced to receive returns in goods, which, from this and other causes, coming in excessive quantities, could not be sold here within 30, 40, and sometimes 50 per cent. of the cost; a process by which, including loss of interest, it may easily be conceived that the whole value of the original investment might be nearly absorbed."* The consequence was, that many bankruptcies took place towards the close of the year; and the number continued to increase, from the same cause, throughout the next year, and during part of 1816. Many of the traders who were thus ruined, were persons who, carried away by the mania of the time, had gone out of their proper line of business to speculate in exports. "Many retail tradesmen, who failed in 1814 and 1815," Mr. Tooke elsewhere observes, "were, upon a disclosure of their accounts, found to have been concerned in shipments of sugar and coffee to the Continent. The contagion spread to the outports (of these Leith and Hull were most prominent); and it was said that a large proportion of the shopkeepers residing in them who failed at that time owed their ruin to having been tempted into speculations of the kind which I have described."† The great events of the early part of this year, the overthrow of Bonaparte and the peace of Paris, completed what remained to be done to open all the Continent of Europe to our commerce; but it was not till the 24th of December that peace was concluded with the United States. The total official value of our imports rose this year to 33,755,264*l.*; that of our exports to 53,573,234*l.* (of which amount 19,365,981*l.* consisted of foreign and colonial merchandise, instead of 9,533,065*l.* in 1812, and 6,117,720*l.* in 1811). The two accounts of the real or declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported now agree, and make the amount this year to have been 45,494,119*l.*; of which only 8,129*l.* is set down as the value of the exports to the United States, that of those to the British North American possessions and the West Indies being 11,429,452*l.* (besides 2,683,151*l.* to South America, and 1,791,167*l.* to the foreign West India islands), and that of those to the other countries of Europe being 26,869,591*l.* (divided into 14,113,775*l.* to Northern, and 12,755,816*l.* to Southern Europe).

1815.—The renewal of the war on the return of Bonaparte from Elba, and the enactment of the new corn-law, are regarded by Mr. Tooke as having been two causes which prevented the prices of agricultural produce from falling so much as they would have done in the first six months of this year under the depressing influences of a forward spring and a promising appearance of the crops; but a slight rally which was thus produced gave way after the harvest, which proved to be both abundant and early, and was, in general, well got in. The average price of wheat, which had fallen to 62*s.* 1*d.* in January, and was 70*s.* 4*d.* in May, declined from that point throughout the remainder of the year, till it was only 55*s.* 7*d.* in December, being lower than it had ever been since July, 1804. The original policy of our legislation on the subject of corn appears to have been prohibitory of exportation, whatever might be the state of the markets. It was not till about the end of the fourteenth century (in 1394) that exportation was first permitted without an express licence from the crown. In 1463 importation was, for the first time, forbidden whenever prices should fall below a certain point. In 1670 it was enacted that so long as the price of the quarter of wheat should be under 53*s.* 4*d.* there should be full liberty of exportation and no right of importation. In 1689, immediately after the Revolution, a further encouragement was given to exportation by the introduction of the new principle of allowing a bounty upon every quarter of grain exported so long as prices at home were under a certain amount; and, ten years after, the export of corn was entirely relieved from custom-house duty.* There were afterwards several temporary suspensions, in dear years, of the restrictions on importation; but the law continued unaltered till 1773, when, by a new act (the 13 Geo. III., c. 43), the price at which wheat was allowed to be imported, on the payment of only a nominal duty of 6*d.*, was lowered from 80*s.* to 48*s.*, and the

* History of Prices, ii. 8. † Id. i. 346.

* See a full detail of the legislation on corn, from the earliest period down to 1760 in Pict. Hist. of England, iv. 698 700.

bounty on exportation, hitherto payable so long as the home price did not exceed 48*s*., was withdrawn as soon as the price should rise to 44*s*., which was also fixed as the limit at which the liberty of exportation ceased; corresponding regulations being made for the other descriptions of grain. But the act of 1773 was repealed in 1791 by the 31 Geo. III., c. 30, by which the price at which importation could take place at a nominal duty was again raised to 54*s*., and when the price was under 50*s*. importation was, by a prohibitory duty, prevented altogether; exportation being at the same time allowed (though, in that case, without a bounty) so long as the price should be below 46*s*. instead of 44*s*., as under the former act. The next corn-law was that, already mentioned,* passed in 1804 (the 44 Geo. III., c. 109), by which the price at which importation could take place under only a nominal duty was further raised to 66*s*., and that at which importation was prevented by a prohibitory duty to 63*s*.; the price within which exportation without bounty was allowed being at the same time extended from 46*s*. to 54*s*., and with the bounty from 44*s*. to 50*s*. After September, 1804, however, as we have seen, the price of the quarter of wheat in the home-market was only once, in November, 1807, so low as 66*s*., till the beginning of the present year, 1815; so that this act may be said never to have come into operation. Yet, in the apprehension of prices falling on the return of peace, attempts had been made by the landed interest to obtain a new law greatly increasing the price at which importation should become free both in 1813 and again in 1814. In the latter year two bills were brought into the House of Commons; one to repeal the bounty and remove all restrictions on exportation; in other words, to repeal all the legislation, whether of restriction or encouragement, in regard to the exportation of corn, and to leave that commodity like any other, to be disposed of by the owner, without any interference on the part of the public, wherever, either at home or abroad, he thought he could find the best market; the other, to raise the price of wheat at which importation should be allowable at a nominal duty to 86*s*., the said nominal duty being at the same time raised from 6*d*. to 1*s*. The former bill passed and became the act 54 Geo. III., c. 69; the latter was successfully opposed, and was thrown out in the Commons on the motion for bringing up the report by a majority of 116 to 106. But the attempt of the agricultural interest to obtain additional protection was renewed in the next session; and, after encountering a keen and protracted opposition, a new act was passed (the 55 Geo. III., c. 26), by which, while it was provided that all sorts of foreign corn, meal, or flour might be imported at all times free of duty in order to be warehoused, its importation for home consumption was wholly prohibited until the price in the home market should have reached 80*s*. for wheat, 53*s*. for rye, peas, and beans, 40*s*. for barley, bear, or bigg, and 26*s*. for oats; except that corn from any of the British plantations in North America might be imported when wheat was at 67*s*., rye, peas, and beans at 44*s*., barley, bear, or bigg at 33*s*., and oats at 22*s*. And this law of 1815 continued to regulate the trade for the remainder of the present period. All restraints, it ought to be stated, on the free importation and exportation of grain between Great Britain and Ireland had been removed in 1806 by the act 46 Geo. III., c. 97. The aggregate of our foreign commerce was still greater in 1815 than it had been in the preceding year; for, although the total official value of the imports was only 32,987,396*l*., that of the exports rose to 58,624,550*l*. The increase here was in home produce and manufactures, from 34,207,253*l*. to 42,875,996*l*.; the export of foreign and colonial merchandise had declined from 19,365,981*l*. to 15,748,554*l*. The difference, in fact, was occasioned by two causes; the falling off in the speculative shipments to the Continent (mostly consisting of colonial produce), and the re-opening of the trade with the United States (our exports to which consisted chiefly of our own manufactures). The real value of the total British and Irish produce and manufactures exported in 1815 is stated to have been 51,632,971*l*.; of which to the value of only 20,736,244*l*. was now sent to the other countries of Europe, and that of not less than 13,255,374*l*. was taken by the United States.

1816.—The decline in the prices of all our principal articles of export, including many articles of home as well as of colonial produce, which had been going on throughout 1815, was continued during this year, bringing them down in most cases before the end of the year to a point about midway between what they were in 1813-14 and what they were in 1811-12, in some cases considerably lower. Thus, taking the articles the prices of which have already been compared at these two dates, it appears that in 1816 Jamaica coffee fell to 77*s*. and 104*s*. per cwt., St. Domingo coffee to 62*s*. and 66*s*., sugar (general average) to 45*s*., Havannah white sugar to 44*s*. and 50*s*., bowed Georgia cotton to 1*s*. 2*d*. and 1*s*. 4*d*. per lb., cochineal to 23*s*. and 28*s*., East India indigo to 8*s*. 9*d*. and 10*s*., black pepper to 7*d*. and 7½*d*., Virginia tobacco to 5½*d*. and 10*d*., logwood to 6*l*. and 6*l*. 10*s*. per ton.* Copper in like manner fell from 140*l*. in 1813-14 to 85*l*. in 1816; tin from 174*l*. to 102*l*.; lead from 33*l*. and 34*l*. to 18*l*. Ever since our intercourse with the north of Europe had been re-opened, also, Baltic produce had been declining in price; the fall here, as Mr. Tooke remarks, had commenced while exportable productions were rising, and it continued through 1815 and 1816. The shipping interest, too, he proceeds to observe, had, ever since the peace, been undergoing a very considerable depression. The extended sphere for the employment of tonnage afforded by the trade of the north of Europe being

* See ante, p. 656.

* See Table in Tooke's History of Prices, ii. 11.

now thrown open to British shipping was, he conceives, more than compensated by the greater quickness with which voyages were made in consequence of the discontinuance of the detention of convoys and other impediments arising out of the war, the large amount of tonnage discharged from the transport service, and the reduced cost of shipbuilding materials. The reduction of the cost of materials had also occasioned a great decline in the value of house property. "Thus," he adds, "there was from 1814 to 1816 [or rather to 1817] a very considerable depression in the prices of nearly all productions, and in the value of all fixed property, entailing a convergence of losses and failures among the agricultural, and commercial, and manufacturing, and mining, and shipping, and building interests, which marked that period as one of most extensive suffering and distress. Of that great and memorable fall of prices the principal part, beyond that which was the effect of the seasons, and a recoil from the extravagant speculations in exportable commodities, is clearly attributable to the transition from war to peace; not from war, as having caused extra demand, but as having obstructed supply and increased the cost of production; nor to peace, as having been attended with diminished consumption, but as having extended the sources of supply and reduced the cost of production."* The number of commissions of bankruptcy, which had been only 1612 in 1814, was 2284 in 1815, and in this year rose to 2731, of which 37 were against country-banks. The average price of wheat fell in January, 1816, to 52*s.* 10*d.*; but then arose, first, a partial demand for export to the Continent, chiefly for the Mediterranean, and then great apprehensions for the next crop, from the inclemency of the spring, which were increased by such a wet and boisterous summer as had not occurred since 1799, and were at last fully justified by a harvest both lamentably deficient in quantity and as miserably inferior in quality. Prices now advanced rapidly; the average price of wheat, which had been 55*s.* 6*d.* in February, and 74*s.* 11*d.* in June, reached 82*s.* 1*d.* in August, 90*s.* 10*d.* in October, and 103*s.* 7*d.* in December. Mr. Tooke holds that the rise would have been still greater, had it not been for the large surplus that remained from former seasons; for the harvests of Germany, France, and the south of Europe had been no better than our own, and, notwithstanding the high prices, the balance of our imports of wheat for the whole year did not exceed 100,000 quarters. The official value of our total imports of foreign and colonial merchandise fell, this year, to 27,431,604*l.*; that of our exports to 49,197,850*l.* The real value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported is stated to have been 41,657,858*l.*; the falling off, in comparison with the last year, being chiefly in the exports to the south of Europe (from 8,764,552*l.* to 7,284,469*l.*), to the United States (from 13,255,374*l.* to 9,556,577*l.*), and to the West Indies and British North America (from 10,687,551*l.* to 7,016,410*l.*).

* History of Prices, ii. 12.

1817.—The season of 1816-17 in France was almost a period of actual famine; and the consequence was that, high as the prices were in this country, large purchases of wheat were made here in the spring of this year for the French government. It is calculated that the whole quantity then shipped to that country from this did not fall short of 300,000 quarters. Up to the middle of June, too, the weather was unpropitious, and the crops were thought to wear an unfavourable appearance. From these causes the prices of agricultural produce, high as they had risen in the latter part of the last year, continued to mount still higher throughout the first half of this; the average price of wheat, which was 104*s.* 1*d.* in January, having become 112*s.* 8*d.* in June. But after this the weather both in France and here suddenly underwent a great change for the better, and, the appearance of the crops becoming luxuriant and promising, the average price of wheat fell in July to 102*s.* 4*d.*, in August to 86*s.* 5*d.*, and in September to 78*s.* 8*d.*, a rate which closed the ports. The harvest, however, had been late, and probably somewhat deficient, and when samples of the new wheat were brought to market it was found that the quality was inferior, and that the grain, from being damp, was unfit for immediate use; while at the same time there was scarcely any surplus remaining from the scanty crop of the last year. Prices, accordingly, rose towards the end of the year; the average price of wheat was such as to open the ports again in November, and it reached 84*s.* in December. Meanwhile in other articles a general rise of prices had been going on ever since the close of the last year. "The very low prices of 1815 and 1816," to quote Mr. Tooke's explanation, "had induced a greatly increased consumption. The stocks of importers, dealers, and manufacturers had become greatly reduced; and a general confidence began to prevail among the best informed persons in the several branches of trade that prices had, for that period, seen their lowest, inasmuch as the stock in hand of most of the leading articles had become manifestly below the average rate of consumption."* Some of the causes of the falling off of supply he states to have been, the disinclination which had been produced in the preceding year to embark to the usual extent in fresh importations by the great fall of prices since 1813; and coincident with this a very unpropitious season, not only in this country, but over a great part of Europe, occasioning a failure of the vintage in France, and reducing the produce of silk and oil in Italy, besides directly or indirectly affecting flax, tallow, wool, hops, and many other articles. Thus the imports of silk had declined from 1,800,333 lbs. in 1815 to 1,137,922 lbs. in 1816; of wool, from 14,991,713 lbs. in 1815 to 8,117,864 lbs. in 1816; of coffee, from 815,440 cwt. in 1815 to 499,075 cwt. in 1816; of hemp, from

* History of Prices, ii. 24.

36,575 tons in 1815 to 18,473 tons in 1816; of flax, from 17,550 tons in 1815 to 12,371 tons in 1816; of tallow, from 32,082 tons in 1815 to 20,858 tons in 1816; of linseed, from 766,983 bushels in 1815 (the quantity imported in 1814 had been 1,364,959 bushels) to 567,138 bushels in 1816. There occurred also a nearly total failure of the northern whale fishery, both in 1816 and 1817. "Such a falling off of supply," Mr. Tooke goes on to observe, "was naturally calculated to attract attention during the progress of the importations; and, when these were understood to be deficient in so great a degree, a general disposition among dealers to lay in stocks became evident: such a state of things is usually the precursor of a spirit of speculation. This, therefore, although not yet developed at the close of 1816, was then on the eve of displaying itself, and the full effect was exhibited in the great rise of prices which took place in 1817 and in 1818 of some of the articles of which there was so marked a deficiency of supply. The most striking instances of advance were silks, coffee, tallow, linseed, and oils, which in the course of 1817 and 1818 experienced a rise of 50 to 100 per cent. from their lowest point of previous depression."* "In 1815 and the early part of 1816," he adds, "the exports from this country had been made with great forbearance and prudence, because almost every class of merchants was at that time suffering from the effects of the too great eagerness of adventure of the two preceding years: this general forbearance was, of course, attended by a large profit to those who adventured; and the consequence of the favourable result of shipments on a small scale was, as usual on such occasions, not only that the houses regularly in the trade extended their shipments, but that fresh adventurers embarked in them to a considerable extent."† The total official value of the imports rose this year to 30,834,299*l.*; that of the exports to 50,404,111*l.*; there having been, however, a falling off in the exports of foreign and colonial merchandise from 13,480,780*l.* in 1816 to 10,292,684*l.*, and an increase in those of British and Irish produce and manufactures from 35,717,070*l.* to 40,111,427*l.* Yet the real value of the latter is stated to have been only 41,761,132*l.*, or no more than in the preceding year.‡ If this account is to be depended on, while the prices of imported articles were generally rising throughout the present year, those of our home produce and manufactures must have undergone a very considerable decline, to the extent of not less on the whole than about 15 per cent. The real value of the British and Irish produce and manufactures exported this year to the United States is set down at only 6,930,359*l.*: there was a slight increase in the amounts sent to most other parts of the world, more especially to the rest of America and the West Indies, and to Asia.

* History of Prices, ii. 25. † Id. p. 26.

‡ Table in Porter's Progress of the Nation, p. 98. In Mr. Porter's second table, p. 102, the amount is stated as only 41,492,312*l.*

1818.—The weather throughout the greater part of this year, first a rather wet spring, then an almost uninterrupted drought from the middle of May till the middle of September, excited considerable fears for the crops, and the effect was, that not only the prices of agricultural produce fully maintained for the first six or seven months of the year the height to which they had risen in the preceding December, but that large quantities of wheat (upwards of 1,500,000 qrs. in all) were brought from abroad. The average price of wheat was 84*s.* 10*d.* in January, 89*s.* 8*d.* in April, and 86*s.* 6*d.* in July. The harvest, however, turned out a less deficient one than had been looked for; and the price of wheat declined to 81*s.* 3*d.* in August, and in December was only 80*s.* 8*d.* But the prices of all other descriptions of grain were still higher at the close of 1818 than they had been at the close of 1817;—barley, which in 1817 had been at 45*s.* 11*d.*, was now at 63*s.* 6*d.*; oats, which had been then 27*s.* 10*d.*, were now 35*s.* 1*d.*; beans had risen from 54*s.* 10*d.* to 76*s.*; peas, from 52*s.* 11*d.* to 70*s.** The extraordinary character of the season had given rise, Mr. Tooke states, "to extensive speculations on the apprehended scarcity of several descriptions of produce, such as spring-corn and the leguminous tribes, which were supposed to be irretrievably destroyed by the great drought;" and this circumstance, he observes, contributed, with the deficiency of imported produce, greatly to extend the sphere of speculation. In the latter part of the year, however, he proceeds, "the causes of casual scarcity of supply, which, as has been seen, had been the occasion of the high prices, had ceased to operate, and a change was thenceforward in progress, tending to the restoration of abundance, and to the consequent subsidence of prices. This tendency had already become manifest in most articles at the close of 1818."† In a subsequent page a comparative table is given of the imports of various leading articles in 1817 and 1818; from which it appears that the imports of silk rose from 1,177,693 lbs. in 1817 to 2,101,618 lbs. in 1818; of wool, from 14,715,843 lbs. in 1817 to 26,405,486 lbs. in 1818; of cotton, from 124,912,968 lbs. in 1817 to 177,282,158 lbs. in 1818; of hemp, from 22,863 tons in 1817 to 33,020 tons in 1818; of tallow, from 19,298 tons in 1817 to 27,149 tons in 1818; of linseed, from 162,759 quarters in 1817 to 237,141 quarters in 1818. The total official value of the imports in 1818 was 36,885,182*l.*; that of the exports 53,560,438*l.*, of which 42,700,521*l.* is set down to the account of British and Irish produce and manufactures. The real value of the British and Irish produce and manufactures exported is stated to have been 46,112,800*l.*, which, measured by the official estimate of quantity, would imply a considerable

* Tooke's History of Prices, ii. 23. Mr. Tooke, in this place, states the average price of wheat at the close of 1818 to have been 78*s.* 10*d.* The statement in the text is taken from the table of monthly averages at p. 390.

† Id. p. 27.

rise of prices in such goods in the course of this year. The increase of exports of home produce and manufactures was chiefly to the United States, to which there was now sent to the value of 9,451,009*l.*, and to South America, to which there was sent to the value of 3,995,757*l.* (the value sent in 1817 being only 2,651,337*l.*).

1819.—The winter of 1818-19 was remarkably mild, the spring that succeeded was very forward, and the favourable appearances of the crops were followed by a harvest of at least average productiveness. In these circumstances, and after the large importations of the preceding year, the prices of agricultural produce naturally fell: the average price of wheat, which was 79*s.* 3*d.* in January, was 68*s.* 10*d.* in June, and, although it afterwards rallied so far for a few weeks as to reach 75*s.* in August, it had fallen again by December to 66*s.* 3*d.*, with a tendency to a still farther decline, which went on with little interruption for the next three years, till it sank to not much more than the half of that height.* Now, also, in the beginning of this year, began to be experienced the natural consequences of the over importation of nearly all descriptions of goods in the preceding year. It appears that the entire quantity of colonial and foreign produce imported and retained for home consumption in 1818 was nearly a third greater than in 1817, and more than twice as great as in 1816.† Hence a great fall in the prices of all descriptions of such produce, and of course the ruin of great numbers of the importing speculators. "The largest," says Mr. Tooke, "in point of amount of the articles of which there was so great an excess of the importation was cotton; and it was in this article that the fall in price was the greatest, and the failures among those concerned in it, consequently, the most extensive. The error usual on such occasions had been committed; the stocks on the spot had been greatly reduced in 1816, and a rise of price of this reduced stock was perfectly justified; but then, as in more recent instances, the advanced price was not confined to the small stocks on the spot, but was paid for large quantities in the countries of growth, to be shipped hither."‡ Bowed Georgia cotton now fell from 1*s.* 10*d.* per lb., which it had reached between 1816 and 1818, to 1*s.* "The result of over trading on so large a scale," continues Mr. Tooke, "was experienced in numerous and extensive failures, which began in the latter part of 1818, and continued more or less through the earlier part of 1819. Importers, speculators, and manufacturers were successively ruined by having embarked too largely upon the anticipation of the maintenance of the former range of high prices. There were also very extensive failures in New York, but more especially in Charlestown, and other southern ports of the United States, at the close of 1818, and at the commencement of 1819." Before the autumn of 1819, however, every vestige of commercial discredit had disappeared; although prices, with few exceptions, continued to decline for several years from other causes. "The sources of supply of all the raw materials of our principal manufactures," Mr. Tooke observes, "were experiencing a progressive extension, at a diminished cost of production; and, although there had been in the two or three years immediately following 1818, a slight falling off in the amount of imports of some of the articles, there was a progressive increase on the average of three years, compared with the average of any preceding three years."* The total official value of our imports fell again in 1819 to 30,776,810*l.*; and that of our exports was only 43,438,989*l.*, that of the exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures being reduced to 33,534,176*l.* The real or declared value of the British and Irish produce and manufactures exported in this year is stated to have been 34,881,727*l.*; the diminution of such exports extending to all parts of the world, but in the greatest degree to the United States (the amount sent to which was only 4,929,815*l.*), to the British North American Colonies, the West Indies, and Central and South America. The value sent to the North of Europe was reduced from 11,809,243*l.* to 9,825,397*l.*; that sent to the South of Europe, from 7,630,139*l.* to 6,895,255*l.*

The suspension of payments in cash by the Bank of England, which began in 1797, lasted throughout this period, being only put an end to by the act 59 Geo. III., c. 78, commonly called Peel's Act, passed in 1819, which provided that the resumption of cash payments should take place in 1823. In point of fact the Bank exchanged its notes for gold on demand from the 1st of May, 1821. The duration of the suspension, therefore, was about twenty-four years. We noticed in the last Book the opinion which has been clamorously maintained by a certain sect of politicians, or political economists, that the great rise of prices which was experienced in a portion of this space, was mainly or entirely the effect of the state of the circulation.† No demonstration in economical science can well be more complete than that which has been given of the groundlessness of this notion by Mr. Tooke, in the admirable work to which we have so often had occasion to refer in the preceding pages. He has shown that there is no parallelism whatever between the amount of the issues of the Bank during the suspension, and the course of prices which they are supposed to have affected or determined. Prices sometimes fell under this state of the currency while the Bank was extending its issues, and at other times rose while it was contracting them. But what is still more decisive is the fact, that, for the most part, neither the rise nor the fall of prices was general, but while one class of commodities became dearer another class at the

* The average price of wheat in December, 1822, was only 38*s.* 11*d.* Thirteen years later, in December, 1835, it was only 35*s.* 4*d.*, or little more than a fourth part of what it had been in December, 1800, and not so much as a fourth part of what it had been in August, 1812.

† See Comparative Statement in Tooke's History of Prices, ii. 62.

‡ Id. p. 77.

* History of Prices, ii. 79.

† See ante, vol. iii. p. 697.

same time became cheaper. Nor was there, in point of fact, either generally, or in any particular region of prices, such a rise or steadily maintained elevation as the theory assumes to have been produced by the increase of the Bank issues: as there were occasional dear years in what is looked upon by this theory as the era of low prices, so there were several cheap years in what is described as the succeeding era of excessive issues and high prices. Even the slight and imperfect sketch that has been given above of the history of our commerce during the present period, the materials of which have been chiefly taken from Mr. Tooke's work, sufficiently indicates the true origin and regulating causes of these fluctuations. The low prices were in all cases the effect of abundance, the high prices of scarcity—of abundance and scarcity, either real or apprehended; and the abundance or the scarcity was occasioned, not by the issues of the Bank at all, but by the variations of the seasons and the other circumstances affecting production, and by the greater or less success of the measures that were taken on the one hand to prevent, on the other to carry on and extend, commercial intercourse. The only way in which the Bank can have ever aided in elevating prices is, that it may have sometimes by an increase of its issues encouraged and assisted the speculative over-trading of the moment; but no permanent elevation of prices could have been thus produced; for, as may be seen from the rapid chronological survey that has just been taken, if such speculation raises prices at first, its inevitable result in the end, and usually after a very short time, is to bring about a fall at least equal to the rise. The commodities, the high price and scanty stocks of which tempted speculation, are soon made plentiful and cheap by the over-importation, or over-production, in one or other of which the speculative trading must have consisted or issued. The truth is, that the Bank had no power to do what it is often charged with having done under the suspension of cash payments, namely, to issue any quantity of paper it chose. The fact appears to be, that it is only a certain amount of currency, whatever be its description, whether it be in specie or in paper, which a country can be made to maintain at any particular time: money, in whatever form, is merely a commodity, of which the community at any particular moment wants only so much, and will not be forced to employ or absorb, or, as we should say in the case of any other commodity, to consume, a larger quantity. Individual speculators, of course, will take as much as they can get of this, or of any other article; but what we mean is, that no more than a certain quantity can be thrown into and kept in general circulation. Whether it be in the form of specie or of paper, the over-issue, or excess howsoever produced, will infallibly be thrown off, just as a superfluous quantity of any of the ingredients would be rejected and left inactive in a chemical mixture. There is a point of saturation as invincible in the one case as in the other. One of the ways, it is true, in which the excess of an inconvertible paper currency may be partially corrected, is by the paper becoming depreciated, or losing part of its value as measured in specie. And this did, to some extent, befall the paper of the Bank of England during a portion of the time over which the suspension of payments in cash extended. The rule, as on several occasions stated by themselves, upon which the directors then acted in regulating the amount of their issues, was to look simply to the demand for the discount of good bills at five per cent. The state of the exchange with other countries they avowedly disregarded. If they had always contracted their issues when the foreign exchanges were falling, whatever might have been the number of bills presented to them for discount at the arbitrary rate of interest they had fixed upon, it is probable that the immediate inconvertibility of their paper might not have affected its value at all. The effect of the principle they followed was, in truth, to leave the amount of the circulation to be determined mainly by the fluctuations in the current rate of interest, the rise of that rate at any moment to or beyond five per cent. bringing about the demand for an extension of their issues, to which they were accustomed to yield. In this way they, probably, in some cases, encouraged the spirit of speculation which it would have been better for the public that they should have checked; and they were also undoubtedly led to give an undue enlargement to the circulation to some extent, the effect of which was a certain depreciation of Bank paper. But, after all, this effect was probably produced more by the advances of the Bank to government than by its discount of private bills. No difference between the value of paper and that of gold was experienced till 1801, the ounce of gold down to that year bringing in the market no higher price in Bank paper than 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.*, its mint value. In 1801, however, taking the average of the year, an ounce of gold was not to be obtained for less than 4*l.* 5*s.* in Bank currency, indicating a depreciation of the latter to the extent of 8*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* per cent.; in 1802 the average per-centage of depreciation was reduced to 7*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; from 1803 to 1809 inclusive it was only 2*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*; in 1810 it rose to 13*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*; in 1811 it was 7*l.* 16*s.* 10*d.* (when Mr. Vansittart got the House of Commons to pass his famous third resolution, that Bank-notes had hitherto been, and were then, held to be equivalent to the legal coin of the realm); in 1812 it was 20*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.*; in 1813 it was 22*l.* 18*s.*; in 1814 it was 25*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*; that is to say, an ounce of gold could not at that time be purchased for less than 5*l.* 4*s.* in Bank paper. This, however, was the extreme point to which the depreciation went; in 1815 and 1816 it was only 16*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*; in 1817 it was reduced to 2*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.*; in 1819 it rose again to 4*l.* 9*s.*; but in 1820 it fell to 2*l.* 12*s.*; and in 1821, on the resumption of cash payments, Bank paper rose to the full value of gold. We are not,

however, entitled to assume that even the excess of value which gold appears from this account to have, in point of fact, maintained over Bank paper during the twenty years from 1801 to 1820, inclusive, was wholly the consequence of the over-issue of Bank paper. Part of it may very possibly have arisen from a temporary scarcity of, or, which is the same thing, an extraordinary demand for, gold, which would have raised the market-price of that metal above the mint price under any state of the circulation. As for the issues of the Bank, it is to be remembered that, although the immediate convertibility of the paper into gold was suspended, they never were made except under the responsibility imposed by the expectation that the system of cash payments would be ultimately resumed. A few theorists, or a portion of the public, may have doubted if the resumption would ever be effected or attempted; but there is no reason to suppose that either the government or the Bank directors ever had any doubt about the matter. We gave in the last Book an account of the average amount of Bank paper in circulation at various periods down to 1801.* On the 31st of August in that year, as there stated, the entire amount of Bank paper in circulation, including both Bank notes and Bank post-bills, was 14,556,110*l.* On the same day in 1806 it was 21,027,470*l.*; but in 1808 it had been reduced again to 17,111,290*l.* On the 31st of August, 1810, however, it was 24,793,990*l.*; in 1814 it was 28,368,290*l.*; and in 1817 it was 29,543,780*l.* This was the highest amount it ever reached; by the 31st of August, 1819, it had declined to 25,252,690*l.*; and on the 26th of February, 1820, it was only 23,569,150*l.* The quantity of country-bank paper was also, of course, considerably augmented during the suspension of cash payments; but, after all, the entire increase of the paper currency that took place during the present period was, probably, very little greater than was fairly demanded by the nearly complete withdrawal of gold from the circulation, by the growth of the population, and by the extension of commercial transactions. The amount of bullion in the coffers of the Bank, which had been 7,000,780*l.* on the 31st of August, 1799, gradually declined till it was only 3,592,500*l.* in 1803. From this point of depression it rose to be 7,624,500*l.* in 1805; and in 1808 it was still 6,015,940*l.* In 1809, however, it was only 3,652,480*l.*; and by 1814 it had sunk to 2,097,680*l.* It was never again so low as this, though it varied much in subsequent years; having been 7,562,780*l.* in 1816, 11,668,260*l.* in 1817, 6,363,160*l.* in 1818, 3,595,360*l.* in 1819, and again 8,211,080*l.* in August, 1820. On the 31st of August, 1823, it was 12,658,240*l.* But it often underwent great fluctuations even in the course of the same year. Since the resumption of cash payments, and the consequent regulation of the currency principally through the action of the foreign exchanges, that is to say, its increase during a favourable state of the exchanges, when bullion is sent to the Bank to be exchanged for notes, and its diminution by the demand for gold in the opposite state of things, the directors have, as far as possible, made it a rule to have always as much coin and bullion in their coffers as should together amount, when the exchange is at par, to a third part of the Bank's liabilities, including deposits as well as issues. In 1816 the capital of the Bank was raised to 14,553,000*l.*; and in 1807 the dividends had been raised to 10 per cent., at which rate they remained till 1823, when they were reduced to 8 per cent.

The territory under the government of the East India Company was increased by the acquisition in 1800 of his portion of Mysore from the Nizam, in 1801 of the Carnatic from the Nabob of Arcot, and of Rohilcund and the Dooab from the Subahdar of Oude, in 1802 of part of Bundelcund from the Peishwa, in 1803 of Cuttack and Balasore from the Rajah of Berar, in 1804 of Delhi and other possessions from Dowlut Rao Scindia, in 1805 of part of Gujerat from the Guicomar. The state of the Indian trade during the earlier portion of the present period may be collected from the following figures. The number of ships sent out by the company was 49 in 1800, 39 in 1801, and in the nine succeeding years ranged between 46 and 55. The value of merchandise exported by the company was 1,702,810*l.* in 1800, 2,116,812*l.* in 1802, 1,825,689*l.* in 1804, 2,045,527*l.* in 1807, 1,876,872*l.* in 1810. But large quantities of bullion were also sent out in some of these years, especially in 1802 and 1804, in which last year the amount was 1,933,538*l.* No bullion was sent out after 1807. The entire value of the imports from India was 10,323,452*l.* in 1800; but, as it never had been quite so large before (though it was very nearly so both in 1798 and 1799), so it never reached the same amount again. It was 8,237,035*l.* in 1809, and 9,572,358*l.* in 1810. Of these sums the goods belonging to the company formed 7,602,041*l.* in 1800, and only 5,977,058*l.* in 1810. Meanwhile the portion of the imports belonging to the private trade, carried on by permission of the company, had been 2,382,092*l.* in 1800, 3,512,375*l.* in 1802, 1,916,101*l.* in 1809, and was 3,259,900*l.* in 1810. In the four years from 1811 to 1814 inclusive, the average annual exports of the company amounted to 2,145,365*l.*; namely, to India 1,119,514*l.*, to China 1,025,851*l.* The company's charter was renewed for twenty years in 1813 by the act 53 Geo. III., c. 155, by which the trade to India was thrown open, and only that to China left in the exclusive possession of the company. Further additions of territory were acquired in 1815 from the Rajah of Nepaul, in 1817 from the Peishwa and the Guicomar, and in 1818 from the Peishwa, Dowlut Rao Scindia, and Holkar. From the date of the renewal of the charter the annual exports to India by private traders far exceeded those of the company. In 1814 those of the company amounted to

* See ante, vol. iii. p. 663.

826,558*l.*, those by private traders to 1,048,132*l.*; in 1816 the value of the company's exports was 633,546*l.*, that of those of the private traders 1,955,909*l.*; in 1818 the company's exports were 553,385*l.*, those of the private traders 3,018,779*l.*; in 1819 the company's were 760,508*l.*, those of the private traders 1,586,575*l.* In 1832 the value of the company's exports had fallen to 149,193*l.*, while that of the exports by private traders had increased to 3,601,093*l.* On the whole, however, the trade to India did not grow rapidly under the new arrangement: the total value of the exports thither both by the company and by private traders was 3,544,395*l.* in 1821, and was no more than 3,635,051*l.* in 1831, and no more than 3,750,286*l.* in 1832. The trade to China was also thrown open, and the powers and privileges of the company as a commercial association entirely put an end to, in 1833.

The preparations for the resumption of cash payments by the Bank towards the close of the present period had been preceded by a complete reform both of the gold and silver coinage of the realm. It has been mentioned in the last Book, that, in 1797, immediately after the suspension of payments in cash, the Bank, to assist in filling the vacuum in the circulation left by the disappearance of guineas, resorted, among other expedients, to an issue of Spanish dollars re-stamped with the king's head, which continued current till the end of October in that year. They passed for 4*s.* 9*d.* each. Afterwards the Bank coined dollars of its own, which passed for 5*s.*, till, in March, 1811, it was found necessary to recall them, and receive them back at the rate of 5*s.* 6*d.* A few months afterwards their place was supplied by an issue of three-shilling and eighteen-penny tokens, which continued in circulation till 1816. The increased value which had been attained by the Bank dollars was an evidence, and, in some degree, a measure of the depreciation which had been undergone by the regular silver coinage of the country. That coinage, indeed, many of the pieces of which that still continued in circulation were of the reigns of the first and second Georges, and were worn to little more than half their original thickness, besides having become crooked and shapeless, and lost all trace of the impression they had once borne, was reduced to such a state as imperatively to demand its suppression. It appears that whatever new shillings and sixpences had been coined from time to time had disappeared as soon as they were issued, having been converted into bullion, in which state they were more valuable than in the shape of coin. This was the consequence of the principle that had been adopted, in regard to the coinage of silver, of returning to all who brought that metal to the Mint to be converted into coin a quantity of coin equal in weight to the quantity of standard silver received from them, the expense of the coining being borne by the public. In the reformation of this coinage which was at length determined upon in 1816 (on the report of a committee of council which had been appointed so long ago as in February, 1798), it was resolved to abandon this principle and practice, to make gold and not silver the legal standard coin of the realm, and, by coining the pound troy weight of silver into sixty-six instead of only sixty-two shillings as heretofore, to subject the coinage of that metal to such a seignorage as would tend for the future to keep the king's money out of the melting-pot. It was arranged also that gold (upon which no seignorage was to be imposed) should no longer be coined into guineas (or pieces of the value of twenty-one shillings), half guineas, and seven-shilling pieces, but into new denominations of sovereigns, corresponding in value to the nominal money pound of twenty shillings, and half sovereigns. All the old silver was accordingly called in, and exchanged for the new money, in February, 1817; and the new sovereigns and half sovereigns were issued in July of the same year. Finally, in 1819, by the act 59 Geo. III. c. 49, all the old prohibitions against the exportation of the coinage of the realm (which had long proved quite inefficient for their professed purpose, and only a source of annoyance) were repealed, and it was declared that both gold and silver coins might be freely both exported and imported, not only without payment of any duty, but even without being either reported or entered at the Custom-house. Scarcely any silver had been coined at the Mint for many years before 1816; the quantity coined in that year amounted to 1,805,251*l.*; that coined in 1817 to 2,436,297*l.*; that coined in 1818 to 576,279*l.*; that coined in 1819 to 1,267,272*l.*; making in all above 6,000,000*l.* in these four years; and there were further large coinages of silver almost in every year down to 1826 inclusive. There had been large coinages of gold in almost every year from 1790 to 1811 inclusive; the quantity of gold coined between 1790 and 1798 (both inclusive) amounted to above 17,000,000*l.*; and even in the next thirteen years, when there was no gold circulation at home, and the pieces were only wanted by the government for its foreign payments, gold was coined to the amount of between 4,000,000*l.* and 5,000,000*l.* more. There was no gold coinage in 1812, but, in 1813, gold was coined to the amount of 519,722*l.* This was the last coinage of guineas: the first coinage of sovereigns, in 1817, amounted to 4,275,337*l.*; that of 1818 to 2,862,373*l.*; and gold has continued to be coined in large quantities almost every year since then.

The history of the Useful Arts in England during the last twenty years of the reign of George III., unlike that for the period of about the same length at the commencement of the reign, embraced in our first Book, is rather a history of progress and realization than of invention. At the commencement of the reign every department of the national industry, with but few and trifling exceptions, was either at a very low ebb, or was cramped by the imperfection of its machinery and processes, and,

in some cases, also by the effect of injudicious legislation. The two preceding Books show how almost every important desideratum was successively supplied, and almost every obstacle to the full development of the commercial and manufacturing greatness of Britain was in turn grappled with and overcome by the daring energy of her engineers, the inexhaustible ingenuity of her mechanics, chemists, and artizans, and the persevering industry and enterprise of her manufacturers. Brindley and Smeaton, Whitworth and Telford, were the most prominent among those who established a new and invaluable system of intercommunication, which laid open the resources of the country, gave to its inland towns the advantages of water-carriage, and brought the immense deposits of "hoarded power" in her coal-mines into close connexion with the various seats of manufacturing industry; and Watt supplied, in the improved steam-engine, a moving-power at once cheap and manageable, independent of local circumstances, and boundless in its energy. The extended application of coal in the iron manufacture relieved it from a difficulty which already checked its progress, and which could only have increased in magnitude had not such a remedy been applied; and the consequent cheapness of iron favoured, in a most important degree, the application of machinery to other departments of industry. Wedgwood brought about so great an improvement in our potteries, that England, no longer dependent upon foreign countries for vessels for domestic use, became an exporting country; while a commercial revolution of unparalleled importance was wrought in the manufactures of cotton, by the perfection of spinning-machinery and the introduction of the factory system; a revolution which included also material changes in the manufactures of wool, linen, and silks, and in the external trade of the country. The commencement of these great changes is treated of in the first Book, the period embraced by which was essentially an era of invention; in the second Book their progress is traced to the close of the eighteenth century, with a degree of minuteness called for by the widespreading ramifications of the newly revived and extended industry of the nation; and it now remains to show, more by a few brief notices of the principal branches than by any attempt to describe every department that has experienced great improvement or extension, the astonishing magnitude and activity to which that industry attained before the death of George III.

Notwithstanding the numerous acts which had been passed for the construction and improvement of turnpike roads, the constant complaints of their generally imperfect condition, and the occasional examples of roads which, being in the hands of intelligent surveyors, were kept in excellent order, the art of road-making was, until after the close of the eighteenth century, so little understood as hardly to deserve the name of a science; but during the period now under review, the discreditable condition of this branch of the national industry, which was probably to be attributed in a considerable degree to the defective system of management by turnpike trusts, was in a great measure removed by the efforts of numerous enlightened men, among whom the names of Telford and MacAdam claim special notice. With but few exceptions, even the principal roads were laid out on the natural surface of the ground, without regard to the enormous loss of power incurred in passing over the numerous undulations of such a road. Their course, instead of being straight, or laid out in gentle sweeps, at once pleasing to the eye and safe for the rapid transit of carriages, was often dictated by the arbitrary divisions of the adjoining lands, with the effect of both unnecessarily increasing the length of the roads and filling them with inconvenient angles. Instead of being of a uniform width, calculated for the amount of traffic to be accommodated, they were in some places so narrow as to render the meeting of two carriages dangerous or inconvenient, while in others they spread out to an unnecessary amplitude, involving of course increased expense of maintenance. No sufficient care was exercised to remove such trees and hedges as might intercept the free action of the sun and wind, so essential to the preservation of a road in good order, nor were adequate pains taken to experiment upon and procure the best materials for repairing the surface. In addition to this, many of the carriages used were, in consequence of absurd legislation respecting the form and width of tire of wheels, the width of carriages, and various other points, adapted rather for cutting up the surface of a road, and grinding the stones of which it was formed to powder, than for easy draught, or for rolling along the roads with the least possible injury. The great work of reformation was most effectually commenced in the wild district of the Highlands of Scotland. Sir Henry Parnell mentions, among other circumstances which indicated a spirit of improvement in the northern division of the island, that the practice of laying out roads with the spirit-level was introduced into Scotland, and more especially into the district of Galloway, about the year 1790, by Lord Daer.* The value of good roads had been rendered especially evident in Scotland by the effects of the military roads which were formed through the Highlands in consequence of the rebellion of 1715, and which were subsequently extended after that of 1745; but these roads, which at length were carried out to an aggregate of about eight hundred miles, and contained upwards of a thousand bridges, were not formed upon the principles best adapted for conferring benefits on the civil interests of the community, although their utility became so evident that they were, in some parts, maintained at the public expense long after they ceased to be required for military purposes. At the commencement of the nineteenth century these military roads were very inadequate to the necessities of the po-

* Treatise on Roads, second edition, p. 27.

pulation; but about that time Thomas Telford, whose enterprising improvements in canal engineering are noticed in a previous Book,* was engaged

THOMAS TELFORD.

to survey that district of the island, and in consequence of his report, which was delivered to the lords of the treasury in 1802, it was determined to carry into execution a comprehensive plan of improvement, and the board of "Commissioners of Highland Roads and Bridges" was formed to superintend the necessary works, almost all of which were both designed by and constructed under the immediate direction of Telford. In consequence of subsequent additions to the original plan, the works executed under this commission were neither confined to the district commonly called the Highlands, nor to the construction of roads and bridges; but the commission also superintended the improvement of the road from Glasgow to Carlisle; of the Lanarkshire roads; of numerous harbours, of which the most important were those of Peterhead, Banff, Frazerburgh, Fortrose, Cullen, and Kirkwall; and also, under a parliamentary grant of 1823, the erection of several Highland churches and manses. During a period of twenty-five years from the establishment of this commission, the whole of Scotland, from its southern boundary, near Carlisle, to the northern extremity of Caithness, and from Aberdeenshire on the east to the Argyleshire islands on the west, was intersected by roads of the most excellent character, those in the more strictly mountainous districts being admirably adapted to the peculiarities of their situation, and being everywhere laid out with moderate inclinations, notwithstanding the ruggedness of the country. The total extent of the new roads formed under this commission was about a thousand miles; and the number of bridges erected across some of the largest rivers in the country, as well as numerous minor streams, many of which bear the character of mountain torrents, was about twelve hundred; yet in so substantial and scientific a manner was this performed, that only five of this large number have since required to be renewed, notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties of a mountainous and stormy region. The expense of these roads was defrayed in equal portions by parliamentary grants and by local contributions; and the effect of their construction has been to raise the inhabitants of the district in an extraordinary degree in the scale of civilization, by exciting industry and intercourse with other parts of the country. In the valuable record of Telford's principal constructions, which was prepared by himself, and published shortly after his death, it is stated that, before the commencement of the present century, no public coach or other regular vehicle of conveyance existed in the Highlands; and that, though an attempt was made in the year 1800 to establish coaches between Inverness and Perth, and between Inverness and Aberdeen, it was found necessary, after a short trial, to discontinue them, on account of the imperfect state of the roads, and the very limited extent of the then existing intercourse between those places. It was not until the years 1806 and 1811 that coaches were regularly established in those directions, and these were the earliest stage-coaches which ran regularly along the roads of the Scottish Highlands.*

It was upon the Glasgow and Carlisle road that Telford made the first trial of his peculiar system of road-making, the main feature of which is the laying of a surface of broken stone, technically called *metal*, upon a rough but carefully laid pavement of large stones. This plan of road-making Telford subsequently obtained an opportunity of carrying into effect upon a large scale, and under the most favourable circumstances, upon the extended line of road from London to Holyhead, which formed, until the recent establishment of railways, the principal line of communication with Ireland.

Of other persons who took an active part in the improvement of our roads during the period under review, the name of John Loudon MacAdam stands too prominent to be passed over. Mr. MacAdam began to take peculiar interest in the subject of road-making while holding the office of a magistrate and commissioner of roads in Scotland, between the years 1783 and 1798, but in the latter year he removed to Bristol, and began to devote himself to the subject as a settled pursuit. At the commencement of the year 1816 he was appointed surveyor of the turnpike roads in the Bristol district, which were then in a most deplorable condition; but which by the judicious improvements which he introduced were soon brought into so excellent a state as to attract the attention of road trustees in various other parts of the country. The main feature of MacAdam's system, which has perhaps become more extensively known than it otherwise might have been, because, as has been remarked, his name was so readily *macadamizable* into a verb, consists in breaking the stones of which

† See ante, vol. iii., pp. 670, 671.

* Life of Thomas Telford, civil engineer, written by himself; containing a descriptive narrative of his professional labours; Appendix, p. 460. The work was edited by John Rickman, Esq., one of Telford's executors, by whom a preface and supplement were added.

the surface of the road consists into very small pieces, which naturally become of an angular form, and excluding all soft or earthy material from amongst them. It is unnecessary here to enter into an explanation of the differences which exist between the systems of Telford and MacAdam, and which have occasioned considerable discussion. Both systems have been highly important in their results, and, without subscribing to all the details of MacAdam's plan of road-making and repairing, it must be admitted that he and his sons have taken no inconsiderable part in the progressive series of improvements by which the roads of Great Britain and Ireland have been made the admiration of the civilized world. No better proof need be cited of their superiority than the admiration expressed by the Baron Dupin, in his work on 'The Commercial Power of Great Britain,' which appeared soon after the close of the period over which our present survey extends.

From returns published by a select committee of the House of Commons in 1820, it appears that, without making any allowance for a few districts from which no returns could be obtained, the aggregate length of the paved streets and turnpike-roads in England and Wales in the year 1818 was about 19,725 miles, and the aggregate length of other public highways about 95,104 miles, making a grand total of 114,829 miles of road, which, compared with the superficial extent of the country, gives nearly two miles of road to every square mile of surface. We have no return of the length of roads in Scotland at the same time; but about ten years later, when the extent of turnpike-roads in England and Wales had increased by about a thousand miles, the turnpike-roads in Scotland amounted to 3666 miles.* Of the other highways of Scotland, or of the roads of Ireland, we are unable to give any account; but before the close of the reign of George III. the latter country had begun to experience in some districts, in a degree proportionate to their previously isolated and barbarous condition, the civilizing results

* Report of a Select Committee of the House of Lords, in 1833.

Waterloo Bridge.

which follow the construction of good channels of communication.

Although more than five hundred years were suffered to elapse between the erection of the structure which, under the name of Old London Bridge, remained in use until the year 1831, and the commencement of a second bridge across the Thames, the short period embraced in the present book witnessed the commencement and completion of three metropolitan bridges, any one of which would be deserving of notice merely as a work of art. Of these the most interesting is that which is now called, in commemoration of the great victory of 1815, Waterloo Bridge, but which was originally called, from the street to which it leads on the northern side of the river, the Strand Bridge. The act of parliament for this undertaking was obtained in 1809, but the works were not actually commenced until 1811, the first stone being laid on the 11th of October in that year. This noble structure, which was erected by the late John Rennie, was constructed of granite, in the most perfect and durable manner. The river Thames, at the point selected for this bridge, extends to a greater width than at any other of the bridges, the clear waterway under the arches being 1080 feet, while that of the New London Bridge, lower down the stream, is only 690 feet; and the bridge proper consists of nine elliptical arches of 120 feet span. The length of the bridge itself is 1326 feet, and the width of the roadway is 70 feet, but with the abutments and the ranges of brick arches at each end (39 on the Surrey and 16 on the Middlesex shore), the total length of the structure is 2456 feet. Without alluding further to the details of this admirable work, which was opened to the public on the 18th of June, 1817, and upon which more than a million of money was expended, we conclude our notice of it with the remark of a recent writer, to whom we are indebted for several of the particulars here given of this and the other recent metropolitan bridges, that "as we gaze long and earnestly on that exquisite combination of all that is most valuable in bridge architecture

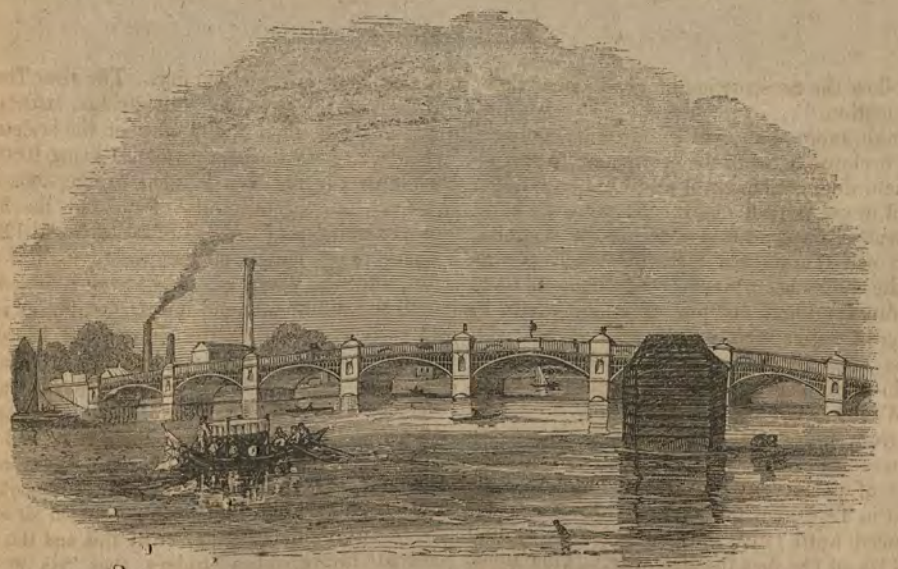
with all that is most beautiful—the broad and level roadway, and the light and elegant balustrade, the almost indestructible foundations, and the airy sweep of the arches they support—we feel the justice of Canova's opinion, that this is the finest bridge in Europe; and we can appreciate the great artist's enthusiasm when he added that it was alone worth coming from Rome to London to see." *

Vauxhall Bridge, originally called Regent Bridge, was the first extensive bridge erected near London with iron arches, and it presents a remarkably light and elegant example of such a structure; it is said, indeed, to be the lightest bridge of the kind in Europe. The piers are of stone, and the masonry was commenced in May, 1811. The entire work, which comprises nine arches of 78 feet span, supporting a roadway 36 feet wide, was completed in 1816, at a cost of about 300,000*l.* The act of parliament for Southwark Bridge, the last of the three metropolitan bridges completed within this period, was obtained in 1811, the year in which the other two were commenced, but the works were not actually begun until 1814. This bridge was completed in April, 1819, and it forms a no less remarkable or imposing monument to the fame of its designer, Rennie, than the far different stone bridge before noticed. As an iron bridge it stands without a rival in the world, its centre arch being of 240 feet span, or somewhat wider than the celebrated iron bridge at Sunderland,* while the other two are of 210 feet each. The river being comparatively narrow at the point where this bridge is erected, the whole width is spanned by these three gigantic arches; but owing to the contraction of the channel, the depth of the water was so much greater than at Waterloo Bridge, as to occasion, in connexion with the vast span and weight of the arches, greater difficulties than were involved in

RENNIE.

* London, vol. iii. p. 165. Dupin also speaks of this bridge, of which he gives a minute description, in terms of enthusiastic admiration. "If," he says, "from the incalculable effect of the revolutions to which empires are subject, the people of the earth should one day inquire, 'Which was formerly the *New Phœnicia*, and the *Western Tyre*, which covered the ocean with her vessels?' the greater part of her edifices, consumed by a destructive climate, will no longer stand to answer with the dumb language of monuments, but the Strand Bridge will ever exist to repeat, to the most remote generations, 'Here stood a rich, industrious, and powerful city.' The traveller, at this sight, will imagine that some great prince sought to signalise the end of his reign by many years of labour, and to immortalize the glory of his actions by this imposing structure. But, if tradition tell him, that six years sufficed to begin and complete the work—if he learn that a mere company of merchants built this mass, worthy of Sesostris and the Cæsars—he will the more admire the nation where similar enterprises could be the fruit of the efforts of a few merchants and private individuals. And, if he should then reflect on the causes of the prosperity of empires, he will understand that such a nation must have possessed wise laws, powerful institutions, and a well protected liberty; for these are stamped in the grandeur and utility of the works completed by her citizens."—*Commercial Power of Great Britain, English translation*, 1825, vol. ii. pp. 359, 360.

* See ante, vol. iii. p. 679.



VAUXHALL BRIDGE.

Southwark Bridge.

that undertaking. The cost of Southwark Bridge, which, like both of the preceding, was erected by a joint-stock company, was about 800,000*l.* As the old London Bridge has been removed, and the new one erected by Sir John Rennie from the designs of his father, who died in 1821, it may be justly said that we owe one-half of the six magnificent bridges which span the Thames at the metropolis to the genius of the late John Rennie, whose remains were deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral, in acknowledgment of the claim which his distinguished services have given him to the national esteem and gratitude.

One of the most interesting circumstances in the history of civil engineering during the period embraced in the present Book, is the introduction of suspension-bridges and piers of wrought-iron. Though, however, such structures may be considered as a recent addition to the resources of the engineer, their origin is of early date. Rope-

London Bridge

bridges have been used in India and in South America, perhaps we may say from time immemorial; and Ware, in his 'Tracts on Vaults and Bridges,' refers to Kircher and Ogilby for the details of an iron chain-bridge, called the bridge of Junnan or Yunnan, in China, which is supposed to have been erected about A.D. 65, and the length of which is said to be or to have been 20 Chinese perches, or 200 cubits. A small foot-bridge of iron chains was constructed across the Tees, near Middleton, before the middle of the eighteenth century; and, in 1796, the first iron suspension-bridge erected in America was thrown across Jacob's Creek, between Union Town and Greenburgh, by Mr. Finlay, who subsequently, in 1801, obtained a patent for the construction of such bridges, and erected several in the United States, one of which, over the Schuylkill, was 306 feet long.

The project of a bridge across the Menai Strait, which separates the Isle of Anglesey from Carnarvonshire, was suggested as early as 1785, and in 1801, designs were made by Rennie for such a bridge. Some years later the matter was again taken up, and Telford prepared two different designs, one for a bridge of three cast-iron arches, and another, to which he gave the preference, for a single cast-iron arch of 500 feet, at Ynys-y-Moch, where he was eventually, in 1818, directed to construct a suspension-bridge, similar in principle to one which he had proposed a few years before to throw over the Mersey at Runcorn Gap. The difficulties to be overcome in the execution of such a work would hardly be conceived. This important bridge, which, though commenced in July, 1818, was not completed until the beginning of the year 1826, has a principal opening 560 feet wide, with the roadway about 100 feet above high-water mark. Notwithstanding the precautions originally taken to guard against injury from oscillation or vibration, it has been found necessary to stiffen the platform, in consequence of the damage done to the bridge by violent storms; but, on the whole this bold and hazardous experiment must be considered as eminently successful, and as being sufficient of itself to immortalize the name of Telford.

Other suspension-bridges of minor extent were erected previous to that over the Menai. One, of iron wires, of exceedingly light construction, was thrown across Gala Water in 1816; and another, on a different principle, was built across the Tweed, at King's Meadows, in 1817. The most important fact in the history of this branch of science was, however, the introduction, by Captain, afterwards Sir Samuel, Brown, who had long been engaged in promoting the use of iron chains in shipping in lieu of hemp cables and rigging, of an improved method of forming chains for suspension-bridges, which has, in its main features, been adopted in all such structures excepting in those formed of wire cables. The peculiarity of his plan consisted in the use of long link-bars, either flat like those used in the Menai Bridge, or of a round section, and connected together by linking-plates and bolt-pins, passing through welded eyes or drilled holes in the ends of the link-bars. Although Captain Brown had tried experiments on the subject, and made models of his invention many years earlier, he did not obtain a patent until 1817, and the first extensive bridge he erected was that over the Tweed, near Kelso, commonly called the Union Bridge, which has a clear span, between the abutments, of about 360 feet, although the distance between the points of support of the chains is 437 feet. The details of this bridge are most ingeniously contrived, and the facility with which it was constructed may be conceived from the fact that it was commenced in August, 1819, and completed in July, 1820, in rather less than twelve months, and that at a cost of only 5000*l.*, although it is adapted for carriages as well as for foot-passengers. The first suspension-bridge thrown across the Thames, in the vicinity of London, was that at Hammersmith, which was commenced in 1824, by Mr. W. Tierney Clark, and in which the extent of roadway suspended exceeds that of the Menai Bridge.

In continuation of what has been said in the preceding Book on the subject of railroads,* we have but little to relate either as regards invention or extended application; but the present period, especially the latter part of it, presents some symptoms of the great movement which commenced a few years later, in the application of railways and locomotive steam-engines to the purposes of general commercial intercourse. The number of acts of parliament passed between 1801 and 1820 for the construction of new lines of railway was, on average, one every year; but of these several were not carried into effect. The lines which were executed extend, with their several branches and extensions, many of which were not contemplated in the original acts, to an aggregate length of about 225 miles; but while some of these were intended for the conveyance of agricultural produce and general merchandise, as well as for the accommodation of mines and quarries, they seldom differed in any very material degree from the private undertakings which had long been common in the colliery districts; and horses were, almost without exception, the only moving power employed upon them. Of the total extent of railway in operation at the close of this period we have no account; but Baron Dupin, writing shortly after that date, observes that at the time of his first visit to Great Britain it was calculated that there were 225 miles of iron railways in the neighbourhood of Newcastle-upon-Tyne alone, in a space of twenty-one miles long and twelve broad; and he adds that the subterraneous railways in the mines of that district were not less extensive. In Wales, also, iron railways were very much used for conveying ore and coal from the mines to the furnaces, and iron and coal to the canals and ports; and the same

* See ante, vol. iii. pp. 668, 669.

writer states that there were about 300 miles of this kind of road in the single county of Glamorgan.* About the close of the reign of George III., however, plans for extended lines of railroad for the promotion of general commerce were beginning to be brought forward; and within five years from that time the rage for such speculations bade fair almost to rival the South Sea mania, and projects were brought forward for the Stockton and Darlington, Liverpool and Manchester, as well as several less important lines, in this country, and also for some of the earliest French railways. As this kind of road became more common, and came to be formed on more perfect and durable principles by joint-stock companies, several improvements in the details of construction were introduced. On the Surrey Iron Railway,† the act for which was obtained in 1801, and which was the first road of the kind in the neighbourhood of London, the expense of repairs, owing to the frequent breakage of the cast-iron tram-plates, led to the introduction of a new form of rail, resembling the old tram-plate or plate-rail in form, but having a deep flange on the under side to stiffen the rail; and this serious evil, together with the other disadvantages of the plate-railway, led to the increased adoption of edge-rails upon the principal new lines. Another change, of still greater importance, and one which removed, more effectually than any other individual improvement, the difficulties in the way of applying railroads to the rapid transit of passengers, was the introduction of wrought-iron in lieu of cast-iron as a material for rails, in consequence of the invention by Mr. Birkinshaw, of the Bedlington Iron-works, of a process for forming rails and other variously formed bars of wrought-iron by an ingenious application of grooved rollers. This process, which was patented in 1820, marks also an important era in the manufacture of wrought-iron. By this crowning improvement the iron railway was brought to a state of perfection which fitted it to become the scene of an extraordinary development of the powers of the steam-engine, in the capacity of a locomotive machine, of the energies of which the most sanguine had, at that period, a most imperfect idea.

The possibility of applying the steam-engine to the propulsion of carriages, by causing the motion of its piston to be communicated, by the intervention of a crank, to the wheels, was suggested to Watt by his friend Robison, then a student in the University of Glasgow, as early as 1758 or 1759, and not long afterwards, a model of a steam-carriage was exhibited in France by John Theophilus Cugnot, a native of Lorraine, who subsequently constructed at Paris, at the public expense, a large steam-carriage, which was tried in 1770, and acted with so much power as to lead to a supposition that the steam-engine was not sufficiently manageable for the purposes of locomotion.* In 1784 Watt described, in one of his patents, a scheme which he had formed for a steam-carriage, but he never carried it into execution; and perhaps Mr. Murdoch, a Cornish engineer, to whom Trevithick is said to have been a pupil, and who subsequently became connected with Messrs. Boulton and Watt, was the first who actually constructed a steam-carriage in this country; his carriage, or model, having been tried near Redruth in 1782 or 1792, which we are not able to ascertain, both dates being given by different authorities.† In 1786 a model was exhibited in Edinburgh, by William Symington, whose share in some of the early experiments on steam navigation is noticed elsewhere,‡ of a steam-carriage adapted for use upon common roads; and about the same time Oliver Evans, an ingenious mechanic in the United States, brought forward a scheme for the establishment of steam-waggons, which appeared then to be so startling a novelty, that he was supposed to be insane. The first practical application of the steam-engine to the propulsion of carriages, however, was effected about the commencement of the present period by Messrs. Trevithick and Vivian, who patented, in the year 1802, an admirably simple kind of steam-engine, which may be considered the original of all high-pressure engines. Shortly after obtaining their patent, they constructed an ingenious steam-carriage for common roads, and exhibited it in London; but the generally defective state of the roads caused the patentees to abandon this application of their invention, and hardly any other attempt was made to establish steam-carriages on the ordinary roads, until, after a lapse of about twenty years, their state was greatly altered for the better. Messrs. Trevithick and Vivian did not, however, altogether abandon their project, but constructed a locomotive engine suitable for running on a tramway, and tried it in 1804 or 1805 upon a tramroad near Merthyr Tydvil, where, according to Stuart, "It travelled at the rate of five miles an hour, and drew as many carriages as contained ten tons of iron, for a distance of nine miles, without requiring any water to be introduced into the boiler from the period of its starting until it had reached the end of its journey."§ It may seem strange that after so satisfactory an experiment an opinion should have very generally gained credence that a locomotive engine impelled simply by the turning round of plain wheels upon the smooth surface of the rails, or even upon the rougher surface of a common stone road, could neither ascend a moderate acclivity nor draw any considerable load; yet the

* Commercial Power of Great Britain, f. 207.

† This railway, which extends from the Thames, at Wandsworth, to Croydon, a distance of nearly ten miles, and was continued by a second company to Merstham, about eight miles farther, was designed by William Jessop, Esq., and is mentioned by Dupin as one of the most beautiful in the south of England. Although forty years have not yet elapsed since this road formed a scientific novelty, the southern part of it may already be classed with things that have been; its neglected ruins forming an interesting contrast, suggestive of the rapid march of engineering science, with the gigantic works of the London and Brighton railway, formed about thirty years later, by the projectors of which the old tramway was purchased in 1837.

* Stuart's Historical and Descriptive Anecdotes of Steam-Engines, and of their Inventors and Improvers, pp. 208, 209.

† Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Steam-Carriage.'

‡ See ante, vol. iii. p. 675.

§ Anecdotes on Steam-Engines, p. 460.

history of this branch of mechanical science for several years after Trevithick's decisive experiment at Merthyr Tydvil, presents little else than schemes for obtaining progressive motion by means of racks laid along the road, into which cogged wheels attached to the engine might work; chains stretched along the line, to be taken hold of by the engine in like manner; mechanical legs to imitate the action of those of a horse, and thereby to force the machine along; and contrivances for multiplying the number of wheels, so as to obtain increased adhesion. An arrangement of the first-mentioned kind was patented by Mr. Blenkinsop in 1811, and was brought into practical and profitable operation upon a railway connected with the Middleton Colliery, near Leeds, where it was shown to be capable of drawing a load of about a hundred tons upon a dead level, at the rate of three miles and a half per hour, which is a quicker pace than that of an ordinary cart-horse; of travelling, when lightly loaded, at a speed of ten miles per hour; and of performing, in a day's work of twelve hours, the work of sixteen horses.

Before the close of this period the erroneous idea which led to Blenkinsop's and other contrivances of the same character, had been so far exploded, that locomotive engines, clumsy and unsightly indeed in their appearance, yet sufficient to show, notwithstanding their numerous imperfections, how important a power was within the reach of the engineer, were regularly established upon several colliery lines in the north of England. Though some of the fanciful prognostications of those who did venture to predict the future triumphs of the locomotive engine have not been, and perhaps never may be, fully realized, yet it is impossible to compare the railway engine of 1820 with that of 1840, without feeling that the author of 'The Fingerpost,' a pamphlet published not long after the former date, was in the right, when he asked the sceptical opponent of railway travelling "to indulge his imagination with an excursion some twenty or thirty years forward in the regions of time; when the dark, unsightly, shapeless machine, that now offends him, even in idea, shall be metamorphosed into one of exquisite symmetry and beauty, glittering with all the pomp and circumstance the pride of wealth knows so well how to bestow."

The aggregate length of canals formed in Great Britain, during the present period, was about 442 miles; and so complete was the system of internal water-communication effected by means of the canals, and navigable streams, brought into operation within a few years after the date to which our survey comes down, that the former alone extended to a length of about 2200 miles; and that no spot in England, south of Durham, is more than fifteen miles from water-communication; while in manufacturing districts the average distance is much smaller, and every considerable town possesses uninterrupted communication with the principal markets for its manufactured goods, and with the sources whence its raw materials for manufacture, and the supplies of food and other necessaries for its population, are chiefly derived. The undaunted and progressive spirit of enterprise in this department of engineering is well exemplified in the canals formed during the period embraced in the present Book, to facilitate communication between the ports of Liverpool and Hull, on the western and eastern sides of the island respectively, and between the important manufacturing districts of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, the great seats of the cotton and woollen manufactures, and the agricultural districts from which the supplies for their dense and constantly increasing population are drawn. A great natural obstacle to such inter-communication exists in the elevated mountain range, popularly styled the "backbone of England;" and notwithstanding every expedient that ingenuity could devise for crossing this barrier at as low a level as possible, it has been found necessary, in the route by the Rochdale canal, to rise to an elevation of at least 600 feet, and to a still greater elevation in the case of the Huddersfield canal. Such, however, are the commercial necessities of the district, that not only one, but three distinct lines of water-communication have been completed through this difficult country. The first of these, by the Leeds and Liverpool canal, was commenced under an act obtained in 1770, though it was not completed until 1816; the Rochdale canal, commenced several years later, affords a shorter but more precipitous line of communication, and, though rising to the great elevation above mentioned, it is formed of sufficient capacity to receive vessels fit for navigating the tideways of the Humber and the Mersey, a circumstance of great importance in the transmission, without change of vessel, of Baltic produce into Lancashire, and of the manufactures of Lancashire to Hull for exportation; and the Huddersfield canal, which was formed under acts of the years 1794, 1800, and 1806, forms the connecting link in a route nearly ten miles shorter than either of the preceding, though of more contracted dimensions. Among the other English canals formed during the period the most important were—the Grand Junction Canal, with its numerous branches, especially the Paddington canal and the Regent's canal, which connect the water-communications of a most extensive and important portion of the country with the metropolis and the river Thames; and the Kennet and Avon canal, which completed a navigable communication from the Thames to the Avon, near Bath. In Scotland this period saw the commencement, and almost the completion also, of the grand navigable communication between the eastern and western seas, known as the Caledonian canal. This scheme formed an important feature in the plans for the improvement of the Highlands upon which Telford was engaged in 1801; and in consequence of his suggestions a separate board of commissioners was formed for superintending the construction of the Caledonian canal, and he was ap-

pointed engineer to that, as well as the Commission of Highland Roads and Bridges. This canal is conducted along a great valley known as the "Glen of Scotland," and is formed by connecting a series of lakes which extends a considerable part of the distance. It is constructed throughout with a navigable channel 50 feet wide and 20 feet deep, and its locks are said to be the largest ever constructed down to that time, being 40 feet wide, and from 170 to 180 feet long, while one of them, near Inverness, was formed in ground naturally so soft, that Telford says an iron rod might be easily thrust into it to a depth of 55 feet. This national undertaking was delayed by several untoward circumstances, and was not opened through its entire length until 1823, though a portion was brought into use three years earlier. The Edinburgh and Glasgow Union canal was also partly executed during this period, and completed in 1822. As nearly as can be ascertained, the aggregate length of canals in use in the British empire at the close of the reign of George III., including a few lines then in a forward state, but not quite finished, was 2160 miles in England and Wales, 212 miles in Scotland, and 250 miles in Ireland. The success of these undertakings was exceedingly variable. English canals have generally been formed for the accommodation of traffic previously existing, though cramped for want of greater facilities; but in Ireland, and in some degree also in Scotland, in the instance of the Caledonian canal, the case has been very different. It was remarked by Mr. Nimmo, in his evidence before a select committee of the House of Commons upon the state of the poor in Ireland, in 1830, that the inland navigations of that country were "chiefly remarkable for being undertaken, not to facilitate any existing trade, but chiefly to promote agriculture in the fertile districts of the interior, to create a trade where none had previously existed, and to furnish employment for the poor." . . . . "The success in this way," he proceeds, "has been wonderful; and, though the adventurers have not yet been repaid, and perhaps never will be, the benefit to the public and landed property of the kingdom has been great and manifest." . . . . "The nation has," he adds, "been saved the payment of a bounty of 100,000*l.* per annum for bringing corn to Dublin; for in place of this being the case, that city has now become one of the first corn ports of Europe." *

To the period now under consideration belongs the practical application of the powers of the steam-engine to the purposes of navigation, an object which had been contemplated by several ingenious men long before it was actually accomplished, and which, as has been seen in the preceding Book,† had been all but effected before the close of the eighteenth century, by the combined talent and energy of Miller, Taylor, and Symington. The concluding fact there noticed was the successful experiment of Symington with a steam tug-boat upon the Forth and Clyde canal, under the patronage of Lord Dundas; an experiment which appears to have failed to lead to the immediate establishment of steam-vessels for commercial purposes, chiefly owing to the prevalence of an exaggerated idea of the injury which would be inflicted on the canal banks by the action of paddle-wheels. Early in the year 1802 the steam tug-boat used in this experiment, having on board Lord Dundas and several other gentlemen, took in tow two loaded vessels, each of seventy tons burden, and, notwithstanding a strong head-wind which prevented the progress of any other vessels in the same direction, accomplished a distance of nineteen miles and a half in six hours; but, owing to the prejudices of the canal proprietors, the vessel was then laid up in a creek adjoining the canal, where it remained exposed to public view for several years, and was minutely examined by Henry Bell, who had also been an interested spectator of the earlier experiments of Symington in 1789, and who subsequently introduced steam-boats for the conveyance of passengers on the Clyde.

So early as in 1783 and following years crude projects of steam navigation had been brought before the American public by persons named Fitch and Rumsey, which, however, led to no practical result; and the subject was shortly afterwards taken up by the Chancellor Livingstone, who, notwithstanding the ridicule excited by his project, obtained in 1798 an exclusive privilege from the legislature of the state of New York for navigating boats by means of the steam-engine. His privilege or patent expired in consequence of his failure to produce, within the stipulated period of twelve months, a vessel capable of attaining a mean rate of four miles an hour; but shortly afterwards, being at Paris in the capacity of minister from the United States, he conversed with Robert Fulton, whose mind appears to have been previously directed to the subject, upon the practicability of steam-boats, and expressed his intention to resume his experiments on his return to America. Fulton and Livingstone then entered jointly upon a series of experiments on the Seine, and early in 1803 they completed a boat of considerable size, which, being too weak in her framing to bear the weight of the machinery, broke through the middle in a gale of wind during the night, and consequently sunk; an accident to which Russell attributes the admirable system of timber-framing by which many American steamers are distinguished. The shattered hull was raised, and the vessel, after being almost wholly reconstructed, acted in so satisfactory a manner as to induce the projectors to order an engine of Messrs. Boulton and Watt, with a view to further experiments in America. Fulton, soon after the above-mentioned experiments on the Seine, visited England, mainly, it would appear, for the promotion of his schemes for submarine navigation and warfare; but during his visit he

* The facts from which the above statement of the progress of British canals has been drawn up, are chiefly derived from Priestley's Historical Account of Navigable Rivers, Canals, and Railways, in Great Britain, and Porter's Progress of the Nation, sec. iii., chap. iii.

† See *ante*, vol. iii. p. 675.

introduced himself to Symington, and obtained minute information from him respecting the interesting experiments in which he had been engaged. Before Fulton returned to America, Livingstone wrote thither, and again secured a monopoly of steam navigation in the state of New York, setting forth the claim of himself and Fulton to the *invention* of steam-boats.

FULTON.

While his previous failures, and the incontrovertible evidence which exists of his having derived most important information from the successful labours of the Scottish experimentalists, show that Fulton's claim to be considered the inventor of steam navigation is unfounded, it cannot be denied that his perseverance and energy, though, perhaps, accompanied by a want of proper regard to the rights of other labourers in the same field, led to the establishment of the first steam-boat ever brought into practical operation. This vessel, which was called, after Livingstone's residence, the 'Clermont,' was commenced immediately after Fulton's return to New York, in December, 1806; it was launched in the spring of 1807, and in the following August, the machinery having been fitted by the aid of workmen sent out from the establishment of Boulton and Watt, at Soho, the vessel was, for the first time, put in motion by the aid of her machinery, in the presence of a large assemblage of persons invited to witness the experiment. Colden, the American biographer of Fulton, observes, that nothing could exceed the surprise and admiration of all who were present on this occasion. "The minds of the most incredulous," he says, "were changed in a few minutes; before the boat had made the progress of a quarter of a mile, the greatest unbeliever must have been converted." "The man," he proceeds, "who, while he looked on the expensive machine, thanked his stars that he had more wisdom than to waste his money on such idle schemes, changed the expression of his features as the boat moved from the wharf and gained her speed; his complacent smile gradually stiffened into an expression of wonder; the jeers of the ignorant, who had neither sense nor feeling enough to repress their contemptuous ridicule and rude jokes, were silenced for the moment by a vulgar astonishment, which deprived them of the power of utterance, till the triumph of genius extorted from the incredulous multitude which crowded the shores, shouts and acclamations of congratulation and applause." Shortly afterwards the 'Clermont' performed, without accident, her first voyage from New York to Albany, a distance of about 145 miles, at the rate of about five miles per hour, causing, on her way, no small astonishment to the inhabitants of the shores of the Hudson, many of whom had never heard even of a steam-engine, and appearing, to some who saw her in the night, with a great column of flame and sparks, occasioned by the use of dry pine-wood for fuel, escaping from her funnel, like a monster moving on the waters in defiance of wind and tide, and breathing fire and smoke. Owing to the universal employment of mineral fuel in British steam-vessels, these can give but a faint idea of the startling effect of this novelty; but in America, where wood is still commonly burnt, the brilliant column of ignited vapour and galaxy of sparks which occasioned the singular appearance alluded to, still produce a striking, and, to strangers, a somewhat alarming effect. We may therefore conceive the consternation which the appearance of the 'Clermont' excited in the crews of those vessels which it passed during its first voyage, especially in the dead of night. Colden relates, that those whose attention was first attracted by the extraordinary light, saw with astonishment that though both wind and tide were adverse to its approach, it was rapidly coming towards them; "and when," he says, "it came so near that the noise of the machinery and paddles were heard, the crews in some instances shrunk beneath their decks from the terrific sight; and others left their vessels to go on shore; while others, again, prostrated themselves, and besought Providence to protect them from the approach of the horrible monster which was marching on the tides, and lighting its path by the fires which it vomited."

The individual by whom the application of steam navigation to actual use was first effected in this island was Henry Bell, of Helensburgh, on the river Clyde, who was for many years a house-carpenter in the city of Glasgow,* and was described by those who knew him as a man of considerable shrewdness, possessing a rich vein of vulgar humour, and fond of what are called schemes. Bell appears to have been well acquainted with the experiments at Dalswinton, and on the Forth and Clyde canal, but to have taken no steps for promoting the introduction of steam navigation until impelled to do so by the success of Fulton, and by the wish to establish regular passage-boats between Glasgow and Helensburgh, which is a watering-place on the Clyde, opposite to Greenock, in order to promote the success of an hotel there, of which he became proprietor in 1808. It appears by his

* Russell, on the Nature, Properties, and Applications of Steam, and on Steam Navigation, p. 213.

own account that Bell was induced to construct his first steam-boat in consequence of a correspondence with Fulton, of which, unfortunately, he does not give the date. He states,* that Fulton, having occasion to write to him about the plans of some machinery in Scotland, requested him to call upon Mr. Miller, of Dalswinton, to ascertain how his steam-boat machinery had succeeded, and to send him a full drawing and description of it. This he did, and two years afterwards he received another letter from Fulton, stating that he had constructed a boat from the drawings sent by Bell, and that, though it required some improvement, it was likely to answer the end proposed. This letter induced Bell to think of the absurdity, to use his own expressions, of sending his plans to other countries, and not putting them in practice himself in his own country. "From these considerations," he observes, "I was roused to set on foot a steam-boat, for which I made a number of different models, before I was satisfied:" "When," he adds, "I was convinced that they would answer the end, I contracted with Messrs. John Wood and Co., ship-builders in Port-Glasgow, to build me a steam-vessel, acording to my plans, 40 feet keel, and 10 feet 6 inches beam, which I fitted up with an engine and paddles, and called her the 'Comet,' because she was built and finished the same year that a comet appeared in the north-west part of Scotland." This vessel, which was of about 25 tons burthen, began to ply regularly between Glasgow and Helensburgh in January, 1812, but, owing to the prejudice excited by the owners of fly-boats and coaches, a considerable time elapsed before a sufficient number of passengers could be obtained to meet the working expenses, although the passage was effected in as short a time as by the coaches, while superior accommodation was offered to the passengers, at charges equal to one-third only of the coach-fares. It is gratifying to find that several gentlemen of Glasgow came forward voluntarily in 1813, when Bell had expended a larger sum of money than he could well afford in his experiments, and requested him to allow them to defray part of his outlay.† The second year after she was built the 'Comet' was employed by Bell as a jaunting-boat "all over the coasts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, to show the public," as expressed by Bell himself, in a statement quoted by Stuart, "the advantage of steam-boat navigation over the other mode of sailing." The 'Comet' was subsequently lost on the west coast of Scotland, on the 15th of December, 1820, and in the following year another of Bell's vessels was accidentally burnt. Neither of these was insured; and it is lamentable to find that while Bell lived to see the general adoption of the grand invention which he was the first in Europe to apply to practical use, he was, as Stuart observes, "fated to be not only distanced by his rivals, but to be ruined in the competition, and reduced to indigence."*

No sooner was the 'Comet' brought into actual operation, than other persons, some of them of more scientific knowledge, were ready to follow in the track of Henry Bell. As early as March, 1812, the 'Elizabeth,' the second steam-boat built on the Clyde, was commenced under the superintendence of an engineer named Thomson, who had been engaged by Bell in some of his first experiments, and whose practical knowledge of machinery, aided by the knowledge derived from Bell's experience, enabled him to produce a vessel of far greater power than the 'Comet.' In 1816 we find the following account given of the steam navigation on the Clyde by Mr. Robertson Buchanan, an eminent Scottish engineer:—"The number of passengers which now go in those boats may seem incredible to those who have not witnessed it. Travelling by land has not only been in a great measure superseded, but the communication very greatly increased, owing to the cheapness and facility of the conveyance." "Before the introduction of steam-boats," this writer adds, "the whole number of passengers in the common passage-boats did not, it is supposed, even in summer, exceed fifty up and fifty down, and those generally of the lower classes of the people. The number that then went down by coaches has been estimated at 24 persons up and the same number down." "But now," he proceeds, "in fine weather it is no uncommon thing for 500 or 600 passengers to go and come in the same day. One of these boats alone has been known to carry 247 at one time." †

Nor was any considerable time allowed to elapse before other rivers than the Clyde were ploughed by steam-vessels. As early as the year 1811, according to Stuart, a person named Dawson constructed a steam-vessel of about 50 tons in Ireland; this vessel, too, by a curious coincidence, was called the 'Comet.' Dawson subsequently, in the year 1813, established what some writers consider to have been the first steam-packet regularly plying on the Thames, between London and Gravesend; but, as the speculation did not answer, the boat was subsequently sent to Spain, where she plied between Seville and San Lucar. The 'Margery,' another of the boats early tried on the Thames, though built at Port Glasgow, was afterwards sent to France to ply on the Seine;‡ and Buchanan, in enumerating the British rivers upon which steam-vessels had been established before the publication of his treatise, states that there were five steam-vessels then employed on the

* See his letter published in the Caledonian Mercury in October, 1816, quoted by Russell, pp. 214, 215.

† Stuart, Anecdotes of Steam Engines, p. 525. It may be well here to correct a statement which, having been inserted in the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Roads from London to Holyhead, in 1822, has gained currency, that Bell went over to America to assist Fulton in the establishment of steam-boats. The letter quoted in the text shows what was his real connection with Fulton, and we find no authority whatever for supposing that he ever visited America.

* Anecdotes of Steam Engines, pp. 526-580.

† Practical Treatise on Propelling Vessels by Steam, pp. 12, 13.

‡ An Account of the Origin of Steam-boats in Spain, Great Britain, and America, and of their Introduction and Employment upon the River Thames, between London and Gravesend, to the present time, 1831. (By R. P. Cruden, of Milton, near Gravesend.)

Thames, and that voyages were already performed between London and Margate. He also states that a steam-boat had lately been built at St. Petersburg. Much information on the early history of steam navigation in this country is to be found in a work published somewhat later than the date of Buchanan's treatise, by another individual whose name deserves honourable mention in this sketch, although he also failed to derive personal benefit from his public-spirited exertions. George Dodd, the individual alluded to, though lamentably deficient in that stability of character which is necessary to insure success, was a very resolute young man, and, among many other acquirements which fitted him for the undertaking, he was possessed of some nautical knowledge, and had served as an officer in the British navy. He seems to have been the first to attempt a considerable sea-voyage, which he did with a Clyde-built vessel of about 75 tons burthen, launched in 1813 under the name of the 'Glasgow,' but subsequently altered, and re-named the 'Thames.' The 'Thames' encountered some very rough weather in the Irish Sea, but she nevertheless accomplished the voyage, of about 758 nautical miles, partly by steam and partly by sails, in about 122 hours, without any serious accident. Dodd subsequently superintended the erection of several Thames passage-boats, and he states, in his 'Historical and Explanatory Dissertation on Steam Engines and Steam Packets,' written in 1818, that not less than 10,000 passengers had been conveyed within four months by those employed between London, Richmond, and Twickenham, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the watermen, who claimed an exclusive right to carry passengers on the Thames within a certain jurisdiction. Dodd, however, adds that they were at length foiled in their attempts to secure their pretended monopoly by the extensive legal knowledge of Mr. Tyrrell, the City Remembrancer, who was a liberal supporter of the early steam-boats, and he also observes that experience had already proved that, instead of being injured, "the watermen have been greatly benefited by the surprising number of persons they have to put on board and land, and who, but for this enticing mode of carriage, would not have required boats."* According to Dodd there were, in 1818, eighteen steam-boats employed on the Clyde, two at Dundee on the Tay, two on the Trent, two on the Tyne, four on the Humber, two on the Mersey, three on the Yare, one on the Avon, one on the Severn, one on the Orwell, six on the Forth, two at Cork, and two intended to navigate between Dublin and Holyhead. Steam-packets and luggage-vessels were already used in Russia, the Netherlands, France, and Spain, and a steam-vessel was also building in the East Indies.

The regular employment of steam-vessels for deep sea navigation, and in the capacity of post-office packets, in which the benefits derived from them are incalculable, appears to be owing mainly to Mr. David Napier, who, according to Russell, from the year 1818 to 1830, probably "effected more for the improvement of steam navigation than any other man." "Previous to his time," observes this writer, "steam-vessels ventured rarely, and only in fine weather, beyond the precincts of rivers and the coast of friths;" but he ventured to establish regular communication by steam-vessels, plying even during the stormy months of winter, between England, Ireland, and France. Having formed this idea soon after the establishment of steam-boats on the Clyde, Napier set himself diligently to an investigation of the difficulties to be overcome, and in the pursuit of his object he took passage during a stormy period of the year in one of the sailing packets between Glasgow and Belfast, which often required a week to perform the journey which is now accomplished by steam in about nine hours. "The captain of the packet in which he sailed," says Russell, "remembers distinctly a young man, whom he afterwards knew as Mr. Napier, being found, during one of the winter passages to Belfast, constantly perched upon the bows of the vessel, and fixing an intent gaze on the sea where it broke on the side of the ship, quite heedless of the waves and spray that washed over him. From this occupation he only ceased at intervals, as the breeze freshened, to ask the captain whether the sea was such as might be considered a rough one, and, being told that it was by no means unusually rough, he returned to the bows of the vessel and resumed his study of the waves breaking at her stem. Some hours after, when the breeze began to freshen into a gale, and the sea to rise considerably, he again inquired of the captain whether now the sea might be considered a rough one, and was told that as yet it could not be called very rough. Apparently disappointed, he returned once more to his station at the bows, and resumed his employment. At last, however, he was favoured with a storm to his contentment; and, when the seas, breaking over the vessel, swept her from stem to stern, he found his way back to the captain, and repeated his inquiry, 'Do you call it rough now?' On being told that the captain did not remember to have faced a worse night in the whole of his experience, the young man appeared quite delighted, and, muttering as he turned away, 'I think I can manage, if that be all,' went down contentedly to his cabin, leaving the captain not a little puzzled at the strange freak of his passenger." Having thus acquainted himself with the obstacles to be conquered, Napier commenced a series of experiments to determine the best form for steam-vessels, and, at length, contrived a new and very superior mode of construction. In 1818 he established the 'Rob Roy,' of about 90 tons, between Greenock and Belfast; and in the following year he placed the 'Talbot,' of 150 tons, on the line between Holyhead and Dublin, where she was soon followed by

* Dodd, p. 233.

the 'Ivanhoe,' of 170 tons.* Post-office packets were not regularly established between those ports until 1821, but they soon reduced the communication to a degree of regularity previously unknown. From that time the use of steam-vessels upon the open sea made rapid and most successful progress.

Notwithstanding the previous completion of those grand features of the modern steam-engine by which it was rendered available as a prime mover of machinery, many important improvements were introduced during the period now under notice, tending to increase its efficiency, to adapt it to new purposes, and to lessen the consumption of fuel required to produce a given effect. No more striking illustration could be adduced of the progress effected in the latter branch of improvement than that afforded by the progressive increase of *duty*, or amount of work done by the consumption of a given amount of fuel, of the steam-engines employed in draining the Cornish mines. The comparatively early period at which steam-engines were employed in these works—the high price of the fuel consumed by their furnaces, which is necessarily brought from a considerable distance—and the circumstance that the gradual exhaustion of the more accessible and richer veins of ore rendered necessary increasing economy of working, in order to the profitable extraction of the deeper and less valuable ores, all combined to excite a spirit of emulation in the Cornish engineers, which have led to the most surprising results, though the more remarkable advances made by them have been realised since the year 1820. For the sake of convenient calculation and comparison, the amount of duty is expressed by the number of pounds weight which might be raised one foot high by the consumption of a bushel of coals; and by bringing the average results of the working of steam pumping-engines at various periods to the same standard, it has been found that from the commencement of Watt's improvements to the present time the power obtainable from the consumption of a bushel of coal has been multiplied at least tenfold.

The augmentation of power in proportion to the consumption of fuel, and, consequently, to the expense of working, was less the result of any one grand improvement, than of the combination of a great number of minor ameliorations in the details of working, attributable to the successful application of knowledge derived from practical experience. It must not, however, be inferred from this that the period under review was suffered to elapse without some inventions of marked and prominent character in this class of machinery. Of these, one of the most important was the introduction of what are called high-pressure steam-engines, in which the steam is heated to a higher degree, and, consequently, raised to a much greater degree of elasticity than in low-pressure engines, and its effect is produced solely by the preponderance of its pressure over that of the atmosphere, without the aid of condensation to produce a partial vacuum. The advantages of this kind of engine consist in its comparative simplicity, lightness, and compactness; qualities which render it peculiarly applicable to locomotive purposes, and in cases where saving of space is of importance. The idea of working an engine solely by the elasticity of steam raised to a very high temperature was by no means new; and some of the earliest experiments of Watt were directed to this kind of engine. These, however, he soon abandoned; and he appears subsequently to have entertained a prejudice against the use of high-pressure steam, probably on account of the risk of accidents by the bursting of the boilers in which it was generated, a risk which it became comparatively easy to provide against as improvements were effected in the manufacture of machinery. At length Messrs. Richard Trevithick and Andrew Vivian, two engineers residing at Camborne, in Cornwall, in their endeavours to produce a steam-engine adapted for locomotive purposes, contrived a machine, which immediately became a valuable addition to the available machinery of the country; and, as the expiration of the extended term of Watt's patent threw open his inventions to public use, many schemes were brought forward in which some features of his machine were combined with others of novel character. Among these one of the most prominent was the engine patented in 1804 by a Cornish engineer named Arthur Woolfe, which may be familiarly described as combining the high-pressure non-condensing engine of Trevithick with the low-pressure condensing engine of Watt.

Considerable improvements in the science of mining, and in the machinery employed for extracting, dressing, and otherwise preparing mineral products for use, were effected during the period now under notice, as well as in those immediately preceding it. The most striking changes are those that have been effected in the working of coal-mines. Such excavations were formerly laid out with so little system, and with so imperfect a knowledge, that it frequently happened that not one-half of the contents of the mine was extracted. Before the close of the eighteenth century the use of timber pillars was partially introduced, and thus, instead of leaving about 60 per cent. of the coal unworked, which was not unusual in deep mines, from 40 to 50 per cent. only was allowed to remain; and by a further extension of this improved system, introduced in 1810, a still further portion of coal was rendered capable of extraction, so that 80 or 90 per cent. of the whole contents of the mine might be brought to market. A few years after that time Sir Humphry Davy's safety-lamp was introduced. All other improvements, however, would have been of comparatively little value to the coal-miner, if he had not also found, in the increasing application of the steam-engine, an accession of power equal to the increasing exigences of his hazardous calling.

* No class of improvements relating to the prac-

* Russell, pp. 245-248.

tice of mining present a greater claim to notice than those which relate to ventilation, and to contrivances for obviating the dangers which arise from noxious and explosive gases. Dr. Ure* informs us that "Before the steam-engine was applied to the drainage of the mines, and the extraction of the coal, the excavations were of such limited extent, that when inflammable air accumulated in the fore-heads, it was usual in many collieries to fire it every morning." In coal-mines laid out on the modern system, such rude and dangerous methods are superseded by a well-digested scheme of ventilation, by which a current of air, descending what is called the down-cast shaft, is compelled, by the use of wooden partitions, double doors, and other contrivances, to pass successively through every gallery of the mine, and afterwards to escape by the up-cast shaft, carrying with it, as fast as it is emitted from the seams of coal, any deleterious or explosive gases which it may meet with in its course through the workings of the mine. It is said that the plan of coursing the air through the winding galleries, which in some cases extended to thirty miles or more, and, as it were, converting the whole of the passages into air-pipes, was originally contrived about the year 1760, by Mr. James Spedding, of Workington.† This system, however, was far from perfect; and about the year 1807 a very important improvement was invented by Mr. Buddle. Having devoted much attention to the subject, he perceived that if the current of air could be divided, so that that part which passed through the clean workings, or such as were free from inflammable gases, might pass off as usual by the furnace, while that part which coursed through the foul workings, and thereby became charged with explosive vapours, might be kept separate, and conducted into the up-cast shaft at such a distance above the furnace as to be secure from ignition, a principal cause of accident might be obviated. By arrangements formed upon this principle, and by the application of scientific knowledge, which may frequently enable the mining engineer to predict and provide against, or at least mitigate the effects of, sudden explosions, by barometric or other observations, the modern miner is enabled to carry on his operations with comparative safety in situations which would formerly have been deemed utterly impracticable.

The safety-lamp invented by Sir Humphry Davy was contrived to afford additional security to the miner, by enabling him to carry on his operations with but little risk in an atmosphere so highly charged with explosive gases as to ignite if the flame of a lighted candle be brought into contact with it; the occasional occurrence of which is inevitable even in the best ventilated and most carefully managed mines. Public attention was particularly drawn to this important subject in consequence of an unusually destructive explosion in the Felling colliery, near Newcastle, on the 25th of May, 1812, by which ninety-two persons lost their lives; and within a few years after that awful calamity several varieties of safety-lamp were contrived by ingenious men to meet the difficulty. None of these, however, were of a sufficiently practical character, excepting that invented by Sir Humphry Davy, the result of a course of philosophical investigation to which the attention of that eminent chemist was first directed in 1815. He found that even the most explosive mixtures of gases required an intense heat, greater than the red-heat of iron, to inflame them, and also that they could not be ignited through metallic tubes of very small diameter. This discovery led him to try the effect of woven wire-gauze, which he also found to form, under ordinary circumstances, a complete barrier to the passage of flame, although it offered but little impediment to the passage of inflammable gas or of light. He therefore produced a simple, cheap, and easily manageable lamp, the flame of which was surrounded by a cylindrical cage of wire-gauze, accurately closed in at top and bottom so as to prevent the admission of air excepting through its meshes or interstices.

Armed with this apparatus, the miner is enabled fearlessly to enter workings of the most dangerous character; while the ignition of such inflammable gas as may pass through the wire-gauze into the cage of the lamp gives him an accurate knowledge of the extent to which the air is impregnated with fire-damp, and warns him when it is prudent to retire.

Even the introduction of this lamp, however, has failed to put an end to the fearful catastrophes incidental to the invaluable labours of the coal-miner, though there can be no reasonable doubt that many more fatal accidents would have occurred but for its extensive use. From facts laid before the parliamentary committee above referred to, it would appear that, as nearly as can be computed, 447 persons were killed by accidents in mines in the counties of Durham and Northumberland in the eighteen years preceding the invention of the 'Davy,' while in the eighteen years following its introduction the number of lives lost from similar causes in the same district amounted to 538. It must, however, be remembered that in many cases it has been found impossible to persuade men to adopt the safety-lamp, because of its diminished light as compared with an open candle, while in some instances persons who have adopted it have been tempted, for the same reason, to take off the wire-guard when requiring additional light. More recent experiments have shown that the wire-gauze guard does not afford sufficient security when exposed to brisk currents of air, and, consequently, improved safety-lamps have been contrived, in which there is an exterior covering of glass, besides the wire-gauze, an improvement which not only renders them far more secure, but also greatly increases the power of the light; but without undervaluing these improvements, or claiming too much for the invention, as it left the hands of Davy, we must look to

* Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures, and Mines, p. 983.
† Ure's Dictionary of Arts, &c., art. 'Ventilation,' p. 1271.

other causes than the admitted imperfection of the safety-lamp for an explanation of the increased number of colliery accidents in the North of England. The parliamentary committee of 1835 observed, in illustration of this increased fatality, that the quantity of coal raised has very greatly increased; that many dangerous mines have been successfully carried on, though in a most inflammable state, and that without injury to the general health of the people employed in them; and that the feeling of security produced by the use of the safety-lamp led to the neglect, in a great measure, of the precautions and vigilance formerly called into exercise.*

A new and most valuable application of this mineral was effected during the present period in the manufacture of gas for illuminating streets and buildings. It is supposed that coal-gas was first applied to this purpose in 1792 by Mr. William Murdoch, a Cornish engineer, at his own house and offices at Redruth. On occasion of the peace of Amiens in 1802, this gentleman, who was long connected with Messrs. Boulton and Watt, illuminated part of the Soho works with gas-lights; and in the years 1804-5 gas was applied to the lighting of some extensive cotton-mills at Manchester. About the same time an enterprising German, named Winsor, endeavoured to attract public attention to the advantages of the new light for illuminating the streets of London. He lighted Pall Mall in 1807, and raised a subscription of 50,000*l.* for his experiments, the whole of which was sunk without any pecuniary return. But the practicability of the project was established; in 1813 the first chartered gas-company for lighting the metropolis was formed; and, though they laboured long amidst discouragement, they at length reaped their reward, and in a few years gas-lighting was introduced not only throughout London, but in all the principal towns in the country.†

In a paper read by Mr. Joseph Carne before the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, in 1824,‡ which contains an account of the principal modern improvements in mining, especially as connected with the Cornish copper-mines, it is remarked that until within little more than half a century previous to the above date "the art of mining in Cornwall" (for, as Mr. Carne observes, it could then scarcely be called a science), "as well as the sciences most nearly connected with it, had continued almost stationary within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants." Since that period, however, numerous improvements have been introduced, not only in the art of mining itself, but also in the various processes more or less directly connected with it. Among those noticed in detail by Mr. Carne are improvements in ventilation, by which, among other advantages, the workmen had been enabled, without increased injury to their health, to extend, except in peculiar cases, their time of work in the mines from six to eight hours in every day. Formerly, from a deficiency either of capital or of enterprise, the miners seldom extended their operations beyond a single vein of ore, although others might exist in the immediate vicinity, and the miners were seldom supplied with a reserve of engine-power available in case of accident. But the case was materially altered when Mr. Carne wrote, at a period sufficiently near to the close of the present period. "There is," he observes, "a sufficiency of power for all occasions; everything is in readiness before it is wanted, and, in consequence, an interruption of the work rarely happens, unless from circumstances which can neither be foreseen nor guarded against; the sump (or deepest engine-shaft) is sunk so rapidly, that a level may be driven into the lode every year in many of the deepest mines, and thus the lodes are more speedily and more fully explored; the neighbouring country is ransacked in search of other lodes; double the former number of workmen are employed; and the produce is amazingly increased." "Scarcely any mine," he adds, "thirty years ago produced 500 tons of ore in a month, but we have lately seen a produce of nearly 1500 tons in the same period;" and, he further observes, "All this additional labour is performed at nearly the same expense in draining the water, in agency, and in many other respects, as if only half the number of workmen were employed." These improvements, which were introduced so gradually as to render it difficult to assign them to their precise dates, were, as would appear by a subsequent part of Mr. Carne's communication,* accompanied by a marked increase of intelligence and desire for mental improvement among the working miners. It is a noticeable point in the history of the British copper-trade, that, owing to the want of coal in Cornwall, and the heavy expense of conveying a sufficient quantity of coal to the mines, as was formerly done by some of the Cornish mining companies, it has been found most economical to convey the copper-ore to places where coal is abundant, for the purpose of smelting; and, consequently, most of the Cornish copper, as well as that produced in Ireland, has latterly been smelted in furnaces in the neighbourhood of Swansea. The consumption of coal in smelting the Cornish copper-ores was estimated, towards the close of the reign of George III., to be about 200,000 tons, and it was calculated that about the same quantity was used in the various manufactures of brass and copper.†

The chief circumstance of importance in the history of the tin trade towards the close of the eighteenth century, was the rise of the demand for British tin in China and India, the circumstances of which are narrated in the preceding Book.‡ As

* Dr. Ure's Dictionary of Arts, &c., articles 'Pit-Coal,' 'Lamp of Davy,' and 'Safety-Lamp;' Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons on Accidents in Mines, 1835.

† Dr. Ure's Dictionary of Arts, and Hebert's Engineer's and Mechanic's Encyclopædia, art. 'Gas-Lighting;' Knight's London, vol. i. p. 111.

‡ This interesting paper, 'On the period of the commencement of Copper-mining in Cornwall, and on the Improvements which have been made in Mining,' was published in the third volume of the Transactions of the above Society, pp. 35–86.

* Trans. Geol. Soc. vol. iii. p. 85.

† Edinburgh Encyclopædia, art. 'England.'

‡ See ante, vol. iii. pp. 681, 682.

there stated, the East India Company undertook to purchase a large quantity of tin for exportation at 75*l.* per ton; but by the year 1809, owing to the increasing demands of the home market, the price rose so materially that the producers of tin refused any longer to supply the Company at that price. In 1811 the Company agreed to pay 78*l.* per ton, and, in 1812, 80*l.* per ton; but, notwithstanding these advances, this branch of the tin trade entirely ceased in 1817, the supply of the home market being found more profitable. The consumption of tin in Great Britain, which had been about 754 tons per annum in the decennial period from 1791 to 1800, was 1118 tons per annum on an average of the next ten years, 1801 to 1810, and 1600 tons per annum on an average from 1811 to 1820, after which it continued to rise at a still greater rate. To meet this increased demand there was, during the greater part of the period under review, no increase, but a trifling diminution, in the supply of tin from the Cornish mines, their annual average produce from 1801 to 1805 having been 2720 tons; from 1806 to 1810, 2425 tons; and from 1811 to 1815, 2526 tons; while even during the last quinquennial period, from 1816 to 1820, though the average rose to 3411 tons, the supply was only about 166 tons per annum more than in the last ten years of the eighteenth century. Between 1783 and 1790 the proportion of British tin exported was about seven-tenths of the total produce; from 1791 to 1800 it was about three-fourths; during the period embraced in the present Book it was about one-half; and since 1820 it has fallen to a much lower proportion. The price of British tin on an average, from 1811 to 1815, was not less than about 7*l.* per cwt.; but, in 1820, it was as low as 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* per cwt.: this fall in price, and the comparatively low price of subsequent years, being, as observed by M'Culloch,* owing to a variety of causes, "partly to improvements in the art of working the mines, partly to the increased supply of metal obtained from them, and partly and principally to the competition of the tin of Banca and of the Malay countries." "Previously to 1814," he proceeds, "we had in some measure a monopoly of the market of the world. But since then the Banca mines have been wrought with unusual spirit; and their produce has been so much increased, as not only fully to supply the market of China, to which we formerly exported from 600 to 1000 tons, but to meet us in every European market."

A few statistical statements will suffice to show how greatly the British iron manufactures were extended during the present period, under the combined influence of improvements in the processes of manufacture, and increased demand, not only for ordinary purposes, but for many purposes to which iron had been applied recently for the first time. The returns quoted in the preceding Book† show that in the year 1802, about the commencement of the present period, Great Britain possessed 168 blast furnaces, producing about 170,000 tons of iron annually. In 1806, according to estimates made upon occasion of the revival of a scheme for taxing the iron manufacture, by imposing a tax upon pig-iron, there were 227 furnaces for smelting iron-ore by means of coke fuel, the annual produce of which amounted to about 250,000 tons, although it is stated that only 159 furnaces were in a state of activity at once. How greatly the manufacture increased after the year 1806 may be understood from the fact that in 1820, after the return of peace had destroyed one important source of demand, the amount of iron produced annually was about 400,000 tons, of which Wales produced 150,000 tons, or more than was made in the whole of Great Britain in 1796; while 180,000 tons were produced in Shropshire and Staffordshire, 50,000 tons in Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and 20,000 tons in Scotland, and a few other places in England. In the valuable sketch of the industrial resources of the country, published about the close of the reign of George III., in the article 'England,' in the 'Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica,' it is observed that the return of peace, by suspending entirely the demand of government, caused a long and general inactivity in this important manufacture. "Many of our iron-works," we are here informed, "were suspended, and the workmen with their families reduced, in 1816 and 1817, to great distress. Temporary relief was afforded them by private subscriptions, and by application of the poor's-rate; but it was not until the general revival of business in the latter part of 1818, that the workmen were restored to employment, or enabled to earn even a scanty livelihood."

The imports of foreign iron to this country, although greatly diminished prior to the close of the eighteenth century, continued to average as much as 34,000 tons per annum in the five years ending with 1805; but the increased activity of the British iron-works, and improved quality of their produce, greatly reduced the demand for foreign iron before the close of the period. And, while the home consumption increased in a surprising degree, and the importation of foreign iron was greatly reduced (being, indeed, almost confined to the supply of Swedish iron for the purpose of making steel, for which it is peculiarly adapted), a rapid increase was taking place in the exports of iron and iron goods from this country.

Among the more important of the new applications of iron during the twenty years under review were its employment in the construction of suspension-bridges, of the introduction of which an account has been already given, and in the construction of chain-cables. The use of iron chains in lieu of hempen cables was suggested as early as the year 1771, by M. Bougainville, who, for want of such a means of security, had, on one occasion, lost six anchors in the space of nine days, and had consequently been in imminent danger of ship-

* Dictionary of Commerce, art. 'Tin.'

† See ante, vol. iii. p. 677.

wreck.* Notwithstanding this suggestion, and the frequent occurrence of accidents from the failure of the ordinary cables, it was not until forty years after the above date, when, from 1808 to 1814, the difficulty of importing hemp from foreign countries raised it to a very high price, that chain-cables were manufactured to any important extent. Mr. Slater, a surgeon in the navy, who obtained a patent on the subject in 1808, is said to have been the first to revive the idea; but he seems not to have possessed the means of carrying his proposals into effect. In 1811, however, Captain Brown, of the West India merchant service, whose share in the invention of suspension-bridges has been noticed in a preceding page, employed chain-cables in his vessel, the 'Penelope,' of 400 tons burden; and the result of his experiments was so satisfactory as to lead to the speedy adoption of iron-cables, and also, in some degree, to the substitution of iron for hemp in the standing rigging of ships. Several improvements were subsequently introduced in the construction of chain-cables; and so important did they appear to the shipping interest, after the lapse of a few years, that, when Mr. Huskisson proposed in parliament, in the year 1825, a reduction of the import duty on foreign iron, he insisted especially on the great importance of a reduction to favour the importation of Swedish iron, on account of its use in the fabrication of the best chain-cables.

Among improvements effected during this period in the processes connected with the manufacture of iron and steel, mention may be made of a method patented in 1800 by Mr. Mushet, of Glasgow, to whose exertions the science of metallurgy in this country is deeply indebted, for the fusion of malleable iron, or of iron ore, in such a manner as to convert them immediately into cast-steel, of such a quality as to be malleable and capable of welding. This process effected an important saving of time and expense, and produced a metal so perfectly fusible as to be capable of casting in moulds of any shape, and subsequently finished by filing and polishing, suitable for the casting of stoves, grates, kitchen utensils, many kinds of wheels, and other portions of mill-work, as well as various other sorts of machinery and useful articles which could not be cast by any previous process. Another kindred invention, which has proved highly important in the extension of certain branches of the hardware manufacture, was patented in 1804 by Samuel Lucas, a Sheffield manufacturer. By this process, cast-iron, either in pigs or in small manufactured articles, may be refined and rendered malleable and fit for many purposes for which wrought or rolled iron was formerly necessary, and may also be made greatly to resemble steel in colour, hardness, and brilliancy of fracture. Holland observes, "that the discovery was presently turned to a large practical account; . . . . the variety of new and useful purposes to which it might be applied were soon found to include the casting of all sorts of cutlery articles and edge-tools, from the largest to the smallest, with the utmost facility;" and he adds, "from that time to the present moment immense quantities of wares, bearing in the trade the equivocal designation of *run-steel*, have been daily cast, and treated on the principle of the fore-mentioned discovery; without, however, the pig-metal undergoing any alterative process whatever between the blast-furnace and the melting-pot."* In this way are made great quantities of bridle-bits, stirrups, common knives and forks, snuffers, and various articles which are intended to receive an exterior coat of superior metal, such as goods which are plated on steel. Nails are also extensively manufactured in this way at a very cheap rate, and, though the metal is inferior in strength and toughness to hammered and rolled iron, the process must be considered of great importance, as its introduction has occasioned the production of many excellent articles at not more than half the expense at which they could otherwise be made.

How important the manufacture of hardware, in its almost innumerable branches, had become during the present period, may be conceived from an estimate published in 1815 by the late Mr. William Stevenson, in an article on the statistics of England, in the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' according to which the gross value of all the articles annually made of iron, of every description, was then about 10,000,000*l.* and the number of persons employed in their fabrication about 200,000. The annual value of articles made of brass and copper was estimated at 3,000,000*l.*, and the number of persons employed upon them at 50,000; and the value of the steel, plated, and hardware articles, including toys,† at 4,000,000*l.*, giving employment to 70,000 persons.

One of the branches of our manufactures in metal which claims special notice is the manufacture of fire-arms, of the earlier progress of which some notices are given in the preceding Book.‡ It appears that long after this branch of industry was

* M'Culloch's Dictionary of Commerce, art. 'Cables.'

* Holland's 'Manufactures in Metal,' i. 266-271. This writer adds, "Such is the malleability of this material, when good, and carefully treated, that we have seen it drawn out by hammering to the fineness of a knitting-needle, and on taking a bit of it to an experienced workman, and desiring him to forge it into a small blade, he succeeded in the attempt, although the point rather crumbled; and on hardening and breaking it he thought it looked like pretty good steel, until told that it was a piece of what he then called cast-iron." A further account of the branch of manufacture founded upon Lucas's process is given in Hebert's 'Engineer's and Mechanic's Encyclopædia,' art. 'Iron,' vol. i. pp. 783, 784.

† The term *toys*, as employed in connexion with the hardware manufacture, has a very extended signification. Holland describes "heavy steel toys," as a class of articles made by the Birmingham manufacturers, differing but little, in most respects, from the articles known as "Lancashire tools," excepting in their inferior workmanship and more showy character. "To enumerate all the 'toys' of this class," he observes, "would be to transcribe a large list of miscellaneous cheap and useful wares, from a joiner's hammer to a shoemaker's tack. . . . The pincers of the last-named workman and the edged nippers commonly in use for breaking up loaf-sugar, are both of them well known specimens of the extensive manufacture now adverted to. . . . Light steel 'toys" embrace the smaller, more delicate, and more ornamental articles of steel, embracing buckles, and a great variety of trinkets for which England was formerly indebted to Milan, Berlin, and other foreign marts."—*Manufactures in Metal*, vol. ii. p. 319, &c. Burke appears to have misunderstood the technical meaning of the term 'toys' when he called Birmingham "the toy-shop of Europe."

‡ See ante, vol. iii. p. 685.

established at Birmingham, guns marked "London," were generally preferred to those which bore the name of the former place, and that consequently the Birmingham gun-makers were in the habit of stamping their goods "London." An attempt was made in 1813 to put an end to this practice, and a bill was introduced into the House of Commons to compel every manufacturer of fire-arms to mark them with his real name and place of abode. "The Birmingham gun-makers," observes Holland, "took the alarm, petitioned the House against the bill, and thirty-two gun-makers instantly subscribed 650*l.* to defray the expense of opposing it." "They represented," he adds, "that they made the component parts of the London guns, which, in fact, were only put together and marked in the metropolis." Their resistance was successful, for the obnoxious bill was defeated, and shortly afterwards the gun-makers of Birmingham were allowed to erect a proof-house of their own, where all fire-arms manufactured in the neighbourhood are subjected to the proof required by the Board of Ordnance, and subsequently receive a distinguishing stamp.*

A highly important improvement in the manufacture of gun-barrels was effected about the year 1811, and patented by Mr. John Bradley, a Staffordshire iron-master. From the account of this invention, given by Mr. Babbage,† it would appear that this improvement, which consisted in a mode of forming *skelps*, or bars of iron about three feet long, four inches wide, and equal in thickness to the substance of the intended barrel, by an ingenious process of rolling, which gave additional thickness and strength to the part intended to form the breech, was occasioned by a combination to obtain increased wages on the part of the workmen, who had been accustomed to forge skelps by hand. The superior skill required in the operation secured them good wages, but, as their demands upon this occasion were very exorbitant, the rolling process alluded to was contrived to supersede the necessity for their services. While it was successful in this respect, the new process was further advantageous in producing skelps of superior quality to those forged by hand. It is a remarkable fact, that a few years later a kindred improvement in the welding of the skelps into barrels by machinery in lieu of hand labour was brought into profitable operation under very similar circumstances.

Of the immense extent of this manufacture an idea may be formed from the fact stated by Mr. M'Culloch,‡ that between the years 1804 and 1818, the Birmingham manufacturers made, on account of government and the private trade, nearly 5,000,000 fire-arms. It appears from authorised returns quoted in a pamphlet upon the manufacture of fire-arms, by Mr. Parsons,§ that from 1804 to 1815, during the war, more than two-thirds of the fire-arms made for the Board of Ordnance were made in Birmingham; and that the numbers of stands of arms fabricated there for the British government in the years 1812 and 1813 were 288,741 and 320,643 respectively. During the period of greatest activity Holland observes that it was understood that the Birmingham manufacturers made a musket per minute,* and supplied them to the British government at the contract price of 36*s.* each. After the peace a great reduction took place in the price, and, in 1830, when the French government contracted with British manufacturers for the supply of 140,000 stands of arms, the price paid, which was considered liberal, was about 28 francs, or not quite 23*s.* per gun.

The first twenty years of the present century witnessed considerable changes in the cutlery trade, and even in the manufacture itself, owing to the increasing importance of a class of speculators termed factors, who took advantage of the fluctuation of the market to purchase large quantities of goods at a depreciated price, and who, by their enterprising spirit, soon obtained considerable influence in the foreign markets, and conducted their dealings on so extensive a scale as to throw tradesmen of the old school into the background. Formerly the artisans employed in the cutlery manufacture were generally paid by the piece, and employed in workshops supplied with the necessary tools and machinery by the master manufacturers, who found all the materials, and conducted all negociations with the parties who supplied them, and the dealers or exporting merchants who purchased the finished goods. When, however, seasons of commercial depression succeeded one another, as they did during part of the present period, this system could no longer be maintained; many of the masters were ruined, and the operatives, pressed by reduced prices and want of work, betook themselves to the factors, who first advanced money to enable them to procure the necessary tools, and then supplied materials for making up into finished articles on terms so exceedingly low, that they were often sold for less than the amount of the mere wages of labour would be in an ordinary course of business. This arrangement caused a vast over-production of cheap and worthless wares, destroyed the good feeling which had previously existed between masters and workmen, and also reduced the operator to a state of abject servility, much of his scanty remuneration being paid not in money, but in articles of food and clothing, supplied upon whatever terms the factors might choose to impose.

Another circumstance of importance in the history of the cutlery manufacture was the passing

* Holland's Manufactures in Metal, vol. ii., p. 95.

† Economy of Machinery and Manufactures, sect. 362. Further particulars of this invention are given by Holland, vol. ii. p. 96.

‡ Statistical Account of the British Empire, i. 696.

§ Holland refers to this pamphlet on pp. 113, 114, of the second volume of his Manufactures in Metal, from which the remaining facts in the above paragraph are derived.

* Supposing the work to be carried on incessantly, night and day, excepting Sundays, this would be at the rate of 450,720 in a year of 313 working days, of twenty-four hours each; but, supposing the work to be carried on during sixteen hours only in each day the number for a year would be 300,240, which is less than the supply to government alone in 1813.

of an act in the year 1814, by which the exclusive privileges granted to the corporation of cutlers of Hallamshire in 1624 were abolished, and all persons were allowed to carry on business within the district indiscriminately, without being freemen, having served an apprenticeship, or having obtained from the corporation a mark for their goods. "This liberal and judicious measure," observes Mr. M'Culloch, "has been of great service to the town (of Sheffield), by inducing men of talent and enterprise, from all parts of the country, to settle in it, where their competition and industry have had the best effects." *

Holland relates, in his historical notice of the manufacture of metal buttons, a branch of industry of no trifling importance in this country, that previous to the year 1814 upwards of 1000 persons were employed in Birmingham in the production of a fancy white metal button, cut by an engine, which was a cheap showy article, of which an immense quantity were exported to the continent; but that "a single artisan, well acquainted with the processes of the manufacture, happening to be detained by Bonaparte, stated to the French government his ability to establish a workshop, and produce the button. . . . . He was immediately patronised:—the trade presently left Birmingham, and France supplied the markets of Europe." "Another article," he proceeds, "called the Bath metal drilled shank-button, and of which, at one time, 20,000 gross (or 2,880,000 buttons) per week were made in Birmingham, was lost in the same way." †

Stevenson, in his account of the manufactures of England in the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' in 1815, estimated the total value of the articles annually manufactured at Birmingham at about 2,000,000*l.*, of which one-half was for home consumption, while the greater part of the remaining half was exported, when the trade was open, to the United States. The gross annual value of the manufactures of Sheffield and its neighbourhood he estimated at upwards of 1,000,000*l.*, probably about 1,200,000*l.*; of which, also, about one-half were for home consumption, while one-third of the whole produce had, when the commercial intercourse with America was open, been sent to the United States, chiefly in the form of knives, forks, and saws.

Of lead, Mr. Stevenson estimated that from 12,000 to 15,000 tons were then produced annually from the British mines. The produce of lead in this country has been somewhat on the decline for a considerable time, and the price has been very greatly affected by the vast supplies of very rich ore obtained from the Spanish mines, which have gradually supplanted those of England and Wales in the supply of a considerable portion of the foreign trade.

The manufacture of zinc is a branch of British industry the commencement of which may be assigned to the present period. Though previously of considerable importance as a constituent of brass, zinc was not manufactured into wire or domestic utensils until about the year 1805, down to which time, indeed, it was, from its want of malleability under similar circumstances to other metals, called a *semi-metal*. In that year, however, a patent was obtained by Messrs. Hobson and Sylvester for a method of manufacturing zinc into wire, and into vessels and utensils for culinary and other purposes; and a second patent, obtained by the same parties in the same year, specified an application of zinc, in the form of sheets, for sheathing ships, roofing buildings, and lining waterspouts. These patents have led to a very important branch of metalline manufactures; while the galvanic properties of the metal, and the lightness of sheet-zinc, as compared with sheet-lead, have lead to its adoption for many useful purposes with great advantage.*

Having noticed the most prominent points in the history of our metalline manufactures, we proceed very briefly to glance at other branches of industry dependent upon our mineral riches. Of these, the manufacture of salt, from its importance in a commercial point of view, claims particular regard. No country is better supplied with brine springs, and also with beds of fossil or rock-salt, than England; and salt has been made, from a very remote era, from the brine springs at Northwich, Winsford, Middlewich, and other places contiguous to the river Weaver in Cheshire, and likewise at Droitwich in Worcestershire. Of the beds of rock-salt, the first was discovered in 1670, about thirty-four yards below the surface, in searching for coal, in the vicinity of Northwich. In the early part of the eighteenth century, owing to the imperfection of the processes by which it was prepared, our salt was considered inferior to that of foreign countries, and consequently, while a considerable quantity of foreign salt was imported, but little British was exported; but the introduction of improved processes caused the salt manufacture to rise subsequently to considerable importance. Mr. M'Culloch states, on the authority of Holland's 'Cheshire,' that during the ten years ending with 1806 the average quantity of white or manufactured salt brought down the Weaver was 139,317 tons per annum, and the average quantity of rock-salt, which was chiefly intended for exportation to Ireland and to foreign countries, 51,109 tons. Both of these branches of trade have since been considerably extended. During the whole of the period embraced in this Book, the domestic consumption was greatly restricted by the high excise duty on salt, which amounted to 5*s.* per bushel in 1798, but was subsequently raised to the enormous amount of 15*s.* per bushel, being about *forty times* the cost of the salt. How greatly this exorbitant tax must have limited the consumption of salt may be presumed from the calculations of Mr. Porter, who computes the average consumption for the years 1827 to 1834, after the total

* Statistical Account of the British Empire, i. 702.
† Manufactures in Metal, iii. 385, 386.

* Holland, vol. iii. pp. 96, 97.

repeal of the excise duty, at an amount exceeding, by more than 430 per cent., the average for the years 1801 to 1808.

Of the extent of the improvements introduced since the commencement of the nineteenth century, in the manufacture of earthenware and porcelain, some idea may be formed from the remark made by Mr. M'Culloch, on the authority of information received from the Potteries, that a workman can, at the present day, produce about four times the quantity of earthenware that he could in 1790; and, as the labour expended on the manufacture forms the principal item in the cost of the finished articles, this saving of labour has been accompanied by a very great fall in price. So far as regards the higher departments of the potter's art, the competition induced by this great reduction of price has been rather injurious than otherwise, as the abundance of cheap and showy, but inferior wares, has in some degree superseded the demand for the superior and necessarily expensive qualities of porcelain. This remark, however, applies chiefly to the decorative branches of the art, the quality of the *body* or substance of British porcelain having received such improvements as to raise the best specimens to a very near approach to perfection.

It has been stated in the preceding Book,* that for many years after the invention of Dr. Cartwright's power-loom that machine was not brought into profitable operation. One difficulty was obviated by the invention, in 1803, by William Radcliffe, of Stockport, of an ingenious machine for dressing warp before placing it in the loom. Other ingenious men also directed their attention, about the same time, to the improvement of the power-loom, and Mr. H. Horrocks, another Stockport cotton manufacturer, obtained patents in 1803, 1805, and 1815, for an improved loom, which was constructed wholly of iron, and was found so superior to its predecessors in simplicity and compactness, as to be the only loom which, for a long period, came into general use. Baines, however, states that there were not more than 2400 power-looms, and 100 dressing-machines, in use in the year 1813. But Horrocks's loom was adopted so extensively before the close of this period that the total number in use in Great Britain in 1820 was 14,150, of which 12,150 were in England, and 2000 in Scotland.†

Improvements were likewise proceeding during the present period in spinning and the various other processes which precede the operation of weaving; and Mr. Kennedy observed about 1815, since which time many improvements have been effected, that one person could, with the spinning machinery then in use, produce as much yarn in a given time as 200 persons could have done fifty years before.‡

* See ante, vol. iii. pp. 397, 698.

† Baines' History of the Cotton Manufacture, pp. 235, 237.

‡ Observations on the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade in Great Britain, in the third volume of the Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, second series.

The rate of increase in the importation of cotton-wool in the decennial period from 1801 to 1811, as compared with the preceding period of equal length, was, according to a table given by Mr. Baines,* 39½ per cent.; while the next decennial period, from 1811 to 1821, exhibited a further increase of 93 per cent.

Prior to the period embraced in the present Book there were no statutory restrictions upon the employment of children in mills and factories, although several benevolent individuals, among whom Sir Robert Peel stood prominent, had interested themselves in the matter. In 1802, however, an act was passed with a view to protecting the health and morals of apprentices and other young persons employed in factories; and, in 1816, further regulations for the same purposes were imposed by an enactment which received the name of Sir Robert Peel's act.

The spinning of flax by automatic machinery is comparatively of recent introduction. "It was not," observes Mr. Porter, "until quite the end of the last century, that flax spinning-mills were first erected in the north of England and in Scotland." "Before that time," he adds, "the operation of spinning was altogether performed by women in their own dwellings." Up to the year 1814, also, according to the same authority, the yarn spun in mills was sold to weavers or to dealers who acted as middlemen between the spinners and weavers; but about that time some spinners became also manufacturers of linen. It was at a still later period that power-loom weaving was applied, both in England and Scotland, to the manufacture of linen. Since the peace of 1815, however, both flax-spinning and other branches of the linen manufacture have made extraordinary advances at and in the neighbourhood of Dundee. In Ireland, also, the increase of linen manufacture during the present period was very great.†

For a very long period the woollen manufacture, being considered the staple branch of British manufacturing industry, was the object of a system of, so-called, protective legislation. Regulations, prohibiting the employment of new machinery, and restricting the number of looms to be used in any one place, continued to form part of the law of the land until the present period, and opposed an important obstacle to the improvement of the manufacture. In consequence, however, of an inquiry into the circumstances of the woollen manufacture, by a committee of the House of Commons, in 1806, these old restrictive acts were repealed, and the introduction of improved machinery into almost every branch of the manufacture soon followed. Down to the year 1802 the importation of foreign wool into this country was quite free; but in that year a duty of 5*s.* 3*d.* per cwt. was imposed. The import duty was raised in 1813, after some intermediate changes, to 6*s.* 8*d.* per cwt.; and in

* History of the Cotton Manufacture, p. 348. The rates of increase for preceding periods, as given in the same table, are quoted in p. 695, of our third volume.

† Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 264-269.

1819, after some further changes, it was increased by Mr. Vansittart to the enormous amount of 56*s.* per cwt., or 6*d.* per lb., a rate which, while it was maintained, proved highly injurious to the manufacture, diminished the exports of woollen goods, and producing other evils which lasted, in some degree, even after its repeal. Until the year 1814, most of the foreign wool imported was brought from Spain; but since that time Germany, which during the war had supplied a very trifling quantity, has yielded a very large supply.

Among other branches of our textile manufactures, that of hosiery made considerable progress during this period. It was estimated in 1812 that there were then about 29,590 stocking-frames at work in the united kingdom, whereas thirty years earlier the number had been estimated at only about 20,000.* Probably about one-third of those employed in 1812 were used for making cotton hose. The bobbin-net manufacture was another branch of industry which rose to great importance during this period, in consequence of numerous ingenious inventions, of which the most prominent was the improved lace-frame, patented in 1809 by Mr. John Heathcote, of Loughborough, a machine which has occasioned such extraordinary perfection and cheapness in this beautiful manufacture as to all but exterminate the old manufacture of pillow-lace.

Of the progress of calico-printing, without pausing to notice the improvements introduced in the process, which were, however, far from unimportant, it may suffice to state that the quantity printed in 1820, though somewhat lower than in one or two previous years, was 5,456,196 pieces, which, at an average duty of 5*s.* per piece, yielded a duty of 1,614,049*l.*

From almost the infancy of the art of printing, the printing-press had been the subject of but few improvements; and about the commencement of the nineteenth century it was a machine of very rude construction and limited efficiency. Lord Stanhope, who devoted much attention to the improvement of the typographic art, introduced an admirable machine about that time, which, without any material deviation from the principle of the old wooden printing-press, was very superior to it in power, as well as in compactness and convenience, and which was formed wholly of iron; and his press, which still continues in reputation under the name of the Stanhope press, became the prototype of an almost endless variety of iron presses, all of them so vastly superior to the old wooden press, that, in the few instances in which that is yet used, it is only employed for printing proof-sheets, or for similar inferior purposes. Plans had been suggested even before the close of the eighteenth century for printing by means of cylinders, which should have a continuous action, capable of producing many more impressions in a given time than the alternating action of the common press, and also offering greater facilities for the use of automatic power; and William Nicholson, the editor of the 'Philosophical Journal,' obtained a patent for such a machine about the year 1790. It was not, however, till several years later that, after a long series of experiments, a practical machine was brought into operation, by the ingenuity of M. König, a native of Saxony, aided by the enterprise of Messrs. Thomas Bensley, George Woodfall, and Richard Taylor, extensive printers in London. They succeeded as early as April, 1811, in producing a machine with which 3000 copies of sheet H of the 'New Annual Register' for 1810 were printed, this being the first portion of a book ever printed solely by an automatic machine;* and, after many further experiments, a machine was constructed for printing the 'Times' newspaper, the number of which for the 29th of November, 1814, announced to its readers that it was the first sheet of paper ever printed by steam-impelled machinery. Of the subsequent extension, or the remarkable results, of this grand improvement it is needless to say anything; but it may be well to add the dates which mark the earliest applications in this country, on an extensive scale, of another invention of perhaps equal importance in facilitating the extension of cheap literature, the art of stereotyping, of which some notices are given in the preceding Book.† The revival and practical application of this art was effected in a great measure by the exertions of Earl Stanhope; and after it had been brought to comparative perfection at his seat at Chevening, in Kent, it was communicated to the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, at which places stereotype works were first issued in the years 1807 and 1809, respectively.‡ In those branches of printing more closely allied to the fine arts, the beautiful art of lithography was, towards the close of this period, offering facilities for the production of works of art of a totally new and very useful character, and the introduction of steel plates in lieu of copper for engraving book-illustrations, maps, and other works of art, of which great numbers of impressions were required, was affording a kind of parallel, equally important in its peculiar branch of art or industry, to the stereotyping process.

The time from 1802 to 1820 forms a very important period in the history of Agriculture in this country. Attracted by the high prices of every description of agricultural produce, capital was freely expended in bringing land into cultivation, and in developing the fertility of that already under the plough. At first it was the tenants rather than the landlords who reaped the advantages attending the rise in the price of agricultural produce; but between 1792 and 1812 rents were doubled, or even trebled in amount. Extensive districts which, at the commencement of the period, were cropped

* Porter's Progress of the Nation, i. 244, 245.

* Holland's Manufactures in Metal, ii. 221.
† See ante, vol. iii. p. 714.
‡ Penny Cyclopædia, art. 'Stereotype.'

only by rabbits, fed flocks of geese, or served as pasture for the half-starved straggling sheep, or other live-stock of the cottager, before the close of the period exhibited the rich exuberance of superior cultivation. The progress of population, as well as the peculiar circumstances of the country during the war, and the casualty of the seasons, accelerated these changes. The increase of population from 1811 to 1821 was 20 per cent. in Cambridgeshire; 19 per cent. in Lincolnshire and Bedfordshire; and 18 per cent. in Norfolk; each of these counties being distinguished for the extension and improvement of its agriculture.

During the present period many of the practices of isolated districts which had become pre-eminent for their superior husbandry were brought into operation over a wider surface. The downs, wolds, and clays were fertilised by chalk; 'marling' rendered the barren sands fruitful; by the admixture of clay the fens and peats became productive; and lime corrected the acid soil of the moorlands. Experiments were made on the efficacy of new manures and composts. Draining was more extensively practised. The improvement of live-stock was zealously pursued. Root crops and artificial grasses were more extensively cultivated, and new varieties of each were introduced. There was nothing *new* in these operations; most of them, indeed, had been practised from time immemorial; but it was only here and there where they were formerly common, while now they promised to become universal. The working farmer, stimulated by the examples around him, betook himself to new processes, which called forth a greater degree of intelligence than the old routine course which he formerly pursued without much thought as to its practical object. The old and clumsy implements of his calling were discarded, as the course of improvement in which he had made a beginning required others of a better construction, and some were wanted adapted to entirely new purposes. It was this more general departure from the spirit of routine, in every department of rural economy, which more particularly marked the present period. In 1810 the late Sir Humphry Davy published his 'Agricultural Chemistry;' but the triumph of scientific agriculture is reserved for a period even beyond the present day.

It is unnecessary to enter into a minute detail of the various processes by which the agriculture of the country was brought nearer to perfection in the last eighteen or twenty years of the reign of George III.; but we may briefly indicate their general tendency. Under the old system of English husbandry the clay lands produced the great bulk of the food of the country. According to the old distich—

> "When the sand doth feed the clay,
> It is Old England well-a-day!
> But when the clay doth feed the sand,
> Oh, then! hurra for Old England!"

The tendency, then, of the changes which took place in the period from 1802 to 1820, changes still operating in a sphere which is gradually enlarging, was to transfer the capability of supplying the bulk of the food for the population from the clays to the light arable soils. The improvement of these soils, and the secret of their productiveness, are to be attributed to the introduction of root-crops and of artificial grasses as food for cattle, which leads to a more perfect tillage, and a progressive enrichment of the soil. The old grass lands, on which our ancestors depended for a supply of animal food, could only fatten a limited quantity of stock, and, as there was little hay for winter keep, they were under the necessity of making large provision of salt meat for winter consumption. We chiefly owe the luxury of fresh meat all the year round to the introduction of the common turnip; and, if we could not have thus repaired the deficiency of our meadows, a large proportion of the population would have been debarred from animal food, either salt or fresh. The common turnip, however, cannot be preserved later than February; and the next step in the course of improvement was the introduction of the Swedish turnip, which carries the feeder of stock to the end of March; while mangold-wurzel, which is of still later introduction, brings him to the period when, under superior management, early spring vetches complete the circle of artificial food for the whole year. These crops, which are the mainstay of modern agricultural improvement, and enable the farmer both to grow corn and feed stock, are the produce of the light soils; and hence they have gradually been fertilised, while the clay lands have gone backward. On the light soils the harvests are earlier; the operations of husbandry are not nearly so dependant on the weather; and the expenses of cultivation are not so great. The next step in the course of agricultural improvement will be to adapt the clay lands to alternating crops, so as to enable them to feed stock on roots and green crops, as well as to produce grain. They will thus again bear their share in feeding the population; but before this object can be accomplished they must be effectually drained; and even now it is computed that one-third of the cultivated land in England requires draining. It will be for future writers, therefore, to record this grand improvement in the agriculture of the country.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

IT would almost seem as if there were something in the impressiveness of the great chronological event formed by the termination of one century and the commencement of another that had been wont to act with an awakening and fructifying power upon literary genius in this island. Of the three last great sunbursts of our literature, the first, making what has been called the Elizabethan age of our dramatic and other poetry, threw its splendour over the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first of the seventeenth century; the second, famous as the Augustan age of Anne, brightened the earlier years of the eighteenth; the nineteenth century was ushered in by the third. At the termination of the reign of George III., in the year 1820, there were still among us, not to mention minor names, at least nine or ten poetical writers, each (whatever discordance of opinion there may be about either their relative or their absolute merits) commanding universal attention from the reading world to whatever he produced:—Crabbe (to take them in the order of their seniority), Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Scott, Campbell, Moore, Byron, Shelley, and perhaps we ought to add Keats, though rather for what he promised to do if he had lived than for what he had actually done. Many other voices there were from which divine words were often heard, but these were oracles to whom all listened, whose inspiration all men acknowledged. For the greater part of the present period we had the whole of these lights, with the exception only of the two last named, shining in our sky together; of the rest, indeed, Byron was the only one who had not appeared above the horizon before the century began. It is such crowding and clustering of remarkable writers that has chiefly distinguished the great literary ages in every country: there are eminent writers at other times, but then they come singly or in small numbers, as Lucretius, the noblest of the Latin poets, did before the Augustan age of Roman literature; as our own Milton and Dryden did in the interval between our Elizabethan age and that of Anne; as Goldsmith, and Burke, and Johnson, and then Cowper, and Burns, in twos and threes, or one by one, preceded and as it were led in the rush and crush of our last revival. For such single swallows, though they do not make, do yet commonly herald the summer; and accordingly those remarkable writers who have thus appeared between one great age of literature and another have mostly, it may be observed, arisen not in the earlier but in the later portion of the interval—have been not the lagging successors of the last era, but the precursors of the next. But, however it is to be explained or accounted for, it does indeed look as if nature in this, as in other things, had her times of production and of comparative rest and inactivity—her autumns and her winters—or, as we may otherwise conceive it, her alternations of light and darkness, of day and night. After a busy and brilliant period of usually some thirty or forty years has always followed in every country a long term during which the literary spirit, as if over-worked and exhausted, has manifested little real energy or power of life, and even the very demand and taste for the highest kind of literature, for depth, and subtlety, and truth, and originality, and passion, and beauty, has in a great measure ceased with the supply—a sober and slumbrous twilight of imitation and mediocrity, and little more than mechanical dexterity in book-making, at least with the generality of the most popular and applauded writers. After all, the re-awakening of our English literature, on each of the three occasions we have mentioned, was probably brought about mainly by the general political and social circumstances of the country and of the world at the time. The poetical and dramatic wealth and magnificence of the era of Elizabeth and James came, no doubt, for the most part, out of the passions that had been stirred and the strength that had been acquired in the mighty contests and convulsions which filled, here and throughout Europe, the middle of the sixteenth century; another breaking up of old institutions and re-edification of the state upon a new foundation and a new principle, the work of the last sixty years of the seventeenth century, if it did not contribute much to train the wits and fine writers of the age of Anne, at least both prepared the tranquillity necessary for the restoration of elegant literature, and disposed the public mind for its enjoyment; the poetical dayspring, finally, that came with our own century was born with, and probably

in some degree of, a third revolution, which shook both established institutions and the minds and opinions of men throughout Europe as much almost as the Reformation itself had done three centuries and a half before. It is also to be observed that on each of these three occasions the excitement appears to have come to us in part from a foreign literature which had undergone a similar reawakening, or put forth a new life and vigour, shortly before our own: in the Elizabethan age the contagion or impulse was caught from the literature of Italy; in the age of Anne from that of France; in the present period from that of Germany.

This German inspiration operated most directly, and produced the most marked effect, in the poetry of Wordsworth. Wordsworth has preserved in the editions of his collected works some of his verses written so long ago as 1786; and he has also continued to reprint the two earliest of his published poems, entitled 'An Evening Walk, addressed to a Young Lady, from the Lakes of the North of England,' and 'Descriptive Sketches, taken during a pedestrian tour among the Alps,' both of which first appeared in 1793. The recollection of the former of these poems probably suggested to somebody, a few years later, the otherwise not very intelligible designation of the Lake School, which has been applied to this writer and his imitators, or supposed imitators. But the 'Evening Walk' and the 'Descriptive Sketches,' which are both written in the usual rhyming ten-syllabled verse, are themselves perfectly orthodox poems, according to the common creed, in spirit, manner, and form. The peculiarities which are conceived to constitute what is called the Lake manner first appeared in the 'Lyrical Ballads;' the first volume of which was published in 1798, the second in 1800. In the Preface to the second volume of the 'Lyrical Ballads' the author himself described his object as being to ascertain how far the purposes of poetry might be fulfilled "by *fitting* to *metrical* arrangement a selection of the real language of men in a state of vivid sensation." In other words he proclaimed his belief to be that poetry was nothing more than the natural language of passion corrected and rendered metrical; and we are not aware that he has ever announced any retractation, or even modification or correction, of this doctrine. It is an account of the matter which is scarcely worth refuting, even if the present were the place for entering into an examination of it; in fact, it refutes itself, for if, as is implied, passion, or 'vivid sensation,' always speaks in poetry, the metrical arrangement and the selection are unnecessary and unwarrantable; if these operations be indispensable, the language of vivid sensation is not always poetry. It might as well be said that the Christian revelation is the language of the inspired writers selected and made metrical, or set to music. But, after all, this has been always much more Wordsworth's theory, or profession of poetical belief, than his practice; and is as much contradicted and confuted by the greater part of his own poetry as it is by that of all languages and all times in which poetry has been written, or by the universal past experience of mankind in every age and country. He is a great poet, and has enriched our literature with much beautiful and noble writing, whatever be the method or principle upon which he constructs, or fancies that he constructs, his compositions. His 'Laodamia,' without the exception of a single line, his 'Lonely Leech-gatherer,' with the exception of very few lines; his 'Ruth,' his 'Affliction of Margaret,' his 'Tintern Abbey,' his 'Feast of Brougham,' the 'Water Lily,' the greater part of the 'Excursion,' most of the 'Sonnets,' his great 'Ode on the Intimations of Immortality in Early Childhood,' and many of his shorter lyrical pieces, such as the three on the Yarrow, and numbers more, are as unexceptionable in diction as they are deep and true in feeling, judged according to any rules or principles of art that are now patronized by anybody. It is true, indeed, that it will not do to look at anything that Wordsworth has written through the spectacles of that species of criticism which was in vogue among us in the last century; we believe that in several of the pieces we have named even that narrow and superficial doctrine (if it could be recalled from the tomb) would find little or nothing to object to, but we fear it would find as little to admire; it had no feeling or understanding of the poetry of any other era than its own,—neither of that of Homer, nor that of the Greek dramatists, nor that of our own Elizabethan age,—and it certainly would not enter far into the spirit either of that of Wordsworth or of any other great writer of his time. It is part, and a great part, of what the literature of Germany has done for us within the last fifty years, that it has given a wider scope and a deeper insight to our perception and mode of judging of the poetical in all its forms and manifestations; and the poetry of Wordsworth has materially aided in establishing this revolution of taste and critical doctrine, by furnishing the English reader with some of the earliest and many of the most successful or most generally appreciated examples and illustrations of the precepts of the new faith. Even the errors of Wordsworth's poetical creed and practice, the excess to which he has sometimes carried his employment of the language of the common people, and his attempts to extract poetical effects out of trivial incidents and humble life, were fitted to be rather serviceable than injurious in the highly artificial state of our poetry when he began to write. He may not have succeeded in every instance in which he has tried to glorify the familiar and elevate the low, but he has nevertheless taught us that the domain of poetry is much wider and more various than it used to be deemed, that there is a great deal of it to be found where it was formerly little the fashion to look for anything of the kind, and that the poet does not absolutely require for the exercise of his art and the display of his powers what are commonly called illustrious or distinguished characters, and an otherwise dignified subject, any more than long and

learned words. Of all his English contemporaries Wordsworth stands foremost and alone as the poet of common life. It is not his only field, nor perhaps the field in which he is greatest; but it is the one which is most exclusively his own. He has, it is true, no humour or comedy of any kind in him (which is perhaps the explanation of the ludicrous points that are sometimes found in his serious poetry), and therefore he is not, and seldom attempts to be, what Burns was for his countrymen, the poetic interpreter, and, as such, refiner as well as embalmer, of the wit and merriment of the common people: the writer by whom that title is to be won is yet to arise, and probably from among the people themselves: but of whatever is more tender or more thoughtful in the spirit of ordinary life in England the poetry of Wordsworth is the truest and most comprehensive transcript we possess. Many of his verses, embodying as they do the philosophy as well as the sentiment of this every-day human experience, have a completeness and impressiveness, as of texts, mottos, proverbs, the force of which is universally felt, and has already worked them into the texture and substance of the language to a far greater extent, we apprehend, than has happened in the case of any contemporary writer. Yet surely Wordsworth cannot take a high rank for the formal qualities of his poetry, upon any theory of the art that may be proposed. In most of his compositions his diction has merely the merit of being direct and natural; in others it swells out into considerable splendour and magnificence; but it has rarely or never any true refinement or exquisiteness. In only a very few of his poems is it even throughout of any tolerable elaboration and exactness; generally, both in his familiar and his loftier style, it is diffuse and unequal, a brittle mixture of poetical and prosaic forms, like the image of iron and clay in Nebuchadnezzar's dream. The music of his verse, too, though generally pleasing, and sometimes impassioned or majestic, is always common-place, and equally destitute of subtlety as of originality.

Coleridge.

In all that constitutes artistic character the poetry of Coleridge is a contrast to that of Wordsworth. Coleridge, born in 1772, published the earliest of his poetry that is now remembered in 1796, in a small volume containing also some pieces by Charles Lamb, to which some by Charles Lloyd were added in a second edition the following year. It was not till 1800, after he had produced and printed separately his 'Ode to the Departing Year' (1796), his noble ode entitled 'France' (1797), his 'Fears in Solitude' (1798), and his translations of both parts of Schiller's 'Wallenstein,' that he was first associated as a poet and author with Wordsworth, in the second volume of whose 'Lyrical Ballads,' published in 1800, appeared, as the contributions of an anonymous friend, Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner,' 'Foster Mother's Tale,' 'Nightingale,' and 'Love.' "I should not have requested this assistance," said Wordsworth, in his preface, "had I not believed that the poems of my friend would, in a great measure, have the same tendency as my own, and that, though there would be found a difference, there would be found no discordance in the colours of our style; as our opinions on the subject of poetry do almost entirely coincide." Coleridge's own account, however, is very different. In his 'Biographia Literaria,' he tells us that, besides the 'Ancient Mariner,' he was preparing for the conjoint publication, among other poems, the 'Dark Ladie' and the 'Christabal,' in which he should have more nearly realised his ideal than he had done in his first attempt, when the volume was brought out with so much larger a portion of it the produce of Wordsworth's industry than his own, that his few compositions, "instead of forming a balance, appeared rather an interpolation of heterogeneous matter;" and then he adds, in reference to the long preface in which Wordsworth had expounded his theory of poetry, "With many parts of this preface in the sense attributed to them, and which the words undoubtedly seem to authorise, I never concurred; but, on the contrary, objected to them as erroneous in principle and contradictory (in appearance at least) both to other parts of the same preface, and to the author's own practice in the greater number of the poems themselves." Coleridge's poetry is remarkable for the perfection of its execution, for the exquisite art with which its divine informing spirit is endowed with formal expression. The subtly woven words, with all their sky colours, seem to grow out of the thought or emotion, as the flower from its stalk, or the flame from its feeding oil. The music of his verse, too, especially of what he has written in rhyme, is as sweet and as characteristic as anything in the language, placing him for that rare excellence in the same small band with Shakspeare, and Beaumont and Fletcher (in their lyrics), and Milton, and Collins, and Shelley, and Tennyson. It was probably only quantity that was wanting to make Coleridge the greatest poet of his day. Certainly, at least, some things that he has written have not been surpassed, if they have been matched, by any of his contemporaries. And (as indeed has been the case with almost all great poets) he continued to write better and better the longer

he wrote; some of his happiest verses were the produce of his latest years. Coleridge survived to the year 1834.

SOUTHEY.

If Coleridge wrote too little, Southey may be said to have written too much and too rapidly. Southey, as well as Coleridge, has been popularly reckoned one of the Lake poets; but it is difficult to assign any meaning to that name which should entitle it to comprehend either the one or the other. Southey, indeed, was, in the commencement of his career, the associate of Wordsworth and Coleridge; a portion of his first poem, his 'Joan of Arc,' published in 1796, was written by Coleridge; and he afterwards took up his residence, as well as Wordsworth, among the lakes of Cumberland. But, although in his first volume of minor poems, published in 1797, there was something of the same simplicity or plainness of style, and choice of subjects from humble life, by which Wordsworth sought to distinguish himself about the same time, the manner of the one writer bore only a very superficial resemblance to that of the other; whether it was something quite original, or only, in the main, an inspiration caught from the Germans, that gave its peculiar character to Wordsworth's poetry, it was wanting in Southey's; he was evidently, with all his ingenuity and fertility, and notwithstanding an ambition of originality which led him to be continually seeking after strange models, from Arabian and Hindoo mythologies to Latin hexameters, of a genius radically imitative, and not qualified to put forth its strength except while moving in a beaten track and under the guidance of long established rules. Southey was by nature a conservative in literature as well as in politics, and the eccentricity of his 'Thalabas' and 'Kehamas' was as merely spasmodic as the Jacobinism of his 'Wat Tyler.' But even 'Thalaba' and 'Kehama,' whatever they may be, are surely not poems of the Lake school. And in most of his other poems, especially in his last and best long poem, 'Roderick, the Last of the Goths,' Southey is in verse what he always was in prose, one of the most thoroughly and unaffectedly English of our modern writers. The verse, however, is too like prose to be poetry of a very high order; it is flowing and eloquent, but has little of the distinctive life or lustre of poetical composition. What foreign inspiration there was in Southey's poetry he drew, not from the modern literature of Germany, but from the old ballad and romantic poetry of Spain.

SCOTT.

Walter Scott was never accounted one of the Lake poets; yet he, as well as Wordsworth and Coleridge, was early a drinker at the fountain of German poetry; his commencing publication was a translation of Bürger's 'Lenore' (1796), and the spirit and manner of his original compositions were, from the first, evidently and powerfully influenced by what had thus awakened his poetical faculty. His robust and manly character of mind, however, and his strong nationalism, with the innate disposition of his imagination to live in the past rather than in the future, saved him from being seduced either into the puerilities or extravagances to which other imitators of the German writers among us were thought to have, more or less, given way; and, having soon found in the old ballad-poetry of his own country all the qualities which had most attracted him in his foreign favourites, with others which had an equal or still greater charm for his heart and fancy, he henceforth gave himself up almost exclusively to the more congenial inspiration of that native minstrelsy. His poems are all lays and romances of chivalry, but infinitely finer than any that had ever before been written. With all their irregularity and carelessness (qualities which in some sort are characteristic of and essential to this kind of poetry), the element of life in all writing which comes of the excited feeling and earnest belief of the writer is never wanting; this animation, fervour, enthusiasm, call it by what name we will, exists in greater strength in no poetry than in that of Scott, redeeming a thousand defects, and triumphing over all

the reclamations of criticism. It was this, no doubt, more than anything else, which at once took the public admiration by storm. All cultivated and perfect enjoyment of poetry, or of any other of the fine arts, is partly emotional, partly critical;* the enjoyment and appreciation are only perfect when these two qualities are blended; but most of the poetry that had been produced among us in modern times had aimed at affording chiefly, if not exclusively, a critical gratification. The 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' (1805) surprised readers of all degrees with a long and elaborate poem, which carried them onward with an excitement of heart as well as of head which they had scarcely ever experienced before in the perusal of poetry. The narrative form of the poem no doubt did much to produce this effect, giving to it, even without the poetry, the interest and enticement of a novel; but all readers, even the least tinctured with a literary taste, felt also, in a greater or less degree, the charm of the verse, and the poetic glow with which the work was all alive. 'Marmion' (1808) carried the same feelings to a much higher pitch; it is undoubtedly Scott's greatest poem, or the one at any rate in which the noblest passages are found; though the more domestic attractions of the 'Lady of the Lake' (1810) made it the most popular on its first appearance. Meanwhile, his success, the example he had set, and the tastes which he had awakened in the public mind, had affected our literature to an extent in various directions which has scarcely been sufficiently appreciated. Notwithstanding the previous appearance of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and some other writers, it was Scott who first in his day made poetry the rage, and with him properly commences the busy poetical production of the period we are now reviewing; those who had been in the field before him put on a new activity, and gave to the world their principal works, after his appearance; and it was not till then that the writer who of all the poets of this period attained the widest blaze of reputation, eclipsing Scott himself, commenced his career. But what is still more worthy of note is, that Scott's poetry impressed its own character upon all the poetry that was produced among us for many years after: it put an end to long works in verse of a didactic or merely reflective character, and directed the current of all writing of that kind into the form of narrative. Even Wordsworth's 'Excursion' (1814) is for the most part a collection of tales. If Scott's own genius, indeed, were to be described by any single epithet, it would be called a narrative genius. Hence, when he left off writing verse, he betook himself to the production of fictions in prose, which were really substantially the same thing with his poems, and in that freer form of composition succeeded in achieving a second reputation still more brilliant than his first.

* See, in an article on the 'State of Criticism in France,' in the British and Foreign Review, No. xxxii. (for January, 1844), a speculation on the distinction between these two states of feeling, which will be admitted to be ingenious, novel, and suggestive, even by those readers who do not go with the writer the whole length of his conclusions.

Crabbe, Campbell, and Moore were all known as poetical writers previous to the breaking forth of Scott's bright day: Crabbe had published his first poem, 'The Library,' so far back as in 1781, 'The Village' in 1783, and 'The Newspaper' in 1785; Campbell, his 'Pleasures of Hope' in 1799; Moore, his 'Anacreon' in 1800. But Campbell alone had before that epoch attracted any considerable share of the public attention; and even he, after following up his first long poem with his 'Hohenlinden,' his 'Battle of the Baltic,' his 'Mariners of England,' and a few other short pieces, had laid aside his lyre for some five or six years. Neither Crabbe nor Moore had as yet produced anything that gave promise of the high station they were to attain in our poetical literature, or had even acquired any general notoriety as writers of verse. No one of the three, however, can be said to have caught any part of his manner from Scott. Campbell's first poem, juvenile as its execution in many respects was, evinced in its glowing impetuosity and imposing splendour of declamation the genius of a true and original poet, and the same general character that distinguishes his poetry in its maturest form, which may be described as a combination of fire and elegance; and his early lyrics, at least in their general effect, have not been excelled by anything he has since written, although the tendency of his style towards greater purity and simplicity has been very marked in all his later compositions. It was with a narrative poem—his "Pennsylvanian tale" of 'Gertrude of Wyoming'—that Campbell (in 1809) returned to woo the public favour, after Scott had made poetry, and that particular form of it, so popular; and, continuing to obey the direction which had been given to the public taste, he afterwards produced his exquisite 'O'Connor's Child' and his 'Theodoric' (the latter, however, not till after the close of the period we are reviewing). Crabbe, in like manner, when he at last, in 1807, broke his silence of twenty years, came forth with a volume, all that was new in which consisted of narrative poetry, and he never afterwards attempted any other style. Narrative, indeed, had formed the happiest and most characteristic portions of Crabbe's former compositions; and he was probably led now to resume his pen mainly by the turn which the taste and fashion of the time had taken in favour of the kind of poetry to which his genius most strongly carried him. His narrative manner, however, it is scarcely necessary to observe, has no resemblance either to that of Scott or to that of Campbell. Crabbe's poetry, indeed, both in its form and in its spirit, is of quite a peculiar and original character. It might be called the poetry of matter of fact, for it is as true as any prose, and, except the rhyme, has little about it of the ordinary dress of poetry; but the effect of poetry, nevertheless, is there in great force, its power both of stirring the affections and presenting vivid pictures to the fancy. Other poets may be said to exalt the truth to a heat naturally foreign to it in the crucible of their ima-

gination; he, by a subtler chemistry, draws forth from it its latent heat, making even things that look the coldest and deadest sparkle and flash with passion. It is remarkable, however, in how great a degree, with all its originality, the poetical genius of Crabbe was acted upon and changed by the growth of new tastes and a new spirit in the times through which he lived,—how his poetry took a warmer temperament, a richer colour, as the age became more poetical. As he lived, indeed, in two eras, so he wrote in two styles: the first, a sort of imitation, as we remarked in the last Book, of the rude vigour of Churchill, though marked from the beginning by a very distinguishing quaintness and raciness of its own, but comparatively cautious and common-place, and dealing rather with the surface than with the heart of things; the last, with all the old peculiarities retained, and perhaps exaggerated, but greatly more copious, daring, and impetuous, and infinitely improved in penetration and general effectiveness. And his poetical power, nourished by an observant spirit and a thoughtful tenderness of nature, continued to grow in strength to the end of his life; so that the last poetry he published, his 'Tales of the Hall,' is the finest he ever wrote, the deepest and most passionate in feeling as well as the happiest in execution. In Crabbe's sunniest passages, however, the glow is still that of a melancholy sunshine; compared to what we find in Moore's poetry, it is like the departing flush from the west, contrasted with the radiance of morning poured out plentifully over earth and sky, and making all things laugh in light. Rarely has there been seen so gay, nimble, airy a wonder-worker in verse as Moore; rarely such a conjuror with words, which he makes to serve rather as wings for his thoughts than as the gross attire or embodiment with which they must be encumbered to render them palpable or visible. His wit is not only the sharpest and brightest to be almost anywhere found, but is produced apparently with more of natural facility, and shapes itself into expression more spontaneously, than that of any other poet. But there is almost as much humour as wit in Moore's gaiety; nor are his wit and humour together more than a small part of his poetry, which, preserving in all its forms the same matchless brilliancy, finish, and apparent ease and fluency, breathes in its tenderer strains the very soul of sweetness and pathos. Moore, after having risen to the ascendant in his proper region of the poetical firmament, at last followed the rest into the walk of narrative poetry, and produced his 'Lalla Rookh' (1817): it is a poem, with all its defects, abounding in passages of great beauty and splendour; but his Songs are, after all, probably, the compositions for which he will be best remembered.

Byron was the writer whose blaze of popularity it mainly was that threw Scott's name into the shade, and induced him to abandon verse. Yet the productions which had this effect—the 'Giaour,' the 'Bride of Abydos,' the 'Corsair,' &c., published in 1813 and 1814 (for the new idolatry was scarcely kindled by the two respectable, but somewhat tame cantos of 'Childe Harold,' written in quite another style, which appeared shortly before these effusions), were, in reality, only poems written in what may be called a variation of Scott's own manner—Oriental lays and romances, Turkish Marmions and Ladies of the Lake. The novelty of scene and subject, the exaggerated tone of passion in the outlandish tales, and a certain trickery in the writing (for it will hardly now be called anything else), materially aided by the mysterious interest attaching to the personal history of the noble bard, who, whether he sung of Giaours, or Corsairs, or Laras, was always popularly believed to be "himself the great sublime he drew," wonderfully excited and intoxicated the public mind at first, and for a time made all other poetry seem tame and wearisome; but, if Byron had adhered to the style by which his fame was thus originally made, it probably would have proved transient enough. Few will now be found to assert that there is anything in these earlier poems of his comparable to the great passages in those of Scott—to the battle in 'Marmion,' for instance, or the raising of the clansmen by the fiery cross in the 'Lady of the Lake,' or many others that might be mentioned. But Byron's vigorous and elastic genius, although it had already tried various styles of poetry, was, in truth, as yet only preluding to its proper display. First, there had been the very small note of the 'Hours of Idleness;' then, the sharper, but not more original or much more promising, strain of the 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' (a satirical attempt in all respects inferior to Gifford's 'Baviad and Mæviad,' of which it was a slavish imitation); next, the certainly far higher and more matured, but quiet and somewhat common-place, manner of the two first cantos of Childe Harold; after that, suddenly the false glare and preternatural vehemence of these Oriental rhapsodies, which yet, however,

BYRON.

with all their hollowness and extravagance, evinced infinitely more power than anything he had previously done, or rather were the only poetry he had yet produced that gave proof of any remarkable poetic genius. The 'Prisoner of Chillon' and 'Parisina,' the 'Siege of Corinth' and 'Mazeppa,' followed, all in a spirit of far more truth, and depth, and beauty than the other tales that had preceded them; but the highest forms of Byron's poetry must be sought for in the two last cantos of 'Childe Harold,' in his 'Cain' and 'Manfred,' and, above all, in his 'Don Juan.' The last-mentioned extraordinary work, unfinished as it is, is probably to be accounted, on the whole, the greatest English poem produced in this age.

Yet the highest poetical genius of the time, if it was not that of Coleridge, was, perhaps, that of Shelley. Byron died in 1824, at the age of thirty-six; Shelley in 1822, at that of twenty-nine. What Shelley produced during the brief term allotted to him on earth, much of it passed in sickness and sorrow, is remarkable for its quantity, but much more wonderful for the quality of the greater part of it. His 'Queen Mab,' written when he was eighteen, crude and defective as it is, and unworthy to be classed with what he wrote in his maturer years, was probably the richest promise that was ever given at so early an age of poetic power, the fullest assurance that the writer was born a poet. From the date of his first published poem, 'Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude,' to his death, was not quite seven years. 'The Revolt of Islam,' in twelve cantos, or books, the dramas of 'Prometheus Unbound,' 'The 'Cenci,' and 'Hellas,' the tale of 'Rosalind and Helen,' 'The Masque of Anarchy,' 'The Sensitive Plant,' 'Julian and Maddalo,' 'The Witch of Atlas,' 'Epipsychidion,' 'Adonais,' 'The Triumph of Life,' the translations of Homer's 'Hymn to Mercury,' of the 'Cyclops' of Euripides, and of the scenes from Calderon and from Goethe's 'Faust,' besides many short poems, were the additional produce of this springtime of a life destined to know no summer. So much poetry, so rich in various beauty, was probably never poured forth with so rapid a flow from any other mind. Nor can much of it be charged with either immaturity or carelessness; Shelley, with all his abundance and facility, was a fastidious writer, scrupulously attentive to the effect of words and syllables, and accustomed to elaborate whatever he wrote to the utmost; and, although it is not to be doubted that if he had lived longer he would have developed new powers and a still more masterly command over the different resources of his art, anything that can properly be called unripeness in his composition had, if not before, ceased with his 'Revolt of Islam,' the first of his poems which he gave to the world, as if the exposure to the public eye had burned it out. Some haziness of thought and uncertainty of expression may be found in some of his later, or even latest, works; but that is not to be confounded with rawness; it is the dreamy ecstasy, too high for speech, in which his poetical nature, most subtle, sensitive, and voluptuous, delighted to dissolve and lose itself. Yet it is marvellous how far he had succeeded in reconciling even this mood of thought with the necessities of distinct expression: we would quote his 'Epipsychidion' (written in the last year of his life) as his crowning triumph in that kind of writing, and as, indeed, for its wealth and fusion of all the highest things—of imagination, of expression, of music,—one of the greatest miracles ever wrought in poetry. In other styles, again, all widely diverse, are the 'Cenci,' the 'Masque of Anarchy,' the 'Hymn to Mercury' (formally a translation, but essentially almost as much an original composition as any of the others). It is hard to conjecture what would have been impossible to him by whom all this had been done.

Keats, born in 1796, died the year before Shelley, and, of course, at a still earlier age. But his poetry is younger than Shelley's in a degree beyond the difference of their years. He was richly endowed by nature with the poetical faculty, and all that he has written is stamped with originality and power; it is probable, too, that he would soon have supplied, as far as was necessary or important, the defects of his education, as indeed he had actually done to a considerable extent, for he was full of ambition as well as genius; but he can scarcely be said to have given assurance by anything he has left that he might in time have produced a great poetical work. The character of his mental constitution, explosive and volcanic, was adverse to every kind of restraint and cultivation; and his poetry is a tangled forest, beautiful indeed and glorious with many a majestic oak and sunny glade, but still with the unpruned, untrained savagery everywhere, which it could not lose without ceasing altogether to be what it is. Keats's 'Endymion' was published in 1817; his 'Lamia,' 'Isabella,' 'The Eve of St. Agnes,' and 'Hyperion,' together in 1820.

These are the greatest; but many more names also brighten this age of our poetical literature, which must here be dismissed with a mere enumeration: Rogers, Leigh Hunt, Charles Lamb, Professor Wilson, the Ettrick Shepherd (Hogg), Allan Cunningham, Tennant (the author of 'Anster Fair'), Hector MacNiel, Grahame (the author of the 'Sabbath'), Robert Bloomfield, Henry Kirke White, James Montgomery, Lord Thurlow, Lord Strangford, Sir Egerton Brydges, Shee, Sotheby, Frere, Maturin, Proctor (Barry Cornwall), Milman, Miss Baillie, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Opie, Miss Mitford, Mrs. Hemans, &c. Some of these, indeed, may merit no higher designation than that of agreeable or elegant versifiers; but others, both among those that have passed away and those that are still among us, will live in the language as true poets, and will be allowed to have received no stinted measure of the divine gift of song.

One general remark may be made upon the

poetry of this period as compared with the direction which poetical production has more recently taken among us: a much more inconsiderable portion of it ran into a dramatic form. Coleridge, indeed, translated 'Wallenstein,' and wrote his tragedies of 'Zapolya' and 'The Remorse;' Scott (but not till after the close of the period) produced what he called his "dramatic sketch" of 'Halidon Hill,' and his three-act plays of 'The Doom of Devorgoil' and the 'Ayrshire Tragedy,'—in all of which attempts he seemed to be deserted both by his power of dialogue and his power of poetry; Byron, towards the close of his career, gave new proof of the wonderful versatility of his genius by his 'Marino Faliero,' his 'Two Foscari,' his 'Sardanapalus,' and his 'Werner,' besides his 'Manfred' and his mystery of 'Cain' in another style; and in 1819 was published, perhaps, the greatest of modern English tragedies, the 'Cenci' of Shelley. There was also Maturin's half-German, half-Irish melodrama of 'Bertram.' But the imitation of the old Elizabethan drama, of which we have since had so much, only began in the latter years of this period. Lamb's tragedy of 'John Woodvil,' indeed—which the Edinburgh Review profanely said might "be fairly considered as supplying the first of those lost links which connect the improvements of Æschylus with the commencement of the art,"—was published so early as 1802; but it attracted little notice at the time, though both by this production, and much more by his 'Specimens of English Dramatic Poets,' first published in 1808, Lamb had a principal share in reviving the general study and love of our early drama. A good deal, we believe, was also done to spread the fashion of that sort of reading by the fictitious quotations from old plays which headed the chapters of several of the Waverley novels. But, perhaps, Mr. Milman's tragedy of 'Fazio,' which appeared in 1815, was the first dramatic work studiously composed in imitation of the language of the Elizabethan drama which excited general attention.

Of the prose literature of this period some of its chief poetical writers were also among the most distinguished ornaments. Southey and Scott were two of the most voluminous prose writers of their day, or of any day; Coleridge also wrote much more prose than verse; both Campbell and Moore are considerable authors in prose; there are several prose pieces among the published works of Byron, of Shelley, and of Wordsworth; both Leigh Hunt and Wilson have perhaps acquired more of their fame, and given more delight, as prose writers than as poets; Charles Lamb's prose writings, his golden 'Essays of Elia,' and various critical disquisitions and short notices, abounding in original views and the deepest truth and beauty, have made his verse be nearly forgotten. This may be in part the cause of the more poetical complexion which our prose writing has generally assumed within the last thirty or forty years. Among the other most brilliant or otherwise conspicuous prose writers of the period we are reviewing may be mentioned, in general literature, Sidney Smith, Hazlitt, Jeffrey, Playfair, Stewart, Alison, Thomas Brown; in political disquisition, Erskine, Cobbett, Brougham, Mackintosh, Bentham; in theological

BENTHAM.

eloquence, Horsley, Wilberforce, Foster, Hall, Chalmers; in fictitious narrative, Miss Edgeworth, Mrs. Opie, Miss Owenson (Lady Morgan), Mrs. Brunton, Miss Austen, Madame D'Arblay, Godwin, Maturin; in history, Fox, Mitford, Lingard, Mill, Hallam, Turner. The most remarkable prose works that were produced were Scott's novels, the first of which, 'Waverley,' appeared in 1814. A powerful influence upon literature was also exerted from the first by the Edinburgh Review, begun in 1802; the Quarterly Review, begun in 1809; and Blackwood's Magazine, established in 1817.

Only a few of the most memorable facts connected with the progress of scientific discovery in England, during this period, can be very briefly noted. In astronomy Herschel continued to pur-

HERSCHEL.

sue his observations, commenced a short time before 1781, in which year he discovered the planet Uranus: in 1802, appeared in the Philosophical Transactions his catalogue of 500 new nebulæ and nebulous stars; in 1803 his announcement of the motions of double stars around each other; and a long succession of other important papers, illustrative of the construction of the heavens, followed down to within a few years of his death, at the age of eighty-four, in 1822. In chemistry, Davy, who had published his account of the effects produced

Sir H. Davy.

by the respiration of nitrous oxide (the laughing gas) in 1800, in 1807 extracted their metallic bases from the fixed alkalis, in 1808 demonstrated the similar decomposibility of the alkaline earths, in 1811 detected the true nature of chlorine (oxymuriatic acid), and in 1815 invented his safety lamp; in 1804 Leslie published his Experimental Enquiry into the Nature and Properties of Heat; in 1808 the Atomic Theory was announced by Dalton, and in 1814 its developement and illustration were completed by Wollaston, to whom both chemical science and optics are also indebted for various other valuable services.

The period now under consideration is so limited, and so much which properly belongs to its history as regards the Fine Arts has necessarily been anticipated in the last Book, that our notice of this subject must be short, and in some particulars incomplete.

The first years of the nineteenth century were eminently unfavourable to Architecture. Neither the attention nor the resources of a government ever backward in the active encouragement of the arts was likely to be extended to them at this great political crisis. The erection of public buildings was for a time almost suspended, and there was little hope that the retrograde movement in architecture which marks the former portion of the reign of George III.* would change its course,

* See ante, vol. iii., p. 731.

at a moment when the last professors of a legitimate school had disappeared from the world, and the rising generation were shut out from the pursuit of knowledge in those classic regions from whence alone fresh and healthy inspirations of art can be drawn.

At the beginning of the present period the diffusion of a taste for the Greek style had imparted a new character to art throughout Europe, and, paradoxical as it may appear, its influence, in at least two instances, was for a time decidedly pernicious. If painting in France and architecture in England received an impulsion from the study of Greek art, it was speedily checked by the false views and principles by which it was accompanied. In both cases the arts were in a state which called loudly for reformation: in both, Greek art was assumed as the basis of a new style: in neither was the right path pursued which should have led to success. In France the mechanical David, supported in the public esteem by the irresistible fascination of his political character, established, for a quarter of a century, a school which seems to have aimed at reducing the whole art of historical painting to an imitation of basso-relievo and the figures on Greek vases; and something closely analogous may be found in the compilations of the English school of architecture during the same period.

In a former Book the last professors of the Italian school of architecture in England were traced from the immediate successors of Lord Burlington down to Sir William Chambers; and, if during the last twenty years of the reign of George III. there yet remained any descendants of this school capable of developing an architectural composition in a sound Italian style, they are not to be found among those who occupied the principal share of public consideration and patronage. The exquisite refinement of Greek art, as it had been revealed by the great work of Athenian Stuart, and the other researches and publications to which it had given rise, had suddenly affected the public mind in a manner which left little room for the exercise of the judgment, and Greek art was unfortunately adopted, not as a principle, but as a fashion. The reproduction of its forms was demanded without reference to the propriety of their application, or to the relations which essentially constitute the beauty of architecture. A system which reduced the art and science of architecture to the appropriation of ready-made temples, and dispensed with so much of the burden of study and thought—a faith in art whose yoke was so easy—could scarcely fail to attract disciples; and Greek architecture (so called) came into existence in England in the most abortive shape in which the narrowest spirit of imitation could produce it.*

What the Romans did for the architecture of

* As early as 1773 James Wyatt had used fluted Doric columns without bases in the Canterbury gate at Christchurch, Oxford; with what view, except as a popular novelty, it is difficult to imagine.

the Greeks, and what the great Italian masters did for that of the Romans, and might have done for the purer style had they been able to advert to it—the consistent and harmonious adaptation of the original elements to new combinations suggested by new institutions and habits,—are lessons which appear to have been all but universally overlooked in the revival of Greek architecture in England; and that much was accomplished in the right direction by *one* who had the courage to think for himself, and to bring to the undertaking the mind of an artist and the perseverance of an enthusiast, is a bitter reproach to those who have coldly repelled every opportunity of doing more. The early works of Sir John Soane and their general character have already been referred to. It was not until the Bank of England was placed in his hands * that his ambition to be original appears to have been thoroughly awakened; but from that time he seems to have given himself to the study of new combinations in architecture, fitted to modern exigencies, and adapted to the spirit and character of the Greek style; with what success will be testified to generations to come in that vast pile of building which occupied the remainder of his life, either in enlarging its boundaries or replacing the work of his predecessors. The result of this great labour is described by an eminent French architect † as "a work admirable for solidity and grandeur, elegance of detail, decoration rich without excess, and a harmony which attests the talent and judgment of the architect."..."Vast halls," continues this critic, "spacious courts of different forms and dimensions, present the most picturesque and varied effects. There are several domed apartments of the most noble simplicity, and both the eye and the judgment are struck with the ingenuity of the means employed for the distribution of light. The effects produced by these means, and by proportions adapted to the localities, and to the characteristics of the architecture, are often marvellous."

It might convey much instruction to those who refer proficiency in art to the spontaneous inspiration of *genius*, to examine the process by which such results have been achieved. It was not without severe study that Soane developed his style, nor without long experience that he wrought it up to consistency, nor without extreme caution that he resolved to apply it to a great public work. It was not for some years after his appointment to the Bank that he commenced his operations on the exterior, and the first of a progressive series of designs for the north side * exhibits a timid composition garnished with Greek Doric columns, without a trace of the character of the existing building. As little of the peculiarities which he afterwards so freely introduced into his street architecture is to be seen in Buckingham House, Pall Mall, built in 1790. His treatment of interior decoration was developed sooner; and in the old vestibule † to the Rotunda at the Bank, the first part of his great work actually executed, nothing remains of the meagre style of ornament which, in his early works, he had shared with his contemporaries. The designs for the Lothbury Court were made in 1797, and in 1805 he executed the north-west corner of the edifice, in which he seems to have realised to its fullest extent his own

* See ante, vol. iii., p. 739.

† M. Hittorf.

* Preserved in the Soane Museum.

† Now part of the Treasury.

BANK OF ENGLAND, NORTH WEST VIEW.

conception of the style he had created, and in which its beauties and capabilities are certainly displayed to the best advantage. The subject was fortunate. The extent of blank wall which flanks the columns is closely associated with what is popularly understood of the character of Greek architecture, and the beautiful Corinthian order, which the architect chose as the basis of his style, had the advantage of novelty, as well as the authority of the antique; but the skill with which the irregular conformation of the building is masked, the original and picturesque variety of the outline, the play of light and shade, the judicious distribution of the ornament, and, above all, the perfect harmony with which all the elements are blended together,—these are beauties of his own creation, which well merit the utmost eulogium ever passed upon the work, and fully redeem some solecisms in composition, which are not to be denied.

In 1794 Soane had been ordered by a committee of the Lords to turn his attention to the improvement of the Houses of Parliament. The designs he made for this object are many and progressive, ending in a magnificent and highly classical composition, extending in a colonnade along the river, and embodying in the plan some noble halls, in which the architect proposed to display the arts of painting and sculpture on an extensive scale, to the honour of our heroes and statesmen.

The great merit of Soane's peculiar style is to be found in the consistency of the detail. In his plans and construction he is soundly practical. His compositions take the forms dictated by utility and convenience,* but they derive from a detail based on the purest examples of antiquity, and always harmonious, a character more essentially Greek than can ever be attained by the most literal transcript of Greek art misunderstood and misapplied. In this respect Soane stands in the high position of an inventor. Even in those works—and they were not few in his later years—when mannerism had superseded style, and the picturesque had degenerated into the whimsical, this harmony of parts is never compromised, not even where the parts are wantonly multiplied and crowded together.

The indisputable eminence of Soane in his profession opened to him a considerable share of employment. His works, both public and private, are numerous; and, although his peculiar style died with him, it is not to be doubted that his example, in abolishing the flimsy decoration which continued to taint even the works of James Wyatt, and developing original principles in composition, has had an important and durable effect upon art—a result more to his honour than if he had left behind him a host of imitators. We can indicate only a few of his works, especially as many of them belong to a date beyond the reign of George III. His own house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which, with the collection of art contained within it, he munificently bestowed upon the public, was built in 1812; the picture gallery at Dulwich in the same year; the National Debt Office in 1818; the Law Courts from 1820 to 1822; the *scala regia* at the late House of Lords in 1822; Trinity Church, Marylebone, in 1824; and the State Paper Office in 1829. One of his latest works was the Treasury buildings at Whitehall, a fragment of an extensive design, and therefore not to be understood in its present state.

Sir J. Soane, R.A.

Soane became a Royal Academician in 1802, and in 1806 succeeded to the professorship of architecture, an office which he filled with eminent success, although from adverse circumstances his lectures were few and far between, and their scope limited. In 1815 * he was attached to the Office of Works; and in 1831 he received the honour of knighthood. He died in 1837.

By William Wilkins, Greek architecture was adopted in another spirit. His aim appears to have been to purify architectural composition by confining it to the reproduction of the most simple combinations of antiquity; with what success might be safely predicated, even without the evidence afforded by his works. The abuse of porticoes, the forms and proportions of which, being considered perfect, are supposed to bestow something approaching perfection upon everything to which they can be attached, is the principal characteristic of the school which Wilkins may be held to represent; and it would be difficult to name any description of building to which porticoes have not been appended—crude copies, most of them, from Greek temples, without discrimination of character, or an attempt at that skilful adaptation to the other con-

* The law courts at Westminster present an example of Soane's unrivalled skill in distribution under the most difficult circumstances. In his publication entitled Public and Private Buildings, Soane has given an amusing account of the embarrassments thrown in his way during the progress of these buildings; but some of the most *piquant* anecdotes illustrative of ignorance and vanity are suppressed in the published work. The unmutilated edition is so scarce, that the writer has met with it but once—in the library of the French Institute.

* On the death of James Wyatt, when the department was remodelled. On this occasion the office of surveyor-general—the office of Jones, Wren, and Chambers—became the prey of a needy courtier. It is now abolished even in name.

ditions of the edifice, which appears in some modern porticoes of an earlier date, deeply condemned by artists of this school for want of "purity." At Hayleybury College, as the monotonous length of wall is too great to be relieved by one portico, Wilkins has given us three; and, with a little inconsistency, the principal and most conspicuous has no door within it. In the design for Downing College, at Cambridge (only partially executed), five Greek porticoes are grouped together, and the most elaborately ornamented example of the Ionic order is associated with ranges of windows destitute even of an architrave. Even in his villas and country-houses the one idea, the inexorable Greek portico, is the unfailing feature. Upon Wilkins's later works it does not come within our province to remark; but it may be observed, that in the National Gallery he has found himself under the necessity of departing widely from his established notions, without being able to substitute anything of value in their place. Wilkins died in 1839. He was a man of the highest attainments and accomplishments, and seems to have been qualified to shine in any pursuit connected with the liberal sciences, rather than that which he adopted; but he derived an extensive employment from his authority as a scholar and a critic; and, little as he may have done to secure the applause of posterity, he holds an important place among the architects of his day.

Covent Garden Theatre, erected in the Greek style in 1809, was the first public work of Sir Robert Smirke, who so rapidly attained the eminence which he has long occupied that in 1815 he was associated with Soane and Nash, both greatly his seniors, in the Board of Works. The works of this architect are far more numerous than those

GRANGE PARK, HANTS.

of any of his contemporaries; and it must suffice to enumerate, as examples of various classes of buildings, the Mint, the Library and other new rooms at the British Museum, the Post-Office, the church in Wyndham Place, the College of Physicians, the Union, Junior United Service, and Carlton club-houses, the law courts at Gloucester, and Lowther Castle.

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject of the Anglo-Greek school of architecture further than to observe, that the great majority of the edifices which it may claim for its own are in a style apart from either the originality of Soane or the academical system of Wilkins, a consequence which arises out of the summary process of applying the Greek orders and detail to the old established modes of composition. Thus, in churches, we have the outlines of Gibbs; and in every other class of building, where a portico is dispensed with, the common-place of the Italian and French schools, from the best of the one to the worst of the other—from the basement and loggia of the Palladian villa to the disproportioned frame of pilasters of the garden of the Palais Royal—but with Greek antæ substituted for pilasters, and the most dreary monotony in the details and decorations which can result from a perpetual repetition of the few component parts and ornaments to be found in Stuart's 'Athens,' or at second-hand in 'The Carpenter's Guide.' Whether the details which the Greeks adapted to the severe and uniform simplicity of outline which characterises their temples are sufficiently varied and flexible to amalgamate with modes of composition so totally different, is a question which does not seem to have been generally propounded in the reign of George III.

Contemporary with Soane and Wilkins was John Nash, an architect of a very different stamp from either, but who held for several years that ascendancy which royal patronage never fails to bestow. Nash inherited from Sir Robert Taylor, under whom he studied, an elegant taste in villa archi-

Covent Garden Theatre.

tecture, and some of his early works of this class possess a high degree of merit. Beyond these Nash has left little that can command praise, for he was a total stranger to the study of architecture as a fine art, beyond the mere routine of a professional education. At the commencement of the regency, the encouragement of the fine arts was promised as one of the important benefits to result from a new court; but the establishment in the royal favour of an architect content to lend himself to the fashion of the hour augured little for the cause of architecture, or for the successful termination of a question which then began to be generally agitated, of providing a national palace conformable to the dignity of the British sovereign—a question which began, as far as Nash was concerned, with a design for spreading out Holland's beautiful casino of Carlton-house by a colonnade on one side, and a Gothic façade on the other, was continued by the amplification of the Pavilion at Brighton to its present extent, and ended in the half measure of converting Buckingham Palace into a form of which considerable modifications have since been found necessary.

Nevertheless, Nash was a man of high talent and energy, and to none of his profession do posterity owe more gratitude. Regent-street and the Regent's Park are his lasting monuments, not for the architectural character of the buildings with which they are lined, but for the enlarged views under which he devised, and the indomitable perseverance and public spirit with which he carried out, his plans for the improvement of the metropolis, realising all that had been dreamed of the benefits to be derived from combined operations in regulating the growth of this modern Babylon, and, with the zeal of an artist and the skill of a financier, basing the creation of magnificent thoroughfares upon the improvement of the public revenue. It is necessary only to consider the timid and limited character of metropolitan improvement before the formation of Regent-street, and the vast scale upon which it has since been executed and contemplated, to appreciate the value of the example which he was mainly instrumental in establishing. Nor is the advancement of our street architecture less due to his influence. Whatever may be thought of his own performances in that department, he banished the unmitigated brick walls which deform some of the best quarters of modern London, and laid the foundation of a class of architecture which has of late assumed a high and firm position in art. To the talent of Nash we also owe the conversion of the inaccessible swamp of St. James's Park into the pleasure-ground now open for the recreation and gratification of the public.

Of Nash's works there is little more to be said. The church in Langham-place is one of the best, and a work of intrinsic merit, however it may have been criticised and ridiculed. Its essential fault is the want of unity, and of union, between the portico and the body of the building. The interior may be advantageously compared with that of any

REGENT STREET, FROM WATERLOO PLACE.

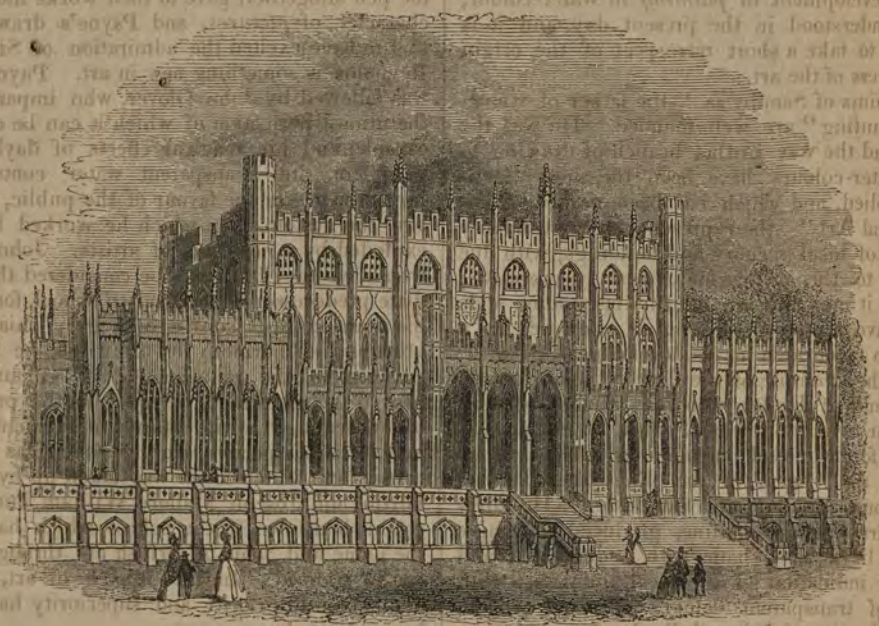
other modern edifice of the same class. Nash died at an advanced age in 1835.

During this period of architectural experiment, the study of Gothic architecture (we may pass over the Egyptian and Hindostanee, both of which had their day) was pursued under more favourable auspices than had generally attended the Greek fashion. The well known essay, by the Rev. James Bentham, on the progression of styles which marks the English architecture of the middle ages, first published in 1771, had established a sound principle upon which it might be classified and investigated, and the graphic labours of John Carter had now illustrated the researches pursued in the writings of Warton, Milner, and Whittington. The voluminous publications of John Britton, commenced in 1807, opened an invaluable fund of materials and information to the architect and antiquary; and in 1816 John Rickman, by his "Attempt to discriminate the styles of English architecture," fixed its revival on the most solid basis upon which art can rest, by popularizing its study, and placing the means of judging well within the general view. Thus was the theory of Gothic architecture developed; but its practical advance was more tardy, especially in the domestic styles. In this branch of architecture James Wyatt maintained his position until his death in 1815, and between 1808 and 1814 erected Ashridge, in Buckinghamshire, one of the most ex-

ASHRIDGE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

tensive and successful of his works, although not without his usual faults. The great staircase, with all the magnificence that space and fine detail can effect, still betrays in its composition a deficiency of appreciation of the genuine characteristics of the style. Yet the merits of James Wyatt were such as to justify his influence, and he lived to see at least the promise of that preponderance which has since been acquired for the taste he contributed so greatly to create.

In the hands of other architects of the period the Gothic style exhibits too much of the spirit of undiscriminating imitation. The immense and magnificent pile of Eaton Hall, Cheshire, built by William Porden, early in the nineteenth century, is a collection of parts proper to ecclesiastical architecture, combined in a manner foreign to any principle of Gothic composition; and, about the same time, two eminent architects disputed for the honour of having designed a centre to Corsham House, professedly imitated from the apsis of Henry VII.'s chapel. These examples are but types of many less important edifices of the same class. Nash built castles with a picturesque feeling and knowledge of detail superior to any of his contemporaries except Wyatt; but his turrets are clustered in a profusion characteristic of the toy-shop rather than of the feudal ages, and his machicoulis frowns over verandahs and French casements.



Eaton Hall, Cheshire.

Thomas Harrison, of Chester, must not be omitted in a notice of the architecture of this period. He enjoyed an extensive reputation, and has been peculiarly happy in his adaptation of the Greek style in the entrance to the public buildings which he erected on the site of Chester Castle. To Harrison is attributed the credit of having called the attention of Lord Elgin to the Athenian marbles.

Waterloo Bridge, commenced in 1811, under Sir John Rennie; Drury-Lane Theatre, erected in the same year, by Benjamin Wyatt, on the destruction of Holland's building by fire; the Custom-House, in 1813, by David Laing (since altered by Sir R. Smirke), and Bethlehem Hospital, by James Lewis, in 1815—are to be noticed as the most important public works not yet incidentally mentioned of the latter years of George III. Pancras church may be added as a model of the academical school of Greek architecture.

The progress made in architecture since the reign of George III., so far as it may be due to the increased liberality displayed in providing for the erection of public buildings, may be dated from the period when the resources of the country could be turned in the direction of the fine arts. A step of the most vital importance to the arts in general, and to the honour and dignity of the nation as connected with their encouragement, was taken in 1816, by the purchase of the Elgin marbles for the British Museum (where the nucleus of the present collection of ancient art had been formed by the purchase of the Townley marbles in 1805), and the time is already come when wonder and contempt are the only feelings with which it is possible to peruse the records of the folly, ignorance, meanness, and party spite which could represent the acquisition of those works as a waste of the public money.* In 1818 the appointment of a commission for the erection of new churches,

* See the parliamentary proceedings on this question, *passim*.

aided by the parliamentary grant of a million sterling, opened to architecture in particular a new field for its development. How the magnificent anticipations excited by this proceeding of the legislature have been realised, is a subject not within the range of the present review.

In Painting, the establishment of the English school of water-colours, so honourable to our country, and so influential upon art in general, is one of the most interesting events in the history of the arts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The name of Paul Sandby has already been mentioned in connexion with this subject, but there is an interval of progressive advancement between the works of that accomplished draughtsman and the full development of *painting* in water-colour, as it is understood in the present day, and it is necessary to take a short retrospect of the origin and progress of the art.

The claims of Sandby as "the father of water-colour painting" are well founded. He was the first to lead the way in that branch of drawing to which water-colours have been the most extensively applied, and which has been named "Topographical Art"—the representation with fidelity and truth of local scenery and buildings, with due attention to the detail and linear perspective; strange as it may appear, that this fascinating style should have remained so long in abeyance in a country so favourable for its development, notwithstanding the example of the Dutch and Flemish painters, and of Hollar, who may almost be considered our own countryman. Still, for colour, and for those forcible and harmonious effects which constitute the charm of the English school of water-colour, Sandby effected little. He drew with a firm penned outline, produced a simple effect of light and shade with Indian ink, and added an indication of the local tints with thin washes of transparent colour. Michael Angelo Rooker, the son of Edward Rooker,* and also an eminent topographical engraver, prepared his own drawings for some of his best works, and went a step farther in the treatment of local colour, especially in representing with picturesque effect the weather-stained character of old buildings. The topographical labours of Hearne and Byrne have been noticed in a former Book under the head of Engraving. The drawings for the work which bears their joint names were the production of Hearne, and, though they cannot be cited as specimens of colouring, they derive a superior degree of harmony from being tinted over cold and warm greys. He also used the pen with more judgment than Sandby, making it subservient to the expression of the detail, a system which may be traced in some of the most masterly productions of our living painters of architecture. John Clevely, who accompanied the first Lord Mulgrave on his northern expedition in 1773, and afterwards attended Sir Joseph Banks to Iceland, drew marine views with great accuracy; but none of these artists appear to have imagined transparent water-colour to be a material capable of displaying pictorial effects, and the early development of its powers in this respect is due to John Smith, William Payne, and John Cozens. The first named, who visited Italy under the patronage of the late Earl of Warwick, though he still followed the system of tinting over greys, succeeded in obtaining considerable force of effect, and far surpassed all his predecessors in the union of colour with light and shade. William Payne, of Plymouth, continued the same process of execution, but rendered it further available in producing vivid effects of sunshine. These artists, by excluding the pen altogether, gave to their works more of the character of *pictures*, and Payne's drawings are said to have excited the admiration of Sir Joshua Reynolds as something new in art. Payne's style was followed by John Glover, who imparted to it the utmost perfection of which it can be conceived capable, and his magical effects of daylight, atmosphere, and transparent water contested for pre-eminence in the favour of the public, for years after the system upon which he worked had been exploded by a new race of artists. John Cozens, who died in 1799, may be considered the immediate predecessor of the modern school, for, though his drawings still consist of a grey chiaro scuro, brought into harmony by flat tints, he made an advance in the management of colour, which proved the material to be equal to the production of landscape, in all its charms of incidental lights and aërial perspective. In this stage of its progress, transparent water-colour was taken up by Thomas Girtin, and Joseph Mallord William Turner, who established upon it the school which has spread the name and fame of British art throughout the civilised world. In this branch of art, at least, our claims to priority and superiority have never been disputed.

The essential improvement which the mechanical process of water-colour painting received from these eminent artists, under whose genius the weak powers of *tinting* broke down, consisted in the adoption of *dead colouring* for the local tints, and the production of depth and texture by freely washing and working up the surface of the paper, which it had been the care of the older artists to preserve smooth and intact; and in their hands, and those of the other painters who speedily availed themselves of the new art (for so it may be justly called), water-colour was at once raised from the rank it had hitherto occupied, of an inferior and imperfect vehicle, into a successful competition with oil. In 1804 the professors of water-colour painting felt themselves strong enough to assert the importance and independence of their art, and the foundation of the Water-Colour Society was effected; but neither Girtin nor Turner were found among its members. The former had departed this life in 1802, at the age of twenty-seven, leaving a name which few have acquired to whom

* See ante, vol. i. p. 632.

time has been allotted to do so little; but he was a genius of the highest order, and had achieved works to which nothing could be compared which had preceded them. He was equally great in landscape and buildings, and the epithets of "the Wilson" and "the Canaletti of water-colours" attest the admiration of his contemporaries. Turner, without neglecting the improvement of water-colours, had given himself to oil-painting, and had already founded his reputation in that style of art. The list of the Water-Colour Society at its first exhibition in 1805 contains nevertheless the names of artists who have not been surpassed in their several departments during a competition of nearly forty years—of John Varley, who shares with Girtin and Turner the credit of founding the new style, and whose latter works are equalled in the grandeur of their colouring by nothing in art but the landscape backgrounds of Titian; of George Barret, unrivalled in the effects of sunset and twilight; and of Robert Hills, pre-eminent as an animal painter, but most especially in the fidelity with which he has represented the character and habits of deer. Glover has been already mentioned. These, with Stephen Rigaud, son of the Royal Academician of the same name, William Sawrey Gilpin (the son of Sawrey Gilpin the animal painter), celebrated as a landscape gardener no less than as an artist, Cornelius Varley, Joshua Cristall, William Havell, and Nicholas Pocock, were among the early members of the Society of Painters in Water-Colours. Architectural drawings (in the picturesque sense of the term), which now form so large a proportion of the works of the school, make but little figure in the early catalogues of the society, and no artist in that branch joined it at its formation, though the names of two, who attained high eminence, appear as exhibitors—Charles Wild, whose pencil has so ably illustrated the ecclesiastical architecture of England and France, and Augustus Pugin, to whom Gothic architecture is deeply indebted for the publications which have made its details accessible and familiar to the student.

Notwithstanding a moment of weakness in which the professors of water-colour seemed disposed to doubt of their art, and to reduce it to a stepping-stone to the practice of oil,* it rose rapidly in importance, and within the reign of George III. many of the ablest masters who have yet appeared were added to its lists. Among the early names appears that of Thomas Heaphy, who rendered the scenes and characters of familiar life in a spirit and with a finish akin to the Dutch school. 'The Fish-Market,' his most elaborate work, commanded the high price of four hundred guineas.† Louis Francia, an excellent artist for marine subjects, was a fellow-student with Girtin and Turner. Richard Westall, whose name has appeared in a former Book, must be noticed again as having struck out an independent path in the same direction as the acknowledged founders of the modern water-colour practice. His drawings were executed upon a similar system at a period when he must undoubtedly have established it for himself. Thomas Uwins, since distinguished in another branch of art, and a member of the Royal Academy, and William Westall, an associate of that body, were members of the Water-Colour Society, and joined it about 1812, as did Peter Dewint, who has represented with the most perfect truth the cool freshness of English domestic landscape. They were followed two years later by Frederick Mackenzie, Copley Fielding, and George Robson. The first brought to the department of architectural drawing a technical and critical knowledge, which renders his works beyond those of any of his contemporaries a reflex of the forms they represent. By Fielding and Robson the peculiar texture and tone of water-colour have been made available for the display of effects unattainable by other means. The sea-storms of Fielding exhibit the most perfect transcript of nature under the most difficult aspects. The clouds which hang over the troubled waters like a curtain are darkened to inky blackness without ever losing their vaporous quality; and the Highland scenery of Robson unites the utmost clearness of delineation with the most intense depth and solemnity of effect. Two more artists in the department of architectural drawing remain to be noticed as coming within the present period—Samuel Prout, whose slight and masterly touch imparts an unfailing charm to his lively delineations of foreign cities, and Joseph Gandy, whose works display an imagination of no common fertility, and a splendid though somewhat artificial feeling for colour, which he exercised on compositions founded on the purest style of Greek art. He executed many drawings for Sir John Soane, of whose collection his 'Restoration of Eleusis' is a conspicuous ornament.

To enter upon the merits of the artists by whose talents the English school of water-colour has since been supported and extended, and disseminated throughout Europe, would lead us beyond our limits; but it must be observed, that to Richard Parkes Bonnington, who visited Paris in 1816, and resided there during the greater part of his life, which terminated at an early age in 1828, the French are indebted for their first appreciation of the English school of landscape, and of the art of water-colour, which they have since cultivated extensively and successfully. Of the most eminent late and living water-colour painters it must suffice to add the names only of Lewis, Hunt, Stephanoff, Miss Setchell, and Miss F. Corbaux (for figures); Frederick Nash, Essex, Cotman, and Thomas Boys (for architecture); Cattermole, Haghe, and Joseph Nash (architecture and figures); Linnell, Gastineau, Cox, and Callow (landscape); Harding

* In 1813, when the ambition of some of the members of the society conferred on it the title of 'Painters in *Oil* and Water-Colours,' and associated their exhibition with Haydon's 'Judgment of Solomon' and a large monumental group by Chantrey. Fortunately this hallucination soon passed away.

† Bought by the late Mr. Wheeler, of Gloucester-place. Glover once obtained five hundred guineas for a landscape.

(landscape, buildings, and figures); Austin and Bentley (marine); and Frederick Taylor (horses and figures).

With reference to the art of painting in general, the present period is remarkable, beyond any that preceded it, for the efforts made for the promotion of that art by those who hold the most direct means of encouragement in their hands. In 1805 the British Institution was founded, and its gallery opened, for the exhibition and sale of the works of living artists, accompanied by substantial marks of approbation to those who might distinguish themselves in any branch of the art independent of portrait painting. In 1813 the directors of this association took the most important step ever effected, until the establishment of the National Gallery in 1824, to spread a general knowledge and discriminating taste in painting, by opening an annual exhibition of pictures by the old masters, and making the *chefs d'œuvre* liberally contributed from the royal galleries, and the best collections of the nobility and gentry, available to multitudes, who, in the absence of any public means of improvement (unless it were the Dulwich Gallery, which was opened at about the same period), were shut out from all opportunity of cultivating a sound judgment in art. The public taste thus generated was shortly afterwards gratified by the opening, on an extensive scale of admission, of the Stafford, Grosvenor, and Angerstein galleries,* and that of Sir John Leicester, afterwards Lord de Tabley, composed exclusively of the works of British artists, most of them then living. The catalogue of the collection formed by this patriotic and munificent nobleman is an index to the best native talent flourishing at a period which, though short, adds several names to those which will for ever do honour to the British school.†

For the revival of the highest class of painting the time had not yet arrived. West, who had occupied the chair of the Royal Academy since the death of Sir Joshua Reynolds, held the even tenor of his way, though with little encouragement beyond that of his royal patron,‡ and lost nothing, and certainly deserved to lose nothing, in the public estimation, when the peace of 1815 placed his works in comparison with those of his French contemporaries. William Hilton brought to the exercise of the historical style a knowledge of drawing which would have distinguished him in any school of art, and which places him alone in one where that accomplishment has been too generally neglected. The fascination of an original style of colouring, which in grandeur and harmony makes a near approach to the masterpieces of the Venetian school, has stamped a wider popularity on the historical and poetical works of William Etty. Benjamin Richard Haydon devoted himself to the highest class of this department of painting. He executed several large pictures with success, and undertook to found a school upon the principle of those which flourished in the palmy days of Italian art, when a crowd of pupils were led by the example and inspired by the genius of a great master. But it failed. It is to be lamented that the talent of Henry Peyronet Briggs should have been diverted from this class of art. In a vigorous and sound style of execution he has been surpassed by no modern artist; and his 'Seizure of Guy Fawkes,' exhibited in 1823, is one of the best pictures ever produced in the English school.

In portrait painting, Sir Thomas Lawrence had succeeded to the position attained by Reynolds in the last century, and another generation of the rank and beauty of England lives on his canvass. It is difficult to name these great artists together, without drawing a comparison between their works. In the influence and consideration which he enjoyed during at least twenty years of a career which dates from 1787, and ended only with his life in 1830, Lawrence could scarcely have been surpassed by his predecessor, but they will be differently classed in the estimation of posterity. Independently of the superior depth and harmony of his colouring, the portraits of Reynolds indicate the mind. Those of Lawrence seldom present to us more than the external man or woman. Both are pre-eminent in the representation of female and infantine grace; but with Reynolds it is the grace of nature, with Lawrence that of the fashion and of education. But, whatever Lawrence may represent, it is done with consummate elegance; and, if his drawing is often feeble, and his colouring sometimes verges on the meretricious, such faults are lost in the charm of his execution. No painter ever better appreciated, or more assiduously practised, the care and study necessary to produce a finished work of art; but his last touches were directed to efface the appearances of labour from his pictures; and, whatever may be the result of this process in his own hands, its brilliancy has proved a light to lead astray, the effects of which will be long felt in the English school of portrait.

The talent of Lawrence was so precocious, that he had distinguished himself by his copies from the old masters in crayons before he was twelve years old, and at the age of eighteen his name appears in the exhibition of the Royal Academy to seven pictures. Two years later (in 1789) his contribution amounts to no less than thirteen, including a portrait of the Duke of York. In 1790 the queen and the Princess Amelia were in the number of his sitters; and in 1792 he succeeded Reynolds as painter in ordinary to the king. It is probable that some of Lawrence's deficiencies and mannerisms may be traced to this early success, which left him neither time nor inclination for elementary study.

In 1817 Lawrence received from the prince regent the commission to paint the series of portraits

* The Angerstein collection formed the nucleus of the National Gallery. It was purchased at the death of its owner for 57,000*l.*

† At the dispersion of Lord de Tabley's gallery in 1827, Hoppner's 'Sleeping Nymph' produced the sum of 472*l.*; Wilson's 'View on the Arno,' 493*l.*; Gainsborough's 'Cottage Door,' 525*l.*; Turner's 'Dutch Fishing Boats,' 514*l.*; Hilton's 'Europa,' 315*l.*; Howard's 'Pleiades,' 220*l.*

‡ The British Institution, however, purchased his 'Christ healing the Sick' for 3000 guineas.

known as "the Waterloo Gallery" at Windsor Castle, and for this purpose he visited the capitals of our allies in the late war. These pictures include some of his best works. The portraits of the Emperor of Austria, Pope Pius VII., and Cardinal Gonsalvi take a very high rank in their class; and that of Prince Hardenburg is one of the finest efforts of Lawrence's pencil. Lawrence was knighted in 1815 on the occasion of painting the portraits of the sovereigns who visited London; and at the death of West in 1820 he became president of the Royal Academy, a distinction to which his claim was undisputed.

Among the other artists in this class who come within the present period must be noted John Jackson, whose talent was limited to heads, but some of whose productions thus far are surpassed by those of Reynolds alone; Thomas Phillips, excellent for the truth of his colouring and effect, especially in his female portraits; Sir Martin Archer Shee, the successor of Lawrence as president of the Royal Academy, distinguished for the firmness and precision of his style, qualities especially valuable in the English school; and, though last, not least, in the exercise of a clear pencil and elegant taste, Mr. W. Carpenter. John Harlow, whose premature death in 1819 was a heavy loss to the arts, must also be classed in this department, although he gave the promise of ascending into another sphere had his life been prolonged. He is well and popularly known by his 'Trial of Queen Katharine.'

The year 1806 is to be noted for the first public appearance of Sir David Wilkie, whose fame was

Sir D. Wilkie, R.A.

permanently established the year following by his 'Blind Fiddler.' Wilkie has been called "the British Teniers;" no compliment to either painter. The domestic scenes of Wilkie exhibit a dramatic power, a moral purpose, a discrimination of character, and a mastery of expression, which it was no part of the system of Teniers to attempt, while he ranks immeasurably below the Fleming in almost every other quality of a painter, to say nothing of the marvellous handicraft skill in which Teniers is unapproachable. Wilkie was, in fact, singularly deficient, for so great an artist, in any fixed principles of execution; and his pictures might almost be considered a series of experiments, more or less successful, upon colour and handling. At a later period of his life Wilkie visited Spain, and on his return gave evidence of his ability in a graver style of art; but it is upon his earlier works, his 'Rent Day,' his 'Village Festival,' his 'Reading the Will,' his 'Distraining for Rent,' his 'Chelsea Pensioners,' his 'Parish Beadle,' that his fame will rest; and his merits in this class of painting are of an order which will for ever maintain his place among the eminent in art, without distinction of school or country. Wilkie died in 1841 on his voyage from the Levant, which he had visited in search of new materials for the exercise of his pencil.

In the same department must be mentioned William Mulready: second only to Wilkie in the representation of familiar domestic scenes, he surpasses him in the requisites of a sound style of painting. The success of these artists has given rise to a numerous and meritorious class of what the French call *tableaux de genre*, which it would be beyond our limits to particularise.

In landscape, the honour of the English school was supported by Turner and Calcott. The former has already been noticed with reference to water-colours, but his success in that branch of painting is eclipsed by his pre-eminence in oil. There is no style of landscape, from the heroic to the most familiar, in which Turner may not claim a place in the first class, and in those styles which afford room for the indulgence of a vivid fancy he stands alone. Tasteful combinations of form, unity of composition, breadth, richness, harmony, and the most perfect effects of aërial perspective, are the characteristics of the landscapes of Turner in every class. In a profound knowledge of nature he is unrivalled, and, if a desire to produce new and surprising combinations of colour and effect have too often led him to represent her under extraordinary appearances, those who are disposed to consider such appearances as extravagant may confide in the artist's acute powers of observation for their truth, whatever may be thought of his judgment in selecting them. His close attention to truth may be seen in his marine views. No painter has ever studied more minutely the details of shipping under all its contingencies, and some of his pictures in this class may compare with the finest works of the Dutch masters, save only in the exquisite finish which they alone have attained without sacrificing for it any of the higher qualities of art. The latter works of Turner, in which he has attempted pictures with colour and effect alone, of the many qualities necessary to constitute a work of art, may be passed over, as going beyond the limits of the reign of George III.

With little of the vigorous imagination of Turner

the taste of Sir Augustus Calcott is more pure and his style more even. Some weakness in defining the objects nearest to the eye is the principal defect to be noticed in his pictures; but for the firm, careful, and intelligent handling of his distances he is eminent in a school of landscape where breadth is too often produced by the sacrifice of form, and indistinctness mistaken for aërial perspective; for such are the prevailing faults which have grown up in the English school, through the influence of the *defects* of Turner, and the seductive facility of water-colours. The "magic of verdure and rill" which distinguishes the landscapes of John Constable, a painter who may be considered English *par excellence*, is scarcely sufficient to redeem the slovenly mannerism of his foregrounds.

In the union of landscape with figures no artist of this period has equalled William Collins. His sea-coast views are not more to be admired for their pictorial effect than for the characteristic groups by which they are animated, and some of his rural incidents are designed with an expression which classes them with the works of Wilkie and Mulready.

Our notice of painting must conclude by passing rapidly over the names of several artists of high degree. Edwin Landseer can hardly be included within this period, since it was not until nearly its close that he gave the youthful promise of the talent which has since placed him in the first order of animal painters, a station in which, it may be safely predicted, time will only confirm him. John Martin and William Danby may be classed together, as having both treated art in a manner perfectly original, in aiming, and not without success, at sublimity. In grandeur of composition Martin is unequalled. His power of representing immensity of space is peculiar to himself; the interminable halls and the countless multitude which people them in "Belshazzar's Feast," and the Pandemonium in his illustrations of Milton, with its widening orbits of light appearing to lose themselves in infinity, are sublime from their vastness. In drawing, and the process of execution on canvass, Martin is defective. Danby is far the better painter, and his effects, scarcely less surprising than Martin's, are more dependent on the management of light and colour. In his "Passage of the Red Sea," in the Stafford gallery, he seems to have dipped his pencil in a sun-beam, so luminous, and yet so soft, is the pillar which casts its rays upon the Israelites. Lastly, we must note the classical and poetical compositions of Henry Howard, the horses and cavalry skirmishes of Abraham Cooper, and the illustrations of Cervantes, and other writers in the highest walk of fiction, by C. R. Leslie. The name of Henry Bone must be added as distinguished in the art of enamel painting.

The numerous memorials erected from the public funds in honour of the naval and military commanders who fell in battle during the war, continued to afford some encouragement to Sculpture beyond that which fell to the share of the sister arts. The taste which pervaded the monumental class of art, and marked it generally throughout the present period, has been noticed and considered in a former Book; and there is little to be added on the present occasion beyond recording the names of the artists not already mentioned who distinguished themselves in sculpture down to the end of the reign of George III. Of these, Charles Rossi claims the first place in seniority, if not in merit. In the knowledge of the human figure, Rossi surpassed all his contemporaries, and his style, founded on an assiduous study of the antique, is pure and classical. The monument of Lord Cornwallis in St. Paul's is one of his best works, grand and harmonious in composition, and effecting with more than common success the difficult union of the real with the ideal. The cenotaph to Captains Mosse and Riou in the same cathedral is an excellent example of a style too much neglected in modern monumental composition, in which the graces of sculpture are blended with the symmetry which belongs to architecture. There is a happy contrast of lines in this work, and the heads of the allegorical figures are in a high style of art. But Rossi was deficient in originality, and, while his works exhibit a profound knowledge and appreciation of the models of antiquity, the spirit is absent by which they should be animated, and a certain heaviness and want of vitality are their obvious defects. Fine form, graceful composition, and the feeling of a poetical mind, mingled with a taste for the picturesque, which, however chastened, still sometimes prevails too far for the simplicity essential to a high style of sculpture, are the characteristics of the works of Sir Richard Westmacott. His statue of Francis Duke of Bedford, in Russell Square, executed in 1809, was the first of the public memorials of its class erected during the present century, and exhibits both the merits and defects of the artist in a strong light. The composition is admirably grouped and balanced; the principal figure at once graceful and dignified; but the accessories are conceived in the spirit of a painter rather than a sculptor, and verge on the line where the characteristics of the two arts are in danger of being confounded. The figure of the 'Distressed Mother,' on the tomb of Mrs. Warren in Westminster Abbey, is open to a similar remark; and its pure nature and pathos only render more objectionable the stick, the bundle, and the mechanical treatment of the drapery. Westmacott was the first sculptor of this period to break through the trammels of allegory. The cenotaph to Sir Ralph Abercrombie in St. Paul's, representing the warrior falling from his horse into the arms of one of his brave Highlanders, is more simple and truthful in its *motive* than any other group of equal magnitude executed in England either before or since. In the monument to Lord Collingwood the recognised accessories are introduced, but disposed in a

Duke of Bedford's Statue, Russell Square.

manner equally original and effective. Among the other public works of Sir R. Westmacott may be mentioned the colossal equestrian statue of George III. at Windsor; the statue of Fox, in Bloomsbury Square; of Canning, in Palace Yard; and of the Duke of York, on the column in Carlton Gardens, —all of bronze. He was also employed in casting, from the antique, the colossal 'Achilles,' as it is called, in Hyde Park, which, as long as it records the victories of the Duke of Wellington, will no less commemorate the pedantry of those by whom its execution was dictated. The erection of a work so foreign to its ostensible purpose, forced upon an artist so capable of doing justice to the subject from his own resources, was owing to a remnant of the worn-out bigotry which had so long checked the progress of English art—that narrow and fastidious distrust of native talent which its possessors mistake for the discrimination of cultivated taste—and the blind preference for anything foreign, however *mediocre*, or anything antique, however inapplicable. When Canova, some years previously, had been solicited to execute a public statue for England, he nobly called the applicants to a sense of the high talent they might employ at home; and the statue of Pitt, in the senate-house at Cambridge, came in consequence from the hands of Nollekens. This lesson, if ever they heard of it, was lost upon the patrons of the 'Achilles,' although they so far had their misgivings upon the propriety of their design, that the sculptor narrowly escaped a commission to place the head of the Great Captain on the shoulders of the naked Greek! Such was the *select* taste of the end of the reign of George III., and such the history of a monument at which posterity will—

"Wonder how the devil it got there."

In accordance with the predilection, which has ever obtained in England, for the art of portrait, no artist of this period, with the exception of Lawrence, acquired the living pre-eminence of Sir Francis Chantrey. It was, however, the monument to the two children of the Rev. Wm. Robinson, in Lichfield cathedral, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1818, which confirmed his growing fame, and raised him to that high place in the public estimation, from which he never afterwards receded; but it is remarkable, that this work, upon which his reputation in the class of art to which it belongs was founded, is that upon which it still rests, standing nearly alone among the productions of his chisel, as the indication of a poetical feeling in the artist. It has, in fact, little claim to originality. The composition, it is well known, is due

to the elegant pencil of Stothard, and the Boothby monument by Banks has contributed both to the design and expression. The real strength of Chantrey lay in portrait, and especially male portrait—for he had little feeling for beauty—and in this branch of sculpture the decline of Nollekins opened to him a career in which none could pretend to rival him. To represent the living man without affectation and without disguise, to dignify the action and bearing, and to impress the mind upon the countenance—these powers, aided by a skill in execution, which invests the marble with the texture of flesh, constitute the excellence of Chantrey. He grappled fearlessly and successfully with the modern costume, and his least felicitous works are among those in which he has the most endeavoured to evade this formidable difficulty. Of the ideal and poetical Chantrey possessed but little, and he knew it, and eschewed them; and his works are few in any class in which these elements are called into requisition. Confining himself principally, therefore, to the limits within which he reigned paramount, his superiority was seldom to be questioned, and the *prestige* of uniform success was attended with an influence which rendered his works a standard for the judgment, and produced a marked revolution in the taste of the public in the art of sculpture. Our public memorials have long been confined to single statues, and the abuse, not to be denied, of the poetic license has been too severely corrected by its suppression.

SIR F. CHANTREY.

To attempt an enumeration even of the remarkable works of Chantrey would be in vain. The statues of Francis Horner and James Watt, both in Westminster Abbey, may be cited as among those which display in the highest degree the transcendant talent of the sculptor in his own department; but in the latter instance he has stultified his work by the unfavourable situation in which he has suffered it to be placed. Chantrey died in 1841.

Edward Hodges Baily and William Behnes had both founded their reputation within this period. The busts of the latter hold a high rank in art, and the former has added to those in the class of portrait many graceful and classical works of imagination. William Theed, who died in 1818, was an exquisite modeller in small. The state salt-cellars, at Windsor, may be cited among his numerous designs for gold and silver plate. We may conclude with the name of George Garrard, an artist of older reputation, as an admirable modeller of cattle.

The year 1818 is remarkable for the issue of an entirely new coinage, the first during the reign of George III., except the copper of 1797 and 1806, which is entitled to any notice as a work of art. Although some of the specimens of medalling produced on this occasion display considerable merit, it may be doubted whether the means were taken which might have rendered the work most creditable to the arts of the country, or whether the different qualifications which might have been brought to bear upon the design and execution were sufficiently considered. The whole conduct of the work was intrusted to the Italian medallist Pistrucci, an accomplished imitator of the antique, who was placed for that purpose at the head of the artistic department of the mint. Unfortunately his talent proved the weakest when the most was demanded of it, and some of the heads on this coinage, especially that on the crown piece, are not above mediocrity; but the reverses, both of the crown and the sovereign (the St. George) are designed and executed with great skill. It is to be regretted, nevertheless, that Flaxman should have been overlooked in a work of this national importance. His designs would have met with full justice in the hands of Thomas Wyon, who has been surpassed by no modern artist in the executive branch of medalling, and by whom the greater part of the silver of 1818 was in fact engraved after the models of Pistrucci.

The beginning of the nineteenth century adds many names of high repute to the list of English line-engravers, especially in "topographical art," a department which may be considered almost new in the wide diffusion and general excellence it then attained. The time had not yet arrived when it was necessary to substitute a manufacture for an art, in administering to the popular taste for cheap engraving; and it is among the periodical publications of this date that we may seek for some of the most beautiful specimens of the modern school. Among these, the series of illustrations of the English architecture of the middle ages, produced through the taste, enterprise, and industry, of the indefatigable John Britton, may be more particularly referred to, not only as the best of their class, but as having contributed in an eminent degree to fix that high standard of merit which is now demanded in works of this description. The 'Architectural' and 'Cathedral Antiquities,' the former commenced in 1807, and the latter in 1816, have displayed the talents of some of our most eminent

artists both as draughtsmen and engravers, and have originated, more or less directly, an innumerable race of publications, striving to emulate them. Many of the plates in the 'Architectural Antiquities,' and most of those in the early volumes of the 'Cathedrals,' are the productions of John and Henry Le Keux, who have no equals in this branch of engraving; and their works after the drawings of Mackenzie, in the volume on Salisbury, will probably never be surpassed. The engravings of John Le Keux are in a style of unrivalled brilliancy; and those of Henry display a superior neatness and finish, which is exhibited in great perfection in his plate of the interior of Norwich Cathedral. The Le Keux were pupils of Basire; and a comparison of the works of the master, who was an engraver of talent, with those of the scholars will indicate the general no less than the individual progress which had been made in works of this class. Robert Sands, Joseph Lambert (both also pupils of Basire), John Roffe, Thomas Ranson, and John Scott, are all to be distinguished in the same branch of engraving, and as having contributed many plates to the early volumes of the 'Cathedral Antiquities.' In the same department must be noticed William Woolnoth, author of a work on Canterbury cathedral; Joseph Skelton, well known for his 'Antiquities of Oxfordshire;' and James Storer and J. Greig, who produced, in conjunction with a numerous class of pupils, some of whom have at a later period risen into eminence, many topographical works on a smaller scale, the 'Cathedrals,' the 'Antiquarian Cabinet,' the 'Excursions,' &c. In the department of landscape, William and George Cooke introduced a new style, characterised by great brilliancy and freedom of handling. They are the authors of the 'Illustrations of the Thames,' the 'Southern Coast,' and other works displaying especial merit in the representation of sea and shipping. William and Edward Finden, John Byrne, and John Pye must also be noticed in the department of landscape. The latter engraved the large plate of Tivoli, after Turner, and many of the illustrations of Hakewill's 'Italy.' The Findens have also engraved in other branches with success; and the portrait of George IV. on the sofa, after Lawrence, is from the graver of William Finden.

In the class of history, portrait, and figure engraving in general, the high reputation of the English school during the latter part of the eighteenth century leaves little room for remark, further than to record the names of those artists who, in another generation, contributed to maintain it. Some of the best works of the most eminent engravers of the period, and of some who have been mentioned in a former Book, may be referred to in 'The British Gallery of Engraving,' a work designed to exhibit the best talent of the English school, published in 1809. Charles Heath, the son of James Heath, first established his reputation in this work by his 'Infant Hercules,' after Sir Joshua Reynolds. Ostade and Gerard Douw are well illustrated by John Taylor; Abraham Raimbach contributed the 'Holy Family,' after Lud. Caracci, and the 'Ugolino,' after Reynolds. This artist, remarkable for the richness and roundness of his style, is well known for his admirable engravings after Wilkie. The talent of William Skelton is shown in two heads from the Venetian school, and that of John Burnett by the 'Letter Writer,' after Metzu, and 'the Cat,' from Gerard Douw, both to be noticed even in the English school for their strong expression of colour. Burnett, however, was ambitious of the reputation of a painter, and engraved principally after his own pictures, in which he has taken Wilkie for his model. William Bromley engraved for the same work 'The Woman taken in Adultery,' after Rubens, and is the author of the tasteful series of illustrations of the terra cottas in the British Museum. To these names may be added those of E. Golding, who engraved the portrait of the Princess Charlotte, after Lawrence; C. Doo (portrait); J. C. Robinson, the engraver of 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' after Mulready; and Charles Warren, eminent in small book-plates. F. C. Lewis, originally an engraver in aquatint, distinguished himself by his close transcripts of Lawrence's masterly sketches in crayon. In mezzotint may be mentioned George Clint, who engraved Harlow's 'Trial of Queen Katharine;' his pupil Thomas Lupton, and Charles Turner. We may conclude with Henry Moses, distinguished for the clearness of his etchings in outline.

The present period exhibits great extremes of inferiority and excellence in two important departments of Music, and a stationary, if not a retrograding, condition in other branches. That selfishness of deans and chapters before alluded to,* which prompted them to appropriate nearly the whole of the funds of their respective churches to themselves, leaving their working members, namely, the subordinate clergy, the organists, and the lay-clerks, in a state of comparative poverty, continued unabated till long after the time which brings our history to a close. It is true that in two out of the three metropolitan choirs—the Chapel Royal and Westminster Abbey—the names of Bartleman, W. Knyvett, Vaughan, and Sale appeared, but they attended only occasionally, were unsupported when present, and seemed as lights to show the dreariness that surrounded them.† The performance of sacred music continued to be encouraged in the provinces. The "Meetings" at Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford were most laudably kept up, but with varying

* See ante, vol. ii. p. 754.

† In justice, however, to those who have had the government of our choirs at a later period, it is right to say that a great improvement has now taken place. St. George's Chapel, Windsor, led the way about a dozen years ago; Exeter and Canterbury followed; and Westminster Abbey has become a model which ought to be imitated in all British cathedrals where there is a wish to attract congregations, and to give due effect to that admirable music composed for them, and which can only in such structures be heard to full advantage. The choir service is now (1844) spreading widely over the kingdom, and its beneficial results are generally felt and acknowledged.

success; and the triennial "Festival" at Birmingham never failed to add largely to the funds of the great hospital of that important town. The Oratorios, as they still were called, were carried on at one or other of the winter theatres, and sometimes at both, but had degenerated into concerts of a hybrid kind, in which was intermixed a large proportion of what at that time pleased the multitude, and drove away all who had any pretensions to musical taste. Now and then, however, a better spirit shed its influence over the managers, and to one of them* we are indebted for the first performance in this country of the 'Messiah,' with Mozart's modest but exquisite additional accompaniments, and for Beethoven's greatest vocal work, 'The Mount of Olives.'

The noble directors of the Ancient Concerts did not relax in their efforts to uphold the dignity and promote the usefulness of the institution. The royal family never failed to attend, so long as the mental health of the king, a great lover of Handel's music, permitted. But, though the prince regent —who could not endure the restraint imposed on him by an appearance in public—never honoured these performances by his presence, they were not the less attended by the higher orders, and continued, as it is to be hoped they will long remain, the bulwark against the attacks of capricious fashion. The Vocal Concerts went on, supported by the admirers of glees, and of the lighter kind of vocal music. The managers, however, after a time split into two parties, and commenced a public competition. But the unprofitableness of this soon became apparent; the rivals† entered into a coalition, and carried on the performances to the end of the season of 1815, when they altogether ceased. The public had begun to manifest symptoms of weariness at the sameness which they had long only tolerated; but the Vocal Concerts received their death-wound from a new institution which suddenly rose up, and as suddenly commanded the support of nearly all the real connoisseurs that the metropolis contained.

This institution, which speedily was, by universal consent, ranked as the first in Europe, and soon became the parent of many concerts established not only in England but in several of the continental cities, assumed the appellation of 'The Philharmonic Society.' Its primary aim was to revive a taste for instrumental music of a high order, which, on the cessation of Salomon's concerts, had fallen into neglect, and to make known to this country, and render generally appreciable, those grand orchestral works of the great masters which had either never been heard in London or so performed as to be scarcely intelligible. The society was formed in the early part of the year 1813, and consisted of thirty of the principal members of the musical profession, who "not only agreed to give the gratuitous aid of their united services, but entered into a subscription to meet the incidental expenses."* The first concert took place on the 8th of March, 1813, and produced a sensation that had never been equalled since the Commemoration of Handel in 1784.† The concerts were held at the old Argyll Rooms; and, when, on the formation of Regent-street, these rooms were rebuilt on a large scale and in a splendid manner, the performances were continued there, the band was augmented, and the number of auditors was doubled.‡ During a period of more than twenty years a subscription ticket of admittance was not obtained but with great difficulty, and the most celebrated performers, from every part of the world, were emulous of exhibiting their talents at a concert which conferred a reputation on all who were heard at it. In its third year a schism threatened the permanence of the society, and an opposition was, for a single season—that of 1816—attempted, under the revived name of 'The Professional Concert;' but it was vigorously resisted, and the few seceders from the parent society were glad to be received again into its bosom.§

During the eighteen years over which the present portion of our history spreads, the Italian Opera exhibited those fluctuations common to this theatre, which partly are attributable to the inconstancy of fashion, but far more to the ability or the unskilfulness of its managers. Mad. Banti, a grand singer, though an indifferent musician, kept possession of the stage till the close of the season of 1802. In her last year she was joined by Mrs. Billington, whose powers of execution and refined taste have never been surpassed. In 1804 Mad. Grassini was added to the company. Her voice was a rich contr'alto, her figure and action were noble, and her pathos was deeply affecting. Such a pair, aided by Braham, Viganoni, and Rovedino, enabled the manager to produce, in the most efficient manner and under the composer's direction, Winter's charming operas, *Proserpina*, *Calypso*, and *Zaira;* as also Cimarosa's *Orazi e Curiazi*, and the *Tito* of Mozart, whose name now for the first time appeared at the king's theatre, an introduction for which the subscribers were indebted to Mrs. Billington, a thoroughly educated musician, who produced that fine opera for her benefit in 1806. But the public were not yet pre-

* Sir George Smart.

† Messrs. Harrison, Bartleman, Greatorex, and three Knyvetts.—See ante, vol. iii. p. 753.

* Harmonicon, xi. 4.—"The direction of the concert for the first season was confided to Messrs. Ayrton, Bishop, Clementi, Corri, J. B. Cramer, F. Cramer, and Dance. Virtuosi who could elsewhere appear only as leaders here took in their turns the subordinate stations; and such masters of their art as Salomon, Viotti, F. Cramer, Shield, Spagnoletti, Vaccari, Yaniewicz, &c., were seen vying with each other which should contribute most to the general effect of the performances."—*Ibid.*

† See Morning Chronicle March 10, 1813.

‡ The original Argyll Rooms, constructed by Colonel Greville for the Pic-Nic Society, accommodated about 400 persons. They were rebuilt in 1820, under the direction of Mr. Nash, by a company of twenty professors of music, at an enormous expense, and were in an unaccountable manner destroyed by fire in 1830. The Philharmonic Society then removed to the great room in the King's Theatre, and afterwards to the Hanover Square Rooms, where its performances are still carried on (1844).

§ This dissension was fomented by a most unworthy member, who shortly after was obliged to abscond to America. His confederate in the business (not a member) decamped, a few years later, to Paris, having betrayed the trust reposed in him as a public officer, and there died.

pared for a work of so high an order; and the Italians have ever abhorred music that cost them some trouble to learn: it was, therefore, altered to meet the general wish, as well as to adapt it to the means which the orchestra then afforded; and, after all, it yielded in attraction to a *pasticcio, Il Fanatico per la Musica,* in which the *buffo,* Naldi, made his *début.* The season 1806-1807 was remarkable for the first appearance of Madame Catalani, a singer who, "take her for all in all," says an experienced critic, "her perfections and errors weighed against each other, has had no equal in our time. . . . . Into whatever she did she threw her whole soul; imparted her emotions to the breasts of her hearers, and carried them away, willing and delighted captives to her enchantments."* Her demands at length became so startling, and her conditions so despotic, that the manager resolved, in the seasons of 1809 and 1810, to decline her services; but he had cause to regret his temerity, and, during three more years, the "admired of all" reigned triumphant. In 1811 Mozart's *Cosi fan tutte* and *Zauberflöte* were heard for the first time on this stage; but, though both were given under many disadvantages, the latter particularly, yet no blunders in the getting-up, no imperfections in the singers, could so disguise such works as to conceal charms that threw all other composers into the shade. In 1812 the *Nozze di Figaro* of the same master was brought out, Catalani as *Susanna,* who now also took the part of *Vitellia,* in *Tito,* and with her accustomed success; though both operas suffered severely by her arbitrary mode of treating them. This extraordinary *artiste* retiring at the close of the season of 1813, the theatre lost its chief attraction, and the three following years proved blanks, so far as relates to music; and the two last very materially damaged the new *entrepreneur* (a man wholly unqualified for the task), both in purse and reputation. In preparing, therefore, for the season of 1817, he called to his assistance a gentleman† who had bestowed much of his attention on the Italian opera, and the affairs of the king's theatre. Under the title of "Director," he undertook the management of the opera for the season of 1817, and, collecting abroad a company which, as a whole, had never before been equalled in this country,‡ was successful in retrieving both the pecuniary affairs and the character of the theatre. The great feature of the season, and the triumph of the Italian opera, was Mozart's *Don Giovanni,* a work which, from the complexity of some of its parts, and the difficulty of the whole, had baffled all attempts—except when given at Prague, under the composer's superintendence—to perform it as originally written. An intrigue was got up to prevent the production of this *chef-d'œuvre,* and the director had to encounter many harassing impediments; but, determined to attain his object, and aided by the zealous co-operation of nearly all the performers, he overcame every difficulty, and accomplished his design.* Besides this immortal work, three other operas by the same master were given in their perfect state; and *Agnese,* Paer's masterpiece, was produced for the first time in England.† The following three years witnessed an attempt to go on without the assistance of a director; and, though two of Rossini's best operas were given, and were not only novelties, but valuable ones, the general management was so unsatisfactory that the subscribers became discontented, and, at a public meeting convened for the purpose, remonstrated; many withdrew: each season proved worse than the preceding one; that of 1820 terminated abruptly; and the unfortunate proprietor retired to the Continent, whence he never returned.‡

Drury-lane did not, during the whole of this period, produce one entire musical work capable of sustaining a permanent reputation; though several pieces in Mr. Braham's operas will, in a detached form, long retain a portion of that popularity which they at first enjoyed, and which has rarely been equalled.§ Very different was the fate of Covent-garden, in which Mr. Bishop's talent was chiefly exhibited, and where he continued to display his abilities till far beyond the close of the period under review. Of his numerous operas there is scarcely one that does not contain compositions which will transmit his name to posterity. The Lyceum theatre, in the Strand, was licensed in 1809 for the exclusive performance of English operas during the summer season. The attempt of the proprietor, Mr. Arnold, was highly laudable, but only negatively successful. The theatre was rebuilt, in a very commodious handsome manner, in 1816, and its proposed object pursued for a time with more activity and consistency than profit.‖

The two clubs established for the encouragement of our truly national harmony, the English glee, continued in full activity; but except some very fine additions to their stock, contributed by Mr. Horsley, and a few by Mr. Attwood and Mr. Bishop, the catalogue of these social and delightful compositions was not swelled out to any extent worth mentioning.

* Harmonicon, vol. viii. p. 72.

† Mr. Ayrton.

‡ Mesdames Fodor, Camporese, and Pasta; Signors Crivelli (the elder), Naldi, Ambrogetti, and Augrisani. Mr. Weichsel was restored as leader of the band, and Signor Liverati was conductor.

* The most efficient of the performers on this occasion was Signor Ambrogetti, who, as an actor, was allowed to be the greatest ornament that the Italian stage ever had boasted.

† This work promised a most successful career; but the principal character, *Uberto,* a maniac, created such painful associations in more than one royal breast, and in the minds of many attached friends of the suffering monarch, that it was after a few representations withdrawn. The acting of Signor Ambrogetti in this, as the distracted father, was declared by Mrs. Siddons to be the perfection of the histrionic art.

‡ It is calculated that the law expenses of the King's Theatre had amounted, in 1840, to more than twice the value of the estate!—nevertheless, though fortunes have been lost in that house, it has enriched the few who knew how to manage it.

§ Drury-lane theatre was burnt down in February, 1809, and was rebuilt and opened in 1812, under the management of Mr. Arnold. Covent-garden had met the same fate in September, 1808. It was rebuilt and opened in 1810.

‖ In 1830 this elegant theatre was destroyed by fire. The present handsome structure was erected and opened in 1834.

# CHAPTER VI.

## THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

HE period at which our history has now arrived is so recent — its habits and modes of thought differ by such fine and scarcely perceptible shades from our own — that the subject of manners may be handled with more breadth and generality than was possible on former occasions. It was then necessary to dwell upon many minutiæ, in order to transport the imagination of the reader back to the times described, and call up their bodily presence before him. Now we may assume that the more prominent characteristics of the manners of the regency are so much the same with those which still prevail as to render such preparation unnecessary.

Perhaps the most striking change in the social tone of Great Britain in progress during the period which elapsed from the peace of Amiens to the death of George III. was the result of the renewed intercourse with the Continent. At the commencement of the century there was an almost complete cessation of intercourse between the general publics of Great Britain and the Continental states. This state of affairs continued, and was indeed aggravated, during the empire of Napoleon. The consequence was that the self-admiration, the defiance and contempt of all foreign modes and opinions, which has always been a characteristic of John Bull, was probably carried to a greater excess at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries than at any former period. It was not so boobyish and unintellectual a self-worship as is portrayed in the country squires of Fielding and Smollett; it had been polished by the minor morals of Addison and Chesterfield; but it was quite as intense. This narrow-minded spirit first began to give way during the Peninsular campaigns of the Duke of Wellington. Curious civilians occasionally ventured to follow in the rear of the army; and there was always a floating balance of Peninsular officers, dispatched on business or invalided, passing between Spain and England. By such agencies the sympathies of England and the southern continent were in a manner re-knit. As Russia, Germany, and Sweden successively fell off from the French alliance or subjection, a wider and wider field opened to tourists; and the renewed opportunities of travelling were embraced with an eagerness the natural consequence of long privation. After the first abdication of Napoleon, and still more after the battle of Waterloo, the fashion of travelling became a positive epidemic, and all classes of English above the mere mechanic precipitated themselves in crowds upon the Continent. The vacillating value of property, occasioned by the revulsion from war to peace and other causes, increased the disposition to visit the Continent; but this cause only came into operation at a later period. Even whilst the English public continued to be excluded from the Continent, agencies were at work preparing public opinion to facilitate the approximation of the tastes and customs of England to those of the Continent. The labours of William Taylor of Norwich, the Nestor of the students of German literature in this country, had formed a body in the reading public who looked to Germany as a sort of promised land. Frere and others had done the same for Spain and Italy. The taste for French literature, and a traditional admiration of the brilliant society of Paris, had not become entirely obsolete. The sturdy anti-continental spirit thawed more easily than could have been anticipated. Perhaps its very exaggeration, if rightly interpreted, might have presaged this result.

The less favourable phases of this change in public feeling were, as usual, most commented upon. The silly affectation of foreign modes merely because they were foreign—the awkwardness and ungainliness of the imitators—the disposition to adopt some of the worst laxities of the conventional code of morals of the Continent—were denounced by satirists. But, though examples of such foolish aping of novelties undoubtedly abounded, they were proportionally less than in former times. The tremendous struggle through which Great Britain had passed, as remarked in the chapter on manners of the preceding period, had braced the national mind—had communicated to it an elevated and manly tone, which was not relaxed in peace. The principal difference which is to be detected, in looking dispassionately back at this distance of time upon the manners of England in 1800 and in 1820, consists in a relaxation of the formality of social intercourse, and in a growing relish for the more intellectual pleasures. This latter charac-

teristic had been gradually developing itself for some time previously; but undoubtedly the emulation awakened by more unreserved intercourse with Germany and France accelerated its growth.

The tone which society caught from court circles at this time was of a more dubious character. There is frequently a spirit of antagonism between parent and child even in domestic life. Parents who are strict disciplinarians, both towards themselves and their families, are apt to increase the appetite for pleasure in their children, instead of subduing it. On the contrary, the example of lax parents has sometimes acted as a warning, and inspired a high and resolute spirit of self-control into their children. This antagonism was strongly marked in the case of the sons of George III. The eagerness with which they gave the reins to self-indulgence contrasted startlingly with the citizen-like decorum of the old king; and, as none of them, any more than their father, were endowed with very vigorous or comprehensive minds, or a decided taste for the elevated pursuits of imagination or intellect, their indulgences were in most cases as gross as they were unbridled. They were predisposed to contract intimacies with the relics of the gross sensualists of a former age, banished from the court while George III. was in his vigour, and, in the eclipse of court favour or tolerance, gradually dying out. For a time, when the king was withdrawn from the gaze of his subjects, England seemed threatened with the recurrence of a dissolute era. But the pride of the regent, which made him withdraw within the decorums of his station whenever his boon companions pushed their familiarity too far, and still more his shattered nerves, which imposed a check upon his pleasures, diminished the danger. In justice to the age, too, it must be remarked that the earnest character communicated to all classes by the struggle against a banded world, the ascendancy which the religious portion of society had obtained over the public mind, and the growing taste for promoting education and taking an interest in public discussions and philanthropic exertions, might have bidden defiance to the example even of a gay and licentious court. If future ages were to take their ideas of the standard of manners and morals under the regency from Moore or Byron, they would err widely. The pen of the former was impelled by personal animosity, and the diatribes of the latter have all the exaggeration of a man, the day after a debauch, railing against his own folly, and attributing it to all the world besides.

The diversity of manners, which has been noted in former periods as distinguishing different parts of the empire and different classes of society, was much diminished at the time now under review. The legislative union of Ireland with Great Britain brought the wealthier Irish families more frequently in contact with those of England, assimilating their opinions and manners. The number of Irish officers, too, who distinguished themselves during the war, and their familiar intercourse with their English and Scotch comrades in arms, tended to break down the barriers of national peculiarities. In Ireland, however, the assimilation of manners between the different classes of society not only did not advance so rapidly as in other parts of the empire, but, on the contrary, would almost appear to have retrograded. The flocking of the wealthier families to England, by diminishing the frequency of their intercourse with the middle classes and the peasantry, prevented their Anglicised tone from spreading through society. The progress of the struggle for Catholic emancipation kept alive and strengthened an anti-English spirit in the mass of the resident population. And the establishment of Maynooth—intended to prevent the growth of an alien priesthood, a priesthood trained in foreign manners and interests, but creating a yet more dangerous provincial priesthood, "more Catholic than the pope"—supplied the class of society destined to take the place of the absentee land-owners and moneyed aristocracy of Ireland, and preserve a tone of feeling and manners in that quarter of the empire harshly contrasting with what prevailed elsewhere. In England and Scotland, however, the obliteration of provincial and class peculiarities proceeded rapidly under the equalising influence of education. Except in the Celtic districts of Wales and Scotland, few ancient peculiarities of any moment retained their ground; and every year witnessed the circle inhabited by the English-speaking race widening and encroaching on the domains of those who clung to the aboriginal language.

In trying to form an estimate of the general manners of a nation, it is necessary to concentrate attention on the idea of what is proper and becoming which has been adopted as a standard by the nation, rather than upon the degree to which it is realised either by individuals or circles of society. The economical circumstances, the education, the professional pursuits, the natural dispositions of individuals, occasion an unlimited variety of characteristic peculiarities; but the *idea* which has taken hold of the national mind, which is recognised as the test of elegance in deportment and conduct — *that* influences all in some degree or other, and is the source of the similarity which constitutes national character. The dominating idea which gives form and bearing to the manners of Great Britain is English: before it all provincial peculiarities are giving way; to it Scotch and Irish manners are conforming. It is the mould in which all are cast, though its impress is less distinct and sharp, in many cases, from the unfavourable nature of the materials, or of the circumstances under which they have been passed through it. An Englishman's *ideal* of manners is not unaptly typified by his *ideal* of dress and equipage. There is in his choice of all three a shunning of the gaudy, or anything that appears to approach to it, which amounts even to affectation. There is combined with this an intense anxiety that the quality of the article should be excellent, and its finish, with all the plainness of

its form, exquisite. The English gentleman, if addicted to show, lavishes it not on his own person, but on his domestics; and even with regard to them he wishes their appearance to be rich rather than gaudy. His plain carriage must be as neat as tools and varnish can make it, and as commodious; his horses must strike by their blood and high keeping; the harness must be such as to pass unnoticed. And the standard of taste to which the deportment of the English gentleman must conform is strictly analogous. His amusements are manly, with a strong dash of the useful; his taste is, to make himself comfortable. He is a hunter, a votary of the turf, a cricketer, a yachter, and, in all of these pursuits he prides himself upon being a master of the mechanical details. He is fond of farming, or of reading, or of taking a part in public business. But these serious pursuits he affects to treat as amusements; even though an enthusiast in them, he must talk lightly of them. On the other hand, he must affect a passionate interest in the pleasures of the table and similar trifles. He will be pardoned, too, for being passionately attached to them, so long as they do not render him effeminate, so long as he combines with them a relish for manly sports. The English gentleman is hardy, endowed with a healthy relish for pleasure, and has a high sense of honour. This ideal of the high-bred gentleman communicates its sentiment to the whole of society. Even the ladies catch something of its self-dependent, elastic tone, without diminution of or injury to their perfectly feminine graces. This model is emulated throughout society, in sufficiently gross and awkward caricatures sometimes, but still so that lineaments of what is imitated can be detected. Even the ruffianry of the ring, to which a paradox of Wyndham's lent a short lease of prolonged existence, was obliged to affect something of this character. The nuisance of Tom and Jerryism could not have gained even its ephemeral popularity but for this reason. That England at the close of the reign of George III. had much to learn in the philosophy of social intercourse—that it has still much to learn—cannot be denied; but its social habits and modes of thought are immeasurably superior to what they were at the first dawn of our history, and may challenge comparison with those of any other nation in Europe. They are a source of justifiable pride, and of good augury for the future.

Our notice of the fashions in dress which obtained during this last period must necessarily be brief, as well as uninteresting to the present generation. The French Revolution having introduced round hats, pantaloons, &c., and wigs and powder having been discarded by the beaux of the nineteenth century, the only great innovation was the introduction of frock-coats with loose trowsers and short boots worn underneath them; and, when we record such appellations as Wellingtons, Cossacks, and Bluchers, we need scarcely point to the date at which they were adopted. Black handkerchiefs and trowsers for evening dress had not become fashionable in 1820.

With respect to the ladies, their fashions have been more mutable: the most striking and the most hideous, however, being the rage for shortening the waist. The bonnet, that last and most enduring novelty in female costume, introduced towards the middle of the last century, underwent almost annual alterations in form; now extravagantly large, now absurdly small, at one time rivalling the most gigantic coal-scuttle (the Oldenburgh to wit), and at another scarcely shading the fair brows of the capricious wearers; now laden with ribbons or flowers, curtained with lace, or overshadowed by plumage, and the next month, perchance, denuded of almost every ornament: but we must beg to refer our fair readers to the few specimens we can afford to give of the most remarkable of these yet unforgotten "thick-coming fancies."

In the army, the principal alterations were the abolition of hair-powder, pomatum, and pigtails (1808), of the cocked-hats (1812), and the reintroduction of "breast and back plates" for the Life-guards and Royal Horse-guards (blue) after the battle of Waterloo. The other changes which ultimately produced the present uniforms took place at various periods since the year 1820, at which our work terminates.

The furniture of the reign of George III. presents us with no important addition to the list of articles which had been gradually increasing from the time of the Conquest. But in form and material considerable changes took place, and the influence of the French Revolution affected in a remarkable degree the productions of our cabinet-makers and upholsterers. In Paris, the man whose hair was dressed à la Brutus could not condescend to be seated in anything less Roman than a curule chair, and the lady who had adopted an Athenian costume must needs recline on a Grecian couch, the coverings of which were ornamented with honeysuckle or key borders. The fauteuil and the sofa à la duchesse were abolished with the chapeau à cornes and the perruque aux ailes de pigeon. Everything was to be strictly classical, and the substantial, gorgeous, and comfortable furniture of the ancien régime was supplanted by imitations of Greek and Roman models, in which, as in imitations in general, the defects of the originals were more closely copied than the beauties. Occasionally a successful attempt was to be seen, and window and bed curtains, supported by gilt lances or the Roman fasces, were tastefully arranged, and produced a good effect; but to any eye accustomed to the richness and solidity of the furniture of the eighteenth century, the general aspect was cold and meagre. It looked like what it was—a mere affectation,—and not like a style revived upon sound principles, or one that had been gradually developed by the progress of taste and art, and which might itself in after-times form a model for imitation. In England matters were worse; for, as usual, instead of resorting to original authorities, the

French copies were re-copied, our workmen being also at that time notoriously inferior in point of taste to their Gallic brethren. About the commencement of the nineteenth century a rival material jostled the lately admired mahogany completely out of our English drawing-rooms. Chairs, tables, sofas, piano-fortes,* commodes,—all were to be of rosewood; and mahogany was voted vulgar, except for the dining-parlour or the bed-chamber. In France this distinction does not appear to have been introduced, and, therefore, *mirabile dictu*, it must have been a fashion *invented* in England, and we can only account for such a curiosity by her isolated position during the long struggle against Napoleon, which threw her completely on her own resources, and produced, amongst other monstrosities, the long-waisted spencers and little straw bonnets immortalised by Brunet and Vernet in "Les Anglaises pour rire." The same period has to answer for the introduction of slender-legged scroll-backed chairs, with cane bottoms, *fitted*, as we will for courtesy's sake term it, with thin cushions covered with cloth, merino, or calico, and tied to the seat by tapes passing round the slender legs aforesaid. Also for stuffed horse-hair sofas, with scroll ends and hard round bolsters, and chairs to match, bound with brass mouldings or fillets, specimens of which are still to be found in second rate lodging-houses and commercial hotels. If to these we add Pembroke tables, register stoves, Argand lamps, the modern-shaped sideboard with its cellaret or sarcophagus, some varieties in the way of ladies' work-tables, canterburies, what-nots, Venetian and spring blinds, muslin curtains, &c., we shall complete, we believe, the list of articles, useful and ornamental, which were generally to be seen in "genteelly furnished apartments" during the latter years of the reign of George III. Thanks to the throwing open of the Continent, taste and art have lately made rapid strides in England. Another "renaissance" has occurred, and elegance and comfort were perhaps never more happily blended than they may be seen at present in the mansion of almost every English gentleman.

* The piano-forte, though a musical instrument, has surely a right to take rank as a piece of furniture, considering how prominent a feature it has lately become in almost every drawing-room. Indeed, we ought to have mentioned its venerable predecessors, the harpsichord and the spinet, in their proper places, and beg to apologise for the omission.

## FASHIONS, AND MILITARY COSTUME. 1800—1820.

1800.

1801.

1802.

1803.

1805.

1804.

1806.

1806.

1806.

1808.

1809.

1809.

1810.

1810.

1812.

1814.

1816.

1816.

1817.

1818.

1st Life Guards, 1815.

10th Royal Hussars, 1815.

14th Light Dragoons, 1815.

1st Grenadier Guards, 1815.

1st Foot Guards, 1815.

42nd Royal Highlanders, 1815.

Royal Marines, 1815.

# CHAPTER VII.

## HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

IN the period of about eighteen years that elapsed between the peace of Amiens (27 March, 1802) and the end of the reign of George III. (29 January, 1820), there occurred at least three seasons of great suffering among the working classes; namely, the years 1811-12, 1816-17, and 1819. The year 1812 was distinguished by the outrages of the Luddites, or destroyers of machinery, which began at Nottingham in November, 1811, and, extending through Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, and Yorkshire, were continued throughout the following spring and summer. A scarcity of employment, and consequent fall of wages, erroneously attributed to machinery, but really the consequence of the commercial stagnation and discredit of the two preceding years,* conspiring with an extraordinary rise in the price of food,† produced the general distress among the manufacturing population of which these disturbances were the symptom or natural expression. Again, in 1816, similar causes, which this time, however, involved the agricultural as well as the manufacturing and commercial classes,‡ inflicting the severest privations upon the working people in almost all parts of the kingdom, gave rise to the spread of Hampden and Union clubs, Spencean societies, and other revolutionary combinations throughout Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Lanarkshire, and at last, in December, resulted in the great riots at Spafields, London, and other excesses, which were followed in the beginning of the next year by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and other measures of coercion. Lastly, in 1819, another season of manufacturing and commercial depression, occasioned by extensive failures among the importers of cotton and other speculators in foreign trade,§ by throwing great numbers of workmen out of employment, although unaccompanied by any rise in the prices of the necessaries of life, but rather the contrary, produced similar effects, the wide-spread cry for radical reform, the tumultuous meetings at Manchester and elsewhere, the suppression of disorder by military force, and the famous Six Acts. In reviewing the economical history of the period, these three portions of it may therefore be considered as of a distinct and exceptional character.

Of the general movement of the circumstances affecting the condition of the great body of the people throughout the rest of the period, the subjoined notices will afford us the clearest views:—

1. WAGES.—It was stated in the last Book that an advance of wages took place in most departments of industry in 1795 and 1796, and a further advance in 1800 and 1801.* A third movement in the same direction began in 1804, and continued to the close of 1808, by which time, according to Mr. Tooke, the price of labour, more especially of artizan labour, had attained nearly its maximum height,† though in some occupations this had scarcely happened till about 1812:‡ indeed, the most considerable rise in the wages of manufacturing industry did not take place till 1813 and 1814.§ According to the Greenwich Hospital accounts of the weekly wages of the various descriptions of operatives employed by that establishment, those paid to carpenters were 18*s.* in 1800, 27*s.* in 1805, 34*s.* in 1810, 33*s.* in 1815, 31*s.* in 1816, 31*s.* 6*d.* in 1819; those of bricklayers were also 18*s.* in 1800, and rose to 29*s.* in 1805, to 31*s.* in 1810, and to 32*s.* 6*d.* in 1811, and were still 30*s.* 6*d.* in 1819; those of masons were 17*s.* in 1800, 30*s.* in 1805, 34*s.* 6*d.* in 1811, and 31*s.* 6*d.* from 1816 to 1820; those of plumbers were 19*s.* 6*d.* in 1800, 27*s.* in 1805, 34*s.* 6*d.* in 1810, and were still the same in 1819, having only in 1816 fallen to 32*s.* 6*d.* These are almost the only departments of labour in which we have any complete account of the progress or fluctuation of wages during this period, if we except that of hand-loom weaving, where of course the competition of machinery had a decidedly depressing effect, reducing the weekly amount of wages at Glasgow, for example, from 13*s.* 1*d.* in 1800, and 17*s.* 8*d.* in 1806, to 7*s.* 6*d.* in 1811, and then, after an advance which reached the height of 13*s.* in 1814, to 5*s.* 6*d.* in 1816, and to 5*s.* in 1819.‖ With this

* See ante, pp. 660-664.
† See ante, p. 664.
‡ See ante, p. 668.
§ See ante, p. 670.

* See ante, vol. iii. pp. 769, 770.
† Hist. of Prices, i. 288.
‡ Id. p. 329.
§ Id. vol. ii. pp. 5, 6.
‖ See Table of the weekly wages of artizans, &c., in Mr. Porter' Progress of the Nation, vol. ii. pp. 251-254. It is somewhat remark

exception, the rise of wages, and the same thing is true of salaries and professional fees, generally maintained throughout the remainder of the period, and indeed has done so ever since, very nearly the maximum which it had reached about 1810 or 1812. We have already had occasion to notice this tendency of a rise of wages to maintain itself after the partial or entire removal of the cause by which it had been originally produced.*

2. Prices.—The main, if not the exclusive, cause, undoubtedly, of the advance of wages which took place in all departments of industry, where it was not counteracted by peculiar circumstances, between 1794 and 1814, was the still greater rise which took place in the same period in the prices of provisions and of the necessaries of life. The mean price for the year of the Winchester quarter of wheat, which (according to the audit books of Eton College) was only 54*s.* in 1794, and had very seldom before been higher or so high, was 81*s.* 6*d.* in 1795, 127*s.* in 1800, 88*s.* in 1805, 106*s.* in 1809, 112*s.* in 1810, 118*s.* in 1812, 120*s.* in 1813, 116*s.* in 1817, and 78*s.* in 1819; ever since which time prices have been confined within a much lower range. Generally, therefore, it may be said that both prices and wages (which are the price of labour) continued to rise down to 1814, but prices at a greater rate than wages; and that during the remainder of the period wages maintained the elevation they had gained, while prices rather receded than advanced; so that, on the whole, the relation of wages to the prices of food was probably restored by 1820 to nearly what it had been in 1793.

3. Consumption.—The fullest accounts that have been laid before the public of the consumption of various articles of necessity and luxury by the inhabitants of the United Kingdom during the period now under consideration are those collected by Mr. Porter in his valuable work entitled 'The Progress of the Nation.'† The following are some of the most important results which Mr. Porter's statements and calculations present. The average number of inhabitants to a house in England appears to have increased from 5·67 in 1801 to 5·68 in 1811, and to 5·76 in 1821. The total number of male domestic servants kept in Great Britain was 86,093 in 1812, and only 85,757 in 1821 (when, if it had kept pace with the increase of the population, it ought to have been 96,966): there was a very slight increase in the number kept by persons keeping only one or two, but a diminution in the numbers of those belonging to all larger establishments. The increase in the number of four-wheeled carriages between 1812 and 1821, was only from 16,596 to 17,555, or 5·77 per cent.; while the increase of the population was 13 per cent.; and here, too, there was an actual falling off in the number of those kept where more than two were kept. The number of two-wheeled carriages, however, increased from 27,286 in 1812 to 30,743 in 1821, being at the rate of 12·67 per cent., or very nearly that of the increase of the population. The number of carriages let for hire, on the other hand, was reduced from 5544 to 5480. The quantity of gold plate upon which duty was paid was 5174 ozs. in 1801, 6036 ozs. in 1808, and rose to 7333 ozs. in 1811; after which it declined somewhat gradually and irregularly to 6166 ozs. in 1817, and then suddenly to 3826 ozs. in 1818, to 3374 ozs. in 1819, to 4430 ozs. in 1820, and to 2916 ozs. in 1821. The quantity of silver plate was 760,261 ozs. in 1801, 1,009,899 ozs. in 1808, 1,254,128 ozs. in 1811; from which quantity it declined to 824,860 ozs. in 1817, but rose again to 1,194,709 ozs. in 1819, and to 1,113,597 ozs. in 1820. The quantity of sugar consumed by each individual in Great Britain is calculated by Mr. Porter to have been 30 lbs. 9¾ ozs. in 1801, and to have fallen to 29 lbs. 4½ ozs., or, deducting what was employed in the distilleries, to 24 lbs. 9 ozs. in 1811, and to 19 lbs. 3¾ ozs. in 1821. In Ireland the consumption of each individual appears to have been 6 lbs. 3 ozs. on the average of the three years ending 25th of March, 1800; 7 lbs. 14½ ozs. on the average of the three years ending 5th January, 1810; and 6 lbs 4½ ozs. in 1821.* The average consumption of coffee in Great Britain was at the rate of 1·09 oz. for each individual in 1801, when the duty was 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.; of 8·12 ozs. in 1811, when the duty was reduced to 7*d.*; and of 8·01 ozs. in 1821, when the duty had been again raised to 1*s.* Of tea the average consumption of each individual in the United Kingdom appears to have been 1 lb. 3·75 ozs. in 1801, when the duty was 20 per cent. on cheap, and 50 per cent. on high-priced teas; and to have fallen to 1 lb. 1·10 oz. in 1811, when the duty was 96 per cent. on the value; and to 1 lb. 0·52 oz. in 1821, under an *ad valorem* duty of 100 per cent. upon the higher priced sorts. Of malt, the quantity consumed by each individual in the United Kingdom rose from 1·20 bushels in 1801 to 1·60 in 1811, and fell, notwithstanding a diminution of the duty, to 1·38 bushels in 1821: in England, where the consumption has always been much more considerable than in Scotland or Ireland, it rose, in the face of nearly a quadrupling of the duty, from 1·92 bushels in 1801 to 2·40 bushels in 1811, and fell, notwithstanding a diminution of the duty by nearly one-fourth, to 2·12 bushels in 1821. The contribution, per head, to the revenue by the consumers of malt in England appears in fact to have been 2*s.* 7*d.* in 1801, 10*s.* 9*d.* in 1811, and 7*s.* 8*d.* in 1821. The consumption of spirits did not fall off to the same extent: it was, in the United Kingdom, at the rate of 0·56 gallon for each individual in 1802, 0·49 in 1812, and 0·46 in 1821; in England it was 0·46 gallon in 1802, 0·33 in 1812, and the same in 1821; in Scotland

able, however, that, while the wages of hand-loom weavers according to this table were in 1816 only 5*s.* 6*d.* at Glasgow, they were 13*s.* 2*d.* at Manchester, and 12*s.* at Arbroath. In 1819 they are represented as being still 9*s.* 6*d.* at Manchester, and 12*s.* at Arbroath, while they were only 5*s.* at Glasgow.

* See ante, vol. iii. p. 770.

† Vol. iii. Lon. 1843; sect. v. pp. 1-116.

* Progress of the Nation, iii. 32.

it was 0·71 gallons in 1802, 0·86 in 1812, and 1·14 in 1821; in Ireland it was 0·86 gallons in 1802, 0·66 in 1812, and 0·48 in 1821. Both in Scotland and Ireland, moreover, especially in the latter, there was no doubt a large additional consumption of illicit spirits. Of rum the average consumption of each individual was in England 0·23 gallons in 1802, 0·29 in 1812, notwithstanding an increase of 50 per cent. on the duty, and only 0·17 in 1821, the duty remaining unaltered; in Scotland, 0·29 gallons in 1802, 0·15 in 1812, and 0·06 in 1821; in Ireland, 0·12 gallons in 1802, 0·04 in 1812, and 0·003 in 1821. Of foreign spirits (brandy and Hollands) the average consumption, per head, in England, was reduced from 0·209 gallons in 1802 to 0·015 in 1812 (the effect of the war), and had risen only to 0·079 in 1821. Of foreign wines of all kinds the average consumption per head, in the United Kingdom, declined from 0·431 gallons in 1801 to 0·304 in 1811 (the duties having in the mean time been considerably augmented), and to 0·221 in 1821. Of beer the average consumption for each individual in England and Wales (exclusive of that brewed in private families) rose from 24·76 gallons in 1801, in the face of an increased duty, to 25·19 gallons in 1811, and had fallen to 20·53 gallons in 1821. Of tobacco the average individual consumption in Great Britain rose in like manner, under an increase of duty, from 15·37 ozs. in 1801 to 18·95 ozs. in 1811, and then declined, the duty having been further increased, to 14·43 ozs. in 1821. In Ireland it declined from 17·35 ozs. in 1811 to 6·15 ozs. in 1821. One of the few articles the consumption of which was progressive throughout the whole period, was paper, of which there were 31,699,537 lbs. charged with duty in 1803, 38,225,167 lbs. in 1811, and 48,204,027 in 1821, the duty remaining unaltered. Of soap, also, the total number of pounds consumed rose from 52,947,037 in 1801 to 73,527,760 in 1811, and to 92,941,326 in 1821; but this article is extensively used in the silk, cotton, linen, woollen, and many other manufactures, so that its consumption cannot be taken as any index of the economical condition of the people. The consumption of candles in Great Britain, including all sorts, only increased from 66,999,080 lbs. in 1801 to 78,640,555 lbs. in 1811, and to 94,679,189 lbs. in 1821, or at about the same rate with the population. It thus appears that the general bearing of these facts and figures is all in one direction; and it would seem impossible to resist the testimony borne by such an array and concurrence of particulars to the conclusion that the economical progress of the great body of the people must have received a considerable check in the latter part of the present period.

4. POPULATION.—Under this head we will collect the principal facts relating to both the numbers of the people and to the other circumstances more immediately connected with that matter. The three successive enumerations of the people that were taken in 1801, 1811, and 1821, show the following general results:—In 1801 the population of England and Wales was 8,872,980; that of Scotland, 1,599,068; that of Great Britain, 10,472,048 (exclusive of the army and navy, amounting to 470,598). In 1811 the population of England and Wales was 10,163,676; that of Scotland, 1,805,688; that of Great Britain, 11,969,364 (exclusive of the army and navy, amounting to 640,500). In 1821 the population of England and Wales was 11,978,875; that of Scotland, 2,093,456; that of Great Britain, 14,072,331 (exclusive of the army and navy, amounting to 319,300). The increase per cent. in the ten years between 1801 and 1811 was thus 14·5 in England and Wales, very nearly 13 in Scotland, and 14·3 in Great Britain; in the ten years between 1811 and 1821 it was 17·8 in England and Wales, 15·8 in Scotland, and 17·5 in Great Britain. The first actual enumeration of the people of Ireland was taken in 1813; but it did not include the whole country, and it was rather calculated or conjectured than ascertained that the entire population then amounted to 5,937,858; in 1821 the number was found to be 6,801,827. The annual number of births, or at least of baptisms, continued to increase, with the population, throughout the period; in the year of scarcity, 1801, it had been in England and Wales only 237,029; but in 1802 it was 273,837, in 1803 it was 294,108, in 1811 it was 304,857, in 1821 it was 355,307. The rate of the increase of marriages was still more irregular: in 1801 the number was only 67,288; but in 1802 it was 90,396, and in 1803 it was 94,379, after which it was not again so high for the next eleven years; being only 86,389 in 1811, 92,779 in 1818, and not more than 96,883 in 1820: in 1821 it was 100,868. The most curious and illustrative of this class of facts, however, is that of the number of deaths at different dates throughout the period. According to the same parish registers from which the numbers of baptisms and marriages have been taken, the number of deaths, or rather of burials, was 204,434 in 1801, 199,889 in 1802, 203,728 in 1803, 181,177 in 1804, 208,184 in 1810, 188,543 in 1811, 208,349 in 1820, 212,352 in 1821. By comparing the actual numbers of the population in each year, as calculated from the decennial enumerations, with the numbers of registered burials corrected by an allowance being made for unregistered deaths, it would appear that during the five years ending with 1805 the annual rate of mortality was 1 in every 45 of the population; that during the five ending with 1810 it was reduced to 1 in every 47½; in the five ending with 1815 to 1 in every 52; in the five ending with 1820 to 1 in every 53; and that in the next five years, ending with 1825, it increased to 1 in every 52; and in the next five, ending with 1830, to 1 in every 50.* The data upon which these

* These calculations are made upon the table given at p. 454 of the Official Tables of the Board of Trade, Part iii., fol. 1834. The state-

deductions are founded are not entitled to perfect confidence, and to afford a complete elucidation of the matter the calculations would obviously require to be made upon a classification of the deaths according to ages; but, taking the facts in the imperfect state in which we have them, we should evidently not be justified in inferring, from the increased mortality not having manifested itself till after 1820, that the economical depression in which it may be supposed to have originated was necessarily also of that date. It is much more probable, on general considerations, that the rate of mortality in a country at any particular time (with the exception of seasons of actual famine or the prevalence of destructive epidemics) is principally affected by causes that have been in operation for a considerable time before, or that may have even ceased to exist before the effect in question shall have begun to show itself. In the present case all the other indications of the economical condition of the people are much more favourable both in the series of years immediately preceding 1815, and in that from 1820 to 1830, than in that from 1815 to 1820, during which last space, nevertheless, the actual rate of mortality is calculated to have been at the lowest. Mr. MacCulloch observes that this apparent increase in the rate of mortality between 1815 (it ought rather to be 1821 or 1822) and 1830 "probably was only, in part at least, a temporary effect, caused by the distress resulting from the sudden transition from a state of war to one of peace; and by the severe shock that the fall of prices in 1815, and the destruction of country banks and of country bank paper in that year, gave to almost every species of industry."* He adds that, if the increased mortality be still maintained, the causes that have produced it will afford matter for interesting investigation; and he suggests that it will perhaps be found that the increased immigration from Ireland of late years has had a good deal to do in bringing it about. It may be remarked that the registered numbers of births as compared with those of burials are far from accounting for the whole of the increase which each successive census of the population has exhibited. The increase in the ten years between 1801 and 1811 is greater than would be thus accounted for by 303,878 souls; that between 1811 and 1821 by 447,581; that between 1821 and 1831 by 550,356.† Probably both the registers were kept and the enumerations taken with greater accuracy in the latter than in the former portion of these thirty years; so that we may safely assume from the above figures that the increase of the population of England by immigration from Ireland (the only quarter from which there is any considerable immigration) had been proceeding at a growing rate, a fact indeed which, independently of investigation, was sufficiently visible to all the world, and universally admitted. The fact is the same with regard to the population of Scotland; and it is one of no light account in reference to the condition of the people, both physical and moral, in either country. Mr. MacCulloch, writing in 1837, states that it was believed that at that date about a fourth part of the population of Manchester and Glasgow consisted either of native Irish or of their descendants; that in various other places the proportion of Irish blood was still greater; and that the influx was still increasing instead of diminishing. It "threatens," he observes, "to entail very pernicious consequences on the people of England and Scotland. The wages of the latter are reduced by the competition of the Irish; and, which is still worse, their opinions as to what is necessary for their comfortable and decent subsistence are lowered by the contaminating influence of example, and by familiar intercourse with those who are content to live in filth and misery. It is difficult to see how, if things be allowed to continue on their present footing, the condition of the labouring classes in the two countries should not be pretty much approximated; and there is but too much reason to think that the equalization will be brought about rather by the degradation of the English than by the elevation of the Irish. Hitherto the latter have been very little, if at all, improved by their residence in England; but the English and Scotch with whom they associate have been certainly deteriorated."*

5. Poor-Rates.—The poor-rates may be considered as an index of the increase or diminution of that portion of the population which, possessing no property, earns nothing, and whose subsistence constitutes a burden upon the earnings and other incomes of the rest of the community. A high rate of wages, generally connected as it is with abundance of employment, obviously has a tendency in ordinary circumstances to reduce the number of paupers; but the two things have no absolutely necessary or constant connexion, and it is quite possible that, under certain arrangements or the operation of peculiar influences, an advancing rate of wages may subsist simultaneously with an increasing pauper population. For the rate of wages is not determined exclusively by the numbers of the people, but partly also by the habits or notions which prevail in the country as to the mode of living proper for the working man, who, rather than labour for wages which will not maintain him at that established or customary point of comfort and decency, may choose to refuse to continue a labourer, and transfer himself to the class of paupers. It is very evident that, from this or other causes, there must have been going on during the first twenty years of the present century, notwithstanding the rise of wages, which for a part of the period at least was real as well as nominal, and was unaccompanied by any corresponding enhancement of the prices of provisions and other necessaries, the absorption of a constantly in-

ment given by Mr. MacCulloch in his Statistics of the British Empire (1st edit.), vol. i. p. 417, is somewhat different.

* Statistics of the British Empire, i. 419.

† Official Tables of Board of Trade, Part iii. p. 454.

* Statistics of the British Empire, i. 401.

creasing portion of the population into the gulf of pauperism. The sum annually expended for the relief of the poor in England and Wales, which was only 4,017,871*l.* (equivalent to the price of 693,234 quarters of wheat) in 1801, and only 4,077,891*l.* (equivalent to 1,428,751 quarters of wheat) in 1803, had by 1820 risen to 7,330,256*l.* (equivalent to 2,226,913 quarters), and in 1821 was 6,959,249*l.* (equivalent, at the prices of that year, to 2,557,763 quarters of wheat).* Thus, while the population had increased by only about 30 per cent., the money amount of the poor-rates had increased by nearly 75 per cent., and their amount, measured in wheat, by not much short of 400 per cent. if we compute from 1801, and even if we set aside that extraordinary year, and make our calculation from the expenditure of 1803, by nearly 80 per cent. The sum annually expended for the relief of the poor, which was 4,077,891*l.* on the average of the years 1801-2-3, had risen to 6,656,106*l.* in 1812-13, and was 7,870,801*l.* in 1817-18, 7,516,704*l.* in 1818-19, and 7,330,254*l.* in 1819-20. The legislation upon the subject of the poor during the present period was certainly not calculated to check the increase of pauperism. In 1815 the act called East's Act was passed (the 55 Geo. III. c. 137), which relaxed the ancient regulations so far as to empower justices to order relief for any length of time they chose, not exceeding three months, and to enact that the pauper should no longer be required to come into any workhouse, but should receive his or her allowance in money at his or her home or house. A more familiarly known measure, Sturges Bourne's Act (the 59 Geo. III. c. 12), passed in 1819, while it provided for the establishment of select vestries and the appointment of assistant overseers, facilitated the erection of workhouses, and also recognised, though with little practical effect, the old and, as far as it can be carried out, sound principle of setting the paupers to work. At the same time, however, it surely evinced a strange misconception or forgetfulness of the purpose and essential character of a compulsory provision for the poor, when it required the churchwardens and overseers to pay to such paupers as they might employ reasonable wages for their labour, and gave to the said pauper labourers "such and the like remedies for the recovery of their wages as other labourers in husbandry have."

6. CRIME.—There is a still lower grade of the population than that which is supported by the poor-rates, the portion of the community constituting the lowest layer of all in the social pyramid, which supports itself by the violation of the laws and the commission of crime. The increase or diminution of this class is still less exclusively dependent than is the numerical movement of the pauper population, upon the high or low, or the rising or falling, rate of wages, though certainly far from being altogether withdrawn from the action of that almost universally influential element in the economical condition of a community. The number of persons annually convicted of crimes in England and Wales proceeded in a constantly augmenting ratio to the entire population throughout the present period; having been 2783 in 1805, 3163 in 1811, 4883 in 1815, and 9510 in 1819. The progress of crime, therefore, was nearly three times as rapid as the progress of population. It is true that the character of crime was changed, and perhaps for the better; crimes of violence had probably not increased in the same proportion as crimes against property; in some important respects there was an absolute diminution of the open outrage and insecurity of life and person which most ruffle the surface of society, and seem the most completely to set the law at defiance. But the great fact remains, that a prodigious augmentation was made to the proportion of the population disowning the law and subsisting upon crime. Some of the persons convicted even of the most heinous crimes were no doubt not habitual criminals, but these are the exceptional cases; the great mass of the men, women, and children who furnish such constant occupation to our courts of justice are a part, and but a small part, of a population whose only means of existence is the commission of crime. The disbanding of the army after the war probably made a considerable addition to the numbers of this class; the economical pressure of the next five or six years may be supposed to have still further strengthened it; in ordinary circumstances it maintains its own force, like any other class of the community, and is more likely to do so than most other classes, seeing that, while it derives continual accessions from the rest of society, and more especially from those portions of the population to which it is in a manner contiguous, it renders none in return to any other class: the rise even to the condition of the humblest common labourer, of the man who has been born and bred in this lowest region of the social system, is a phenomenon almost unheard of. Even those who have stepped down into it from a superior station as rarely re-emerge as did the fabled visitors of the realms of death, in the old Heathen mythology:—

> "facilis descensus Averni;
> Sed revocare gradus, superasque evadere ad auras,
> Hoc opus, hic labor est."

What, then, are the general conclusions to which these various indications agree in conducting us? A community may be considered as divided by lines, more or less definite, into the following orders:—1. Those who live upon their property or capital (the natural *Nobility* of a country); 2. Those who earn a subsistence by the labour of their heads (the *Clergy*, or *Clerisy*, in the most extensive sense of the term); 3. Those who support themselves by the labour of their hands:—and then, lying, as it were, beyond the proper limits of the social system,

* See Table in Mr. Porter's Progress of the Nation, vol. i. p. 82. It is, however, difficult to understand how in a year of such scarcity as 1801 the poor should have been supported by an outlay (measured in quarters of wheat) not half so large as was required for that purpose two years later, when the scarcity had completely passed away.

4. Paupers, maintained by public charity; 5. The criminal population, subsisting upon plunder and fraud. These appear to be the distinctions which may be most clearly read, at least in the modes of thinking and habits of society which have always prevailed in this and in all other Gothic or Teutonic countries. There is, of course, some fading of the adjacent colours into one another: the great merchant is often also a great proprietor; the upper range of artizans and shopkeepers touches the lowest range of professional men and merchants; the modern feelings and usages of society may make little or no distinction in ordinary cases between persons belonging to the first and persons belonging to the second of the five orders; but still, in what we may call their types at least, that is to say, in the instances in which the peculiar characteristic of each order is developed in a marked or conspicuous manner, they are universally discriminated. At all events, what we may call the main body of the population, forming not only the bulk, but the bone and muscle, the marrow and strength of the community, and the portion of the social system upon which the welfare of the whole principally depends, is sufficiently distinguished both from what is above it and what is below it, as the third order (the *Tiers Etat*), comprehending all the various descriptions commonly known under the designation of the industrial classes.

It appears pretty clearly, that at least the most numerous portion of this most important order, or what is distinctively called the working population, did not preserve, during any part of this period, the same amount of economical prosperity, or command over the necessaries and more indispensable accommodations of life, to which it had previously attained. This seems to be proved by the lowered ratio of wages to the price of food throughout the present period, as compared with the preceding half-century; and the inference may be considered to be strengthened by the great increase both of pauperism and of crime—an increase in both cases, doubtless, mainly produced by the conversion of labourers into paupers and criminals. To the mere labourer the relation between the rate of wages and the price of the necessaries of life is, in a manner, everything; it is the expression of his entire economical condition. The only advantage, at least as affecting their material circumstances, which the labouring classes of this age appear to have had over those of the preceding generation was that they could buy cotton stuffs for clothing somewhat cheaper. But this was certainly far from compensating for the degree in which the rise in the price of food had outrun the rise in the rate of wages. Perhaps the way in which it operated with the most effect, and most beneficially, was in promoting a taste for a higher degree of neatness and decoration in dress, which was principally called forth, where, indeed, it was most desirable that it should show itself, among the female portion of the labouring population and of the industrial classes generally, and which would naturally connect itself with improved habits of cleanliness, order, and decency. If there really was any reduction of the rate of mortality among the great body of the people, it would seem to be attributable, not to their circumstances being easier, but to their having, carried along by the general progress of the times, gradually abandoned some old pernicious arrangements in their dwellings and modes of living, to some improvement in the construction of their houses, their being kept in somewhat better repair and being a little better ventilated and drained, to the diminution of gross intemperance, to the improved police of towns, to the extension of cultivation, and the consequently higher general salubrity of the country, and to the more advanced state of medicine and surgery, the extirpation almost of some destructive diseases, and the great mitigation of others. The introduction of Vaccination, the great discovery of Jenner, dates from about the commencement of the present century. In the latter part of the period, especially, or after 1814, all the facts that serve as indices of the economical condition of the great body of the people are, without any exception, unfavourable:—diminished consumption, increasing pauperism and crime, and even the apparently declining movement of the rate of mortality arrested or reversed.

It is true that, at least for a considerable part of the time we are reviewing, certain of the classes belonging to this largest division of the community were in the enjoyment of great and unprecedented prosperity. The farmers, in particular, who, with few exceptions, must be regarded as having hitherto held much the same social station with master-tradesmen and shopkeepers, shared so largely with the proprietors of the soil in the unusual gains derived from the high range of the prices of agricultural produce, that many of them became considerable capitalists, and a section of the body may be almost said to have risen into the rank of gentry. So likewise an effect of the vast growth of manufactures under the application of machinery was to create a new and numerous class of spinning and weaving capitalists, whose wealth, and position in all other respects, placed them by the side of the great merchant.

It is true also that, even in regard to the labouring population, the principal economical indications become much more favourable when we get beyond the year 1818 or 1819. If the rate of mortality, instead of diminishing, appears to have somewhat increased after that date, that is an effect which, as we have already endeavoured to show, is probably to be ascribed to the declension and pressure experienced some years before. After 1819 the price of food assumed a lower range, without the change being accompanied by any fall of wages; and the rate of consumption, which, as we have seen, had been generally declining for the preceding six or eight years, acquired as to almost all descriptions of articles an ascending movement.

There can be no doubt, moreover, independently of this last-mentioned fact, that the command which is possessed by all classes at the present day over certain of what may be styled the accommodations and luxuries of life, is very much greater than it was at the beginning of the present century. This is a consequence of the general progress of civilization, of the advance of the arts, of the accumulation of capital, and of the products of all kinds which capital helps to call into existence. The houses, the furniture, the clothing, of all classes, except perhaps the very lowest, are of a superior description to what they were forty years ago. And how many facilities and sources of enjoyment are open to the poorest man, in the way of cheap and rapid travelling by sea and land, mechanics' institutes and other schools and places of instruction for young and old, cheap newspapers and periodical publications, lecture-rooms, reading-rooms, coffee-houses, public baths, parks, gardens, museums, picture galleries, and other gratuitous exhibitions, which did not exist in former days!

On some points, however, there must still be much of question and anxious speculation. These things, which have thus been gained by the people, are, after all, but the embellishments of existence; and their presence is no proof that the necessaries of existence are more plentiful than formerly—that the labouring classes have not more difficulty than they were wont to have to find bread to eat—that all classes have not a more arduous struggle than ever to maintain their social position. Or, if it should be admitted that society has made a step in advance in all respects, and a step in the solid advantages of which all classes have more or less participated, the effect still may have been to alter for the worse the relative position of the labouring population, even while their positive position has been improved. Nay, it may have happened that in every class an absolute increase of command over the necessaries and accommodations of life may be so much less equally distributed than formerly, as to produce greater abundance and greater penury at the same time. The benefit of an increase of wealth to a community must always depend as much upon its proper distribution as upon its amount.

THE END.

# POSTSCRIPT.

It may seem at first sight somewhat unreasonable that the history of the single reign of George the Third, a period of only sixty years, should fill as many volumes, and not very far from as many pages, as the whole previous history of England, extending over nearly eighteen centuries. But, measured by its present interest and real importance, that reign may fairly claim the full proportion of space that has been given to it. Every part of the past may be said indeed to exist in the present; but for the most part it is only in what may be called an inactive or quiescent state that the past so exists—in consolidated institutions, in settled questions, in rules and principles which men have generally come to accept and to walk by. The events of the reign of George the Third exist as petrifactions, but as living forces; the political and social controversies of which then sprang up are still growing and spreading around us. The revolt of the North American colonies and the establishment of their independence, the creation of a new British empire in India, the mighty drama of the French Revolution, with its five and twenty years of war sweeping every country in Europe; democracy, parliamentary reform, Catholic emancipation, the Irish Union, the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, the mitigation of the criminal code, the resistance to the corn laws, pauperism, and the various questions connected with the extension of machinery and manufactures—all these things continue to press themselves upon us with an urgency scarcely in any way diminished, in the most important cases much augmented and becoming more every day. Besides, the history of the reign of George the Third is the history of Europe, and we may say of the world, as much as the history of Great Britain. In what civilised region of the globe, except perhaps in China, did any public event take place during those sixty years in which England was not, either immediately or more or less remotely, interested?

The history of this long and eventful reign has been related by Mr. Charles Farlane in the present work with all the excursiveness and comprehensiveness of scope which the subject thus demands. It is believed that few sources of information, of any value, in regard to foreign transactions, which the literature either of England or of America, of France or of Italy, supplies, will be found to have been neglected. Of the French Revolution especially, including the wars

grew out of it, no account exists in the language which will bear to be compared with the present for the extent of the survey which it takes, and the command which is evinced over all that had been previously written on every part of the subject. Both in this portion of the narrative, too, and in the previous account of Indian affairs, many particulars are now stated for the first time from private information.

It only remains to be mentioned that the other contributors to the work have been Mr. Bisset, who has written the history of the Constitution, Government, and Laws, in the Third Chapter of each Book; Mr. Platt, who has written the accounts of Agricultural Improvements in the Fourth Chapter; Mr. J. T. Stanesby, who has furnished the history of the other Useful Arts in the same Chapter, and also the notices of Wood Engraving in the Fifth Chapter; Mr. Poynter, who is the author of the history, given in the Fifth Chapter of each Book, of Architecture, Painting, Sculpture, and Copper-plate Engraving; Mr. Ayrton, who has written the history of Music in that Chapter; Mr. W. Weir, who is the author of the account of Manners and Customs in the Sixth Chapter; Mr. Planché, who has supplied the accounts of Costume and Furniture in the same Chapter: and that I myself responsible for the Second Chapter of each Book, containing the history of Religion and Ecclesiastical Affairs; for the notices of the Revenue, Expenditure, and the National Debt, in Chapter Third; for the history of Commerce in Chapter Fourth; for the history of Literature and Science in the Fifth; and for the Seventh Chapter in each Book, on the Condition of the People; as well as for the editorship of the entire work.

GEO. L. CRAIK.

London, *8th February*, 1844.

London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, Stamford Street.

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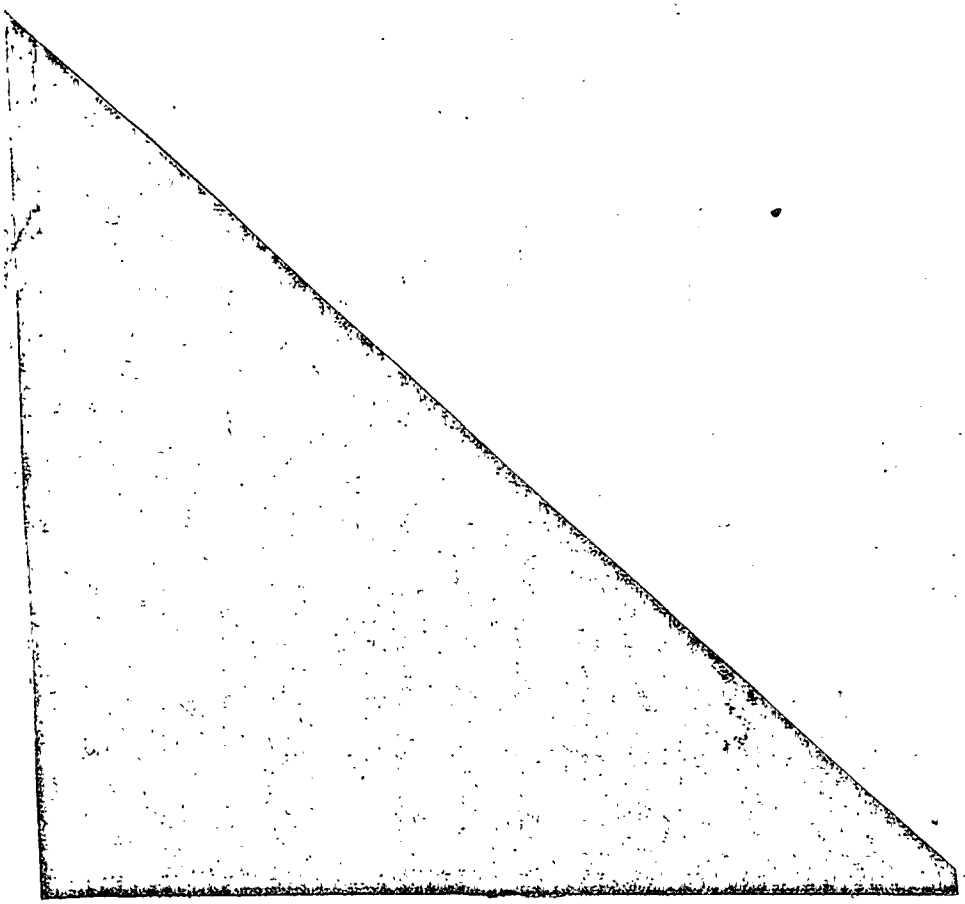

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